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The League's Business

Executive Committee Plans Larger Budget

The executive committee of the League's council met in New York, November 26, 1946. Present were Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council, presiding; George Arents, Dr. Frederick L. Bird, Philip H. Cornick, John S. Linen, Mark S. Matthews, Lawson Purdy, Carl H. Pforzheimer, C. Thomas Schettino representing President Charles Edison, Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, and John E. Bebout, assistant secretary.

In accordance with the policy established by the council at its November 11 meeting in Philadelphia, a plan was discussed to increase the budget to meet the unprecedented need for the League's services.

The following conclusions and decisions emerged:

1. The League has never done an adequate job of planned, organized promotion;
2. The record, standing and program of the League give it a unique position in the national civic field;
3. There should be a program designed to produce at least $100,000 in new money, largely in corporate contributions;
4. To keep the budget at a higher level, there should be continuous follow-up and promotion;
5. A new type of promotional literature is needed, presenting the various phases of the League program in non-technical terms of concrete goals and results. Contact should be maintained with contributors through achievement reports and visits from a staff or council member.

Mr. Willoughby reported that some hotels are heavily reserved for conventions through 1947 and into 1948. He was authorized to open negotiations for holding the 1947 conference.

Noted Civic Figure Passes

Richard Welling, noted New York civic leader for more than half a century, died December 17 well along in his 88th year. After graduating from Harvard in 1880, where he was the strong man (physically) of his class, he practiced law in New York but promptly began devoting a large share of his time and considerable energy to the task of being a strong man (morally) in numerous civic battles.

His name is to be found on the original membership rolls of the National Municipal League and various New York civic organizations. He was always a staunch supporter of the League, serving at times as a member of the council. At his death he was an honorary vice president. He had also served prominently, as president and in other capacities, such organizations as the Civil Service Reform Association, Associaton for the Improvement of the Poor, the Municipal Art Association, the George Junior Republic, the National Self Government Committee, of which he was founder and president, and numerous others.

He served with distinction in the United States Navy in the Spanish-American War and World War I. He wrote various books on problems of government, politics and citizenship, including, several years before his death, his modest autobiography, *As the Twig Is Bent.*

Jones Named Finance Chief

Lieutenant Colonel Howard P. Jones, League secretary on military leave, has been appointed chief, public finance branch, Office of Military Government, in Berlin, according to a December announcement. He succeeds Carl H. Chatters, former executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, who is now comptroller of the Port of New York Authority. Colonel Jones, who was New York State deputy comptroller prior to entering the army, has undertaken his new duties as a civilian.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Mr. Crump Wants Some Facts

SEVERAL of the addresses delivered at the National Conference on Government appear in this issue: those of Charles Edison, newly elected president of the National Municipal League; Harold W. Dodds, former secretary and former president, and George H. Gallup, vice president of the League; and Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration.

All four of these forthright addresses should give the thoughtful citizen pause. Many will be stirred particularly by Dr. Gulick's blistering indictment of the predatory politician. One person mentioned in the address, Edward H. Crump, commonly identified as the boss of Memphis, was stirred to the point of making the following statement to *The Press-Scimitar* of Memphis:

> Referring to remarks of Luther Gulick of New York, director of Institute of Public Administration, that I was "the undisputed head of the not-so-invisible government of Tennessee who has taken from the people the freedom and right of voting for candidates of one's own choosing": he is another theorist who deals in more words than facts. In August primary and the November general elections every man and woman was of course privileged to vote for his choice and did so without the slightest interference on my part. Therefore his remarks are wholly untrue and uncalled for. During the past, 30 candidates running for major offices in Tennessee have made the same charge unsupported by facts and they all went to their doom. Memphis is the cleanest city, morally and physically, in America. There is more honesty and less graft here than any place in the country.

It would be gratuitous to defend Dr. Gulick's distinguished record as a finder and user of facts. His name looms large in public administration and his accomplishments in local, state, national and world affairs are impressive and too numerous to detail here. Anyway, Mr. Crump's answer is simply typical of the politician's technique of using personal denunciation when he lacks sound argument. Let's look in some detail at the record Dr. Gulick had in mind when he paid his respects to Boss Crump.

Back in the autumn of 1939, just for example, petitions for the nomination of Mr. Crump's candidate for mayor were circulated. The outside world was amazed to learn that the name of the candidate was left out—to be filled in later, AFTER the signing was done, when Ed Crump had made up his mind. But the people of Memphis weren't even mildly surprised. That was nothing new to them.

Newspapers and other publications have frequently published facts about the kind of politics Mr. Crump plays but it might be that, in view of his all too obvious philosophy regarding what is and what is not a self-governing system, he considered these accounts more flattering than otherwise.

Time, the magazine, did a pretty thorough summarizing job on Mr. Crump in its issue of May 27, 1946. The article granted that, because Mr. Crump so willed it, Memphis has amazingly clean streets, dozens of parks and playgrounds, fine schools, libraries, one of the finest zoos in the U.S., a fair grounds, an E. H. Crump Stadium, good hospitals, good health, low taxes and utility rates, virtually no grafting—"Crump forbade it. Officials who took money for themselves (as opposed to accepting contributions from liquor stores, business houses, juke-box and pinball operators for the Crump machine) were prosecuted."

The weight of other revelations in the article is startling and disturbing. A few excerpts:

"At its [the machine's] core was a drum-tight control of the Negro vote. For as Memphians reflect: The nigger doesn't vote, he is voted. Thus, at any time, day or night, year in, year out, whenever Ed Crump pulled the lever of his political slot machine, he hit the jackpot—a clear majority of 40,000 to 60,000 votes, enough not only to inundate Memphis but to control Tennessee as well. . . .

"[His office] is not only a political nerve center but headquarters for one of the South's largest insurance and mortgage loan businesses. In 22 years, E. H. Crump & Co. has experienced a phenomenal growth; many a Memphis business man understandably believes that insurance with Crump has a double value. . . .

"From a Chamber of Commerce viewpoint, the Memphis of Ed Crump left little to be desired. But was it a part of free America? Tennessee's own Andy Jackson would not have thought so. Yet, as muckraker Lincoln Steffens discovered four decades ago, boss-ridden Memphis had followed the pattern of countless U.S. municipalities. . . .

"In the years of political wars the organization had grown stronger and resistance had diminished. Critics of the boss were never free of the fear that they might find themselves in court—before a Crump judge. . . .

"A member of the Organization who showed the slightest signs of disloyalty was through in politics. Most retired. Some, like former Governor Gordon Browning, were persuaded. Browning, a big, forceful Huntingdon attorney, got 60,000 votes in Shelby County in 1936 by virtue of the Organization's backing. But after he took office he 'began to eat too high on the hog.' Cried Crump: 'Gordon Browning is the kind of a man who would milk his neighbor's cow through a crack in the fence. In the art galleries of Paris there are 27 pictures of Judas Iscariot—and none look alike but they all resemble Gordon Browning.' In 1938, when Browning had the temerity to run for re-election, he was beaten; he lost Shelby County by 60,000 votes. No Tennessee politician missed the lesson. . . ."

All this is only a slight smell of the saga of Edward H. Crump. He clearly believes himself to be a humanitarian and public benefactor. He just wouldn't understand a "theorist" like Luther Gulick.

Let's Quarantine the Bosses

Former New Jersey Governor, foe of Hagueism, gives some sound suggestions for taking "the boss" out of politics.

By CHARLES EDISON*

IN the first half century of its career the National Municipal League has done an immense amount of good work, and in the next half I am sure it will do still more. The work of the League has always appealed to me because it has been my long-standing conviction that a great democracy such as the United States can exist only upon a foundation of local democracies. Any people, to govern themselves successfully, must get experience in the art of government.

The place where the people can get their experience at self-government—and each generation must learn anew—is in the local governments—cities, boroughs, towns, townships, counties, school districts and states. If local governments are true democracies we need never worry about the Great Society not being one. But, we cannot expect a great democracy to exist upon a foundation of local dictatorship.

So the struggle to quarantine the bosses is endless. It must be continued so long as any politician, by fear or fraud or force or favor, seeks to pervert the machinery of government to his own uses. When a boss in one area is defeated by the forces of democracy, the battle must be renewed somewhere else, for as long as the human race turns up ruthless and selfish men they must be fought by those who are unselfish and who seek the common good. Fortunately, humanity always turns up some of them too.

In these days of world-wide political problems the attention of intelligent people is too easily attracted to the big governments and they forget the little ones. It is a fundamental error to think that if we can solve the big problems of the big governments the little ones will solve themselves. They won't.

On the contrary, the corrupt influence of the little governments will work up into national and even international affairs. Senators and judges who are products of local political machines cannot be expected to rise above the ethical level of the environment that produced them when, upon some momentous occasion, they are given new and great authority. They are likely to think that they can run the nation or the world as they ran the Third Ward.

How can the bosses be quarantined? If I knew all the answers there would be one less notorious big boss today. That he is still functioning shows there is still more to be learned and more to be done. But the fact that he did not do so well during and since my administration and was so decisively beaten in the recent election shows, too, that some methods are effective.

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*Mr. Edison, former governor of New Jersey and president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., was elected president of the National Municipal League at its recent National Conference on Government in Philadelphia. This article is his address before the conference on November 11.

'I Am the Law'

The first thing I learned is that the control of the processes of the law is the key to the boss's power. So long as he owns judges, prosecutors, jury commissioners, and so on, he is not only invulnerable, but also he can turn the legal machinery against the forces of decent government. No matter how good your case—no matter what the boss has done to corrupt democracy—you cannot get him or his henchmen convicted if he can prevent a grand jury from bringing in an indictment, or if he can get a judge to quash the indictment, or if his prosecutor will not prosecute, or if his sheriff or jury commissioner has fixed the petty jury.

In other words, if a boss can control the processes of the law at any one of these points, he can protect himself and his henchmen. He has only to control one—the forces of democracy must control them all. In view of this fact, it is really remarkable that as many bosses have gone to jail as the record shows.

The place to begin attacking the boss is with the machinery of justice. Justice is the foundation of democracy. Get the boss's men out of it and honest and courageous men in.

The boss must be expected, when he can, to turn the forces of the law against any group that threatens him. We have had plenty of such experiences in New Jersey—trumped-up charges that led to long and expensive litigation, injunctions against investigations, the making of new law when the boss's judges had to make it, the suppression and even the destruction of evidence, the framing and intimidation of witnesses, the persecution of members of the reform group by law suits.

So going after a boss is no job for the faint-hearted. It entails dangers and sacrifices just as real and just as painful as any other kind of warfare.

The second thing to fight is the boss's power over the processes of taxation. The power to tax is the power to destroy—especially when that power is in the hands of ruthless bosses.

When I was governor of New Jersey we had an investigation of the Hudson County Tax Board, a quasi-judicial state tax appeal body. Although the state laws required the board to grant hearings to all taxpayers who filed petitions complaining about high assessments, by a taxing district, the board apparently met on extraordinarily few occasions. It left everything to a faithful clerk who took the petitions of appeal around to the homes of the members where they signed their names under the rubber stamp marked "Affirmed as assessed."

Numerous items were turned up, however, of tax reduction favors granted by the Hague organization to judges, justices, friends and cohorts of the political boss. The petitions of these taxpayers contained a different notification—"OK-B. O'B." and reductions were thereby granted, also without hearings. B. O'B. were the initials of a taxing official of Jersey City.

Here was a state appeal body having its decisions set by officials of a local taxing district against which petitions had been filed. Here indeed were perfect examples of the misuse of the taxing power by a boss in order to reward his friends and, I can assure you, in order to punish his enemies. Charges were brought and proved against the Hudson County Tax Board. The board members were removed. Public-spirited men were appointed and today assessments are pretty much at a reasonable and fair level.

Always on the Job

The third thing to learn is that it is hard to line up and keep lined up the forces of decency to enforce the quarantine of a boss. Not many people are willing to make the necessary sacrifices of time, money and reputation. One gets lots of pats on the back and not much money, many kind words and mighty little work.

The machine, on the other hand, has a disciplined army—one that is motivated by the strongest of human drives, the desire to hold on to jobs and to stay out of jail. Its members will, if need be, work 24 hours a day against the forces of good government, who will work only in their spare time.

The forces of bad government have, by and large, greater sources of income than the forces of good government. It is like pulling teeth to raise ten thousand dollars for a campaign against the most infamous political machine, while the machine can raise that much in 24 hours from any one of its many sources of money—from slot machines, from the tip-sheets, from the numbers game or some similar source.

I have seen New Jersey plastered with billboard advertising from one end of the state to the other; I have seen evidence of millions of lying letters mailed out; I have seen full-page advertisements published in every daily paper, not once, but day after day. The me-for-me boys had a thousand dollars for every one that the forces of good government had.

The effect of all this money for publicity for the boss's gang can be overcome in large part by a good government organization because most newspapers are independent. They will publish the advertising if the boss pays for it, but they will do what they can to diminish its effect. For instance, there was the editorial in the *Trenton Times* that began, "On another page Mayor Hague publishes another of his lying advertisements. . . "

In the hiring of those all-important election day workers, however, the machine has an advantage that the forces of decency have great difficulty in overcoming. But they can overcome it. The Cincinnati Charter Committee has proved it. Many other local groups have proved that once they get going, unpaid volunteer workers can beat the professionals; that in time a citizens' army of men fighting for their homes, their freedom, will beat an army of mercenaries fighting for wages. It takes organization, leadership and work—mostly work. It includes doorbell ringing—talking to voters in their homes, on the trains, at the corner store—in season and out of season. The district leader of your party knows that there is no substitute for the house-to-house canvass—before election day and on election day.

Is that too tough? Just try it. Once you've broken the ice, you'll find it's even fun. There is no way like it to get to know the ultimate sovereign in our democracy, the individual voter, and what makes him tick.

The boss has another advantage in that he will use any weapon or device that promises to be effective—lies, smears, slanders, threats, bribery, spies, anything—whereas the people who are seeking decent government are confined to the use of decent weapons. The most promising workers have been bought off with jobs; attempts have been made to railroad others to jail. Some have been beaten, their families threatened.

Form of Government Important

A fourth lesson is that, necessary as good men are, good government is also a matter of machinery—of the form of government. Some people will tell you that the only thing, really, is to elect good men to office. That is a delusion, indeed a dangerous delusion. A good state constitution or city charter is important and may make good government easy and natural; it may make boss-ridden government difficult and unnatural.

The boss knows this just as well as, and perhaps better than, the decent citizen knows it. Proposals for constitutional or charter reform will produce the most violent reaction from a political machine—or at least that was our experience in New Jersey when we tried to get a new and revised state constitution.

The fact that the bosses don't like modernized constitutions and charters is one of the best reasons for advocating them. It shows that the National Municipal League is on the right track with its model state constitution and its model city charter.

Another piece of machinery that is often helpful in quarantining a boss, or cutting him down nearer to size, is the merit system. Civil service has its deficiencies and there are ways in which a political machine can get around the intent of an absolutely nonpartisan public service, staffed according to ability. Even Jersey City has civil service. But the fact is that no boss willingly submits to the adoption of civil service. Once it has been adopted, it is another weapon ready to the hand of any enlightened civic forces in the community. And it inevitably does limit to some extent the opportunity of the boss to manipulate public employees wholly for his own purpose.

Here is what has just happened in Hoboken. Once nicknamed "The Seacoast of Bohemia," Hoboken has for years been the fief of one of Mr. Hague's most powerful vassals. The lord of this not too princely domain is McFeeley, and it's a family, not a man. It consists of the mayor, Bernard or Barney McFeeley, his brother, the chief of police, Edward McFeeley, to say nothing of Dennis McFeeley and other numerous cousins, nephews and assorted related McFeeleys.

Now, thanks to the fact that grand juries, courts and prosecuting officers in Hudson County are no longer controlled by the boss, four McFeeleys and seven of their henchmen are groaning under a 22-page indictment for some of their vicious activities since last year.

To add insult to injury, the voters of Hoboken in November voted 8,499 to 5,014 for civil service over the bitter opposition of the machine. The movement for civil service as well as the indictment grew out of an alleged conspiracy by members of the machine to persecute and browbeat certain policemen who were seeking compliance with the state law giving them one day a week off and other reasonable benefits.

Out of the Mire

The civil service campaign was spearheaded by the Hoboken League of Women voters, the Hoboken Police Benevolent Association and the Hoboken Branch of the New Jersey Independent League. They got the facts about their local situation; they got information about civil service from the state; they got other information and campaign suggestions from the National Municipal League and the National Civil Service League. They put on a fast, imaginative campaign. And they won. They now have the McFeeley bosses on the run. And they say they have only just begun to fight.

These groups are seriously considering a campaign for the council-manager plan. In any event, it looks as if Hoboken may soon be seeking readmission to the union. That, if you know Hoboken, is something.

A sixth lesson is the necessity for strong and continuous citizens' organizations, such as the citizens' unions, city clubs, bureaus of municipal research—whatever their names. There are not enough of them. None is as strong as it ought to be. Unfortunately there are few organized on a state basis, and the activities of most of them are not broad enough.

There should be a citizen organization operating in every state, checking on candidates, studying legislation, suggesting new and better ways of doing the public business, commending good officials and condemning incompetent or corrupt ones. This kind of organization can indeed quarantine a boss before he gets so big and powerful that only the federal government can reach him. In other words, we need more preventive medicine.

There should be more city parties —political parties that operate exclusively in city elections—drawing their issues only from city questions. I know that local, state and national issues often coincide or overlap; but there is not, on the whole, a Democratic or Republican way of governing a city or a county.

National party rivalries are forced down into localities where they have no place to be. The bosses take advantage of this and demand loyalty of all Democrats or of all Republicans as the case may be. Entirely too often they get it and voters mark the straight ticket to vote away their local democracy.

Another observation about how to quarantine a boss might be put this way: the cooperation of the federal government is immensely helpful and may be indispensable. A small, local boss may be upset in the state or local courts if he has not grown powerful enough to control them, but a big boss may so dominate the whole community that external force is needed.

A really shrewd boss—the kind we produce in New Jersey—will so infiltrate every institution—the bar association, some business organizations, the labor unions, and so on—that he is protected at every point. He will have an understanding or alliance with the other political party if he can.

But a hostile United States district attorney and an honest United States district judge make bad boss medicine. If you think over the recent cases in Kansas City, Atlantic City and Louisiana, you will agree.

Two-party Cooperation

One more point should be made. The boss system is bipartisan. The boss and his henchmen are interested in themselves, not the party. Their natural allies are not the decent citizens who comprise the membership of both parties. Their allies are the bosses of the so-called opposite party.

Of course it's fine for a boss to have a monopoly in his own bailiwick, but when he cannot conquer the boss of a neighboring city he forms an alliance with him. The bosses of both parties are the enemies of all the people of both parties.

This furnishes a clue as to what the people must do to defeat them. They must unite to make war on the common enemy. That is what we have been doing in New Jersey for the last six years. The fight against Hague has been waged by Democrats and Republicans through two administrations, one Democratic and one Republican. The only reason that Hague is literally on the ropes today is the fact that the good citizens of New Jersey have not allowed party labels to divide them.

Democrats for Driscoll helped at the November election to pile up the majority for our next governor which means that the political drought for Mr. Hague will last at least another three years. That will probably be enough.

Perhaps that's what Judge Hansen, Mr. Hague's defeated candidate for governor, meant the day after election when he said, "I can take it. Naturally I am disappointed but the man I'm sorry for is Mayor Hague." Incidentally it is good to note that in the same election in which Democrats helped elect a Republican governor to continue the fight to restore New Jersey to the people Republicans in a South Jersey county helped elect a Democrat to the Senate, thus retiring one of the Republican "Dead End Kids" whom Hague used to count on in the pinches.

Of course, the bosses always shout traitor at party members who oppose them. But the real traitor to a party is the boss who refuses to permit strong organizations to grow from the grass roots. Every time a promising local leader appears who might strengthen the party in an outlying county he is knocked down, unless he can be annexed. As a result of this tactic, the Democratic organization in most New Jersey counties has long since gone to pieces.

(Continued on page 60)

Voter's Role in a Democracy

The fate of our way and individual freedom is wrapped up in the vigor and effectiveness of voluntary civic groups.

By **HAROLD W. DODDS***

BACK OF all our thinking about social affairs these days lies the eternal question of human freedom.

Modern philosophy on this subject runs back to the eighteenth century, which was one of the greatest eras in the history of human thought. The eighteenth century philosophers believed in natural law and reason. They were opposed to artificial social and political restrictions which obstructed the ordinary processes of natural law. Man had a natural right to use his reason in accordance with natural law, and this natural rights doctrine paved the way for the free society we enjoy today and the even freer society to which we aspire tomorrow. It likewise furnished the ethical basis for the American Revolution and has since colored all political development in the United States. To the eighteenth century philosophers government seemed the greatest obstacle to freedom. The question persists even until today.

Briefly but accurately stated, the modern question regarding human freedom is, "Can big government and individual freedom—as we understand the term, not as the Russians understand it—be reconciled?" Can big government and human liberty exist in peace and harmony with each other, for whatever we may think about big government—and it has both its good and bad features—the trend of the times is certainly in its favor.

Throughout the last 25 years Americans have been paying much more attention to the expanding scope and authority of government than they have to the more old-fashioned subject of political science, to the proficiency of our government as an instrument of popular will. Consideration of the physiology and hygiene of government, to which the National Municipal League has devoted its attention for more than half a century, has not attracted much notice in recent years. Yet never since the days of the Federalist Papers has the matter of the efficiency and responsibility of democratic government been more important.

My proposition, therefore, is that the time has come to renew our interest in the structure, organization and functioning of government if the citizen is to retain control of it and democracy is to be preserved. This has always been the particular concern of the National Municipal League, and its work was never more

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*President of Princeton University since 1933, Dr. Dodds needs no introduction to readers of the REVIEW, of which he was editor from 1920 to 1933. He was secretary to the National Municipal League from 1920 to 1928 and its president from 1935 to 1938. This article is Dr. Dodds' address of November 12 before the League's National Conference on Government at Philadelphia. A portion of the address is from Dr. Dodds' article, "The Critical Role of the Voter," appearing in the *New York Times Magazine*.

essential than today. From the very beginning the League has been chiefly occupied with the position of the voter in a democracy and how his will can be made effective.

The expanding scope and authority of government have made the role of the voter more critical and more significant than ever. We may well ask: Is there not grave danger that the voter may be losing his understanding of his government and corresponding control over it?

Role of the Voter

Forty years ago James Bryce delivered a series of lectures at Yale University which were later published under the title *Hindrances to Good Citizenship*. He pointed out the familiar discrepancy between what the theory of democracy requires of its citizens and what the practice of democracy reveals. No other form of government calls for such high intelligence, public spirit and civic virtue. Yet everywhere, he observed, democracy had failed to live up to expectations.

The first obstacle to the success of democratic government which he described was the sin of indolence. It consisted, he said, of a neglect to inform one's self on public issues and to vote, and in an unwillingness to serve in public office. This apathy contradicted the basic assumption of classical democracy that the average man must be "an active, instructed and intelligent ruler of his country."

The second hindrance to good citizenship was private self-interest. The rawest form was the outright bribery of voters and public officials. Less flagrant, but equally dangerous, were the efforts of economic groups to influence government for selfish reasons. The numbers controlled inordinately by self-interest, Bryce said, were numerically small but politically important. They never sleep and they work in dangerous secrecy.

The third hindrance was party spirit. "Allegiance to party," wrote Bryce, "replaces loyalty to the nation, when party spirit really takes hold to one."

The Trusting Citizen

Since Bryce wrote, a notable change has taken place in the attitudes of democratic peoples toward their governments. Despite the failure of democracy to meet early specifications, the people seem to trust their governments more than ever. Certainly they are willing to grant them powers far beyond those deemed proper 40 years ago. So rapid and dramatic has been the expansion of governmental functions that few have stopped to consider how big government may be affecting the role of the citizen in a democracy.

Has the ordinary citizen as full a comprehension of political issues today as he used to have? Who really is in the driver's seat, the voter or the official? Unless the citizen's understanding of political issues keeps pace with their growing complexity, may he not be destined to lose control over his officials? And if he loses control over his officials, what happens to democracy?

Consider first Bryce's sin of indolence. If it was hard a generation ago for the naturally indolent voter

—and this includes the great majority of us—to acquire an adequate understanding of political issues, how much more difficult must it be today when public questions have become so much more confusing than they were in those happy days before labor economists, farm economists, money economists, foreign trade economists and the like arose to confound us?

Task of the Voter

It is not only a moral question of the laziness of voters. It touches the capacity of busy people who must work for their living to comprehend the issues in their baffling complexity. We cannot ask the voter to perform the impossible. It is, therefore, a sobering question to ask how far popular government can go in multiplying political power without driving the people to rationalize their confusion and mental frustration by unwittingly abdicating in favor of the leadership principle.

Unless the voter feels that he understands his government, he cannot have a sense of ownership in it. Unless he has a sense of ownership in it, he cannot control it. Unless he controls it, there is no democracy.

Similar doubts arise when we come to private self-interest. We can agree that self-interest has always been a sinister influence in politics, but can we be as sure today as Bryce was that the number or influence of people politically dominated by it are few? Is not the influence and effects of this group more extensive today than he conceived? The more the state enlarges its sphere of action the greater is the incentive to the electorate to work and vote with a view to their own pockets.

Today's 'Pork Barrel'

Reformers used to pour heated condemnation on the old rivers and harbors appropriation acts, which siphoned taxpayers' money into dredging obscure streams to win votes for congressmen. In like manner the history of our protective tariff has been one long struggle of self-interests. But what about the dangers inherent in more modern forms of government aid to special interests, such as price-maintenance schemes, wage-fixing by legal fiat or government subsidies of silver, sugar, cotton or grain? All such measures favor groups politically organized.

What about the political strike, that new method of direct action that is becoming all too common? Irrespective of their humanitarian aspects, do not such policies and practices offer new opportunities and strong temptation for what is the moral equivalent of bribing voters?

Granted that big government is required to meet modern conditions, there are political evils latent in policies of public spending and governmental aid when they touch such large elements of the voters as they do today. Of course, we always have had pressure groups of some sort, but never have they been so substantial or so compactly organized and powerful as they are today.

Bryce's final hindrance was party spirit. As every schoolboy knows, the constitutional fathers identified political parties with the "spirit of faction." Fortunately, our fundamental political sense has preserved us from suffering the worst forebodings of these eminent gentlemen. To date we have not developed to any real degree parties that could be described as factions of the sort that have marred parliamentary government on the continent of Europe. Can we, however, be so positive about the future? May not factional spirit rather than party spirit be emerging as a serious threat to good government?

Pressure groups are both a cause and an effect of expanding governmental activity. Loyalty to them cuts across loyalty to political party and thus tends to the disintegration of party responsibility. When strongly organized, the rank and file are more ready to accept discipline from their leaders and to follow them to a degree never attained by a party boss outside the limits of his "organization." Such leaders are becoming more powerful than old-fashioned party leaders ever were, because a controlling and embattled self-interest is made the center around which the groups are organized.

I am not one to despair regarding the improvement of voters in both virtue and intelligence. If voters were, or could be made, supremely diligent in their application to public affairs, wholly free from self-interest and coolly objective in their party attachments, our anxieties would evaporate, although politics would be a very dull business indeed.

But human beings stubbornly refuse to become either supremely virtuous or supremely intelligent. (Thank God, they decline to become supremely vicious as well.) Therefore, any pattern of democratic government must build on the basis of that quantum of civic intelligence and virtue which nature supplies and enlightenment can nourish. This means we must see to it that our structure of government is both responsible and efficient, that its scope is critically examined each time new functions are proposed.

Citizens' Moral Obligation

It will be noted that Bryce's hindrances to good citizenship—indolence, private self-interest and party spirit—have a strong moralistic flavoring and I should be the last to rule out the moral obligation of the individual to be a good citizen. But exhorting the citizen to civic virtue will not suffice. We must see to it that our political institutions are such as to encourage, rather than discourage, him to virtue. Especially must we avoid the mistake of imposing impossible demands on him, if we want him to be an effective citizen as opposed to a selfish participant.

If my foregoing analysis is correct, I think I have proved my thesis—namely, that the time is past due for some basic improvements in our political structure. There is time to suggest only a few items in the catalog of reforms. The National Municipal League has been concerned with all of them.

High on the list should be placed the need for restudy and revitalization of our federal system.

Our federal system was a great invention of the founding fathers, but it needs revitalization. We all know that the nearer the citizen is to the seat of government the more active and effective his participation will be. Modern transportation and communications have altered the optimum effective size of local government and its functions but have not changed this principle.

This is not to suggest that we renew the old, futile debates over states' rights, which assumed a natural conflict of interests between the states and the national government. But this does not mean that the principle of distribution of functions between the national government, the states and the localities is obsolete. What we want is a federal government that really functions.

Redivision of Powers Needed

If a nation of continental dimensions is to operate on a truly popular principle, there are values in our state and local governments which should be retained. There is still work for them to perform and modern technology does not demand that they wither away into mere geographical expressions. The fact that the old division of powers which was appropriate 150 years ago no longer fits the case and that new arrangements along modern functional lines are indicated is no ground for abandoning the sound principle of federalism.

The revitalization of the federal system calls for vigorous and effective local government. The situation, of course, has changed greatly since the National Municipal League adopted its first model municipal home-rule charter in the 90's. But the philosophy behind that charter is still good.

During the depression of the 30's the relief programs of the federal government in many cases by-passed the state and established direct contact with the municipality. There were political as well as practical reasons for this policy. It was unfortunate in that it tended to discredit the states as significant elements in our system of government, but perhaps the states had it coming to them, for they were unready and impotent in the hour of need. The *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League is in my judgment of the highest significance. It blazed the way with its proposal for a single-house legislature and in its recommendations regarding more responsible legislative leadership and better working relations between the executive and the legislative. How much grief might we be avoiding in Washington today if some of these recommendations had been adopted by the federal government 25 years ago.

I recognize that the life of a congressman is not all beer and skittles and have a great deal of sympathy with Senator Fulbright who, in a recent number of the *New York Times,* again recounts the difficulties of the office and the weird burdens that a congressman's constituents put on him. He tells us again with truth that the legislature is only as strong as the people who elect it and that congressmen are representative of the people as a whole—some are excellent and some are poor, just as other people are. Their rule is seldom glorious, he writes, and the most conscientious and useful congressmen rarely receive the approval of the press or the public at large.

Congress Ineffective

The specifications of an ideal member of Congress are as contradictory and impossible as those for the job of a college president. But this does not excuse the fact that during the past 25 years of expanding government Congress has done nothing significant to improve its position either as a competent body initiating legislation or reviewing proposals by the executive, or as an effective control agency over an increasingly gigantic executive organization. Naturally there has been a tremendous increase in both the administrative and legislative powers of the executive department, but Congress has developed no effective control and seems to be content with pot shots at the administration.

The recent reorganization measure is a step in the right direction, but a feeble one. If Congress cannot establish itself in a position in which it can act effectively as the chosen arm of the people for enforcing their will over both legislative and administrative policy there is no alternative but ultimate rule by a bureaucratic oligarchy.

Let us consider finally the relation of the voter to the expert in government. The correct philosophy governing this relationship has been expressed for years by the National Municipal League in connection with the city manager form of government, which it has consistently and successfully advocated. Today is the day of the expert and the specialist, although I hope that we are beginning to learn that the expert and the specialist alone will not save us. Nevertheless, the jack-of-all-trades in administrative posts, appropriate to a simple economy, has become an anachronism. Government by experts is slowly becoming the modern substitute for government by the gentry which prevailed in the United States until the era of Andrew Jackson. By Jackson's time the rank and file of the people had come to distrust the gentry as a responsible or responsive governing class and to prefer the amateur, because they wanted their own sort in government whom they felt they could trust. Instead of government by the elite doing what was good for the people, the people preferred a government that would do what they wanted done.

It is still the essence of democracy that officials, no matter how expert and well qualified they are, shall do what the people want, not what they think is good for them. But the time has come when experts rather than amateurs are necessary to accomplish what the people want. Yet we haven't worked out the proper relationship and responsibility of the expert to the legislature and the people.

Much of the theoretical case for collectivism rests upon the assumption that experts working in the name of science will be able to perform miracles, but this form of "mother knows best" political philosophy does not belong in a democratic system. The reconciliation of expertism and democracy in government, which will get us the services we require from the expert without elevating him to an oligarch, remains to be achieved. An expert is no more trustworthy than anyone else when it comes to making broad basic decisions which alone can be made by the voters in a democracy. I repeat that this reconciliation has never been more satisfactorily set forth than in the city manager plan.

But finally, fundamental to all the foregoing discussion is the need for a clear philosophy as to the nature of the state and the optimum scope of government. For a number of years the hallmark of a progressive has seemed to be that he is one who relies on the increased power of officials to improve the conditions of men. The tendency has been to solve our problems by giving officials more power over more and more of the activities of men. Always there is present the assumption that this control will be wise and altruistic, a fundamental psychological error into which experts are apt to fall.

How Hold Democracy?

If we want to keep our government democratic, and to me this is of more importance than any other consideration, we must, I repeat, be careful to hold it within the understanding and control of the voters. When deciding how much or how little government is good for us it is well to remember that while the government is something more than a policeman it is something less than a disinterested philanthropist.

The state is set apart from all other forms of human association by the fact that it is the sole agency which has the right to use force to execute its will. The state tends to be intolerant in any area which it considers important to itself. Most governments today are tolerant in respect to religion. But in by-gone days when the state considered religion important to itself, it was highly intolerant.

The state will never encourage, indeed it will deny so far as it can, the spirit of inquiry when its own success is threatened. The fact that the state has a legal and moral monopoly on force colors all that its officials do. Since the state is force incarnate it is essential that the structure and functioning of its government be under the sensitive control of the electorate always.

We should be careful not to overpoliticalize our society. We can be free only if large areas of life remain open to voluntary and private action and decision. We shall not preserve our freedom by transferring to government responsibilities and decisions which we ought to be making as private citizens.

Here is revealed the importance of voluntary civic associations of all sorts. Here lurks the reason why such agencies as the Governmental Research Association, the National Association of Civic Secretaries, and the Proportional Representation League are so indispensable. As private individuals we are under a joint compulsion with government to provide the basis of the good life on which our nation can build.

I don't think that it is too much

(Continued on page 58)

The Shame of the Cities - 1946

Not graft and corruption, not boss rule, but lazy citizens, lack of city pride, failure to plan termed principal failure.

By **LUTHER GULICK***

IT WAS over 40 years ago that Lincoln Steffens made America wince with shame with this title, though his conclusions in 1904 are quite different from ours today.

We all remember Steffens' story. On behalf of *McClure's Magazine* he went to a half dozen leading American cities in which criminal prosecutions had disclosed the structure, the methods and the politics of municipal corruption. He circulated among politicians and civic leaders, grafters and their victims and pieced together and published nationally what no local paper would have dared print: the story of rottenness, spiced with the details of names, amounts of bribes, photostats of graft records, and striking quotations of venal and cynical remarks by the righteous and by the sinners.

Even today the Steffens' articles are good reading as he unfolds the raw story of boodle over franchises in St. Louis; the slimy record of police and vice in Minneapolis and a citizenry in chains and ashamed; the crooked, systematic "big business" ring of Pittsburgh; the struggle which had made Chicago "half free" and was giving New York a temporary spell of "good government."

Do you remember Steffens' characterization of Philadelphia? He was worked up over the generosity of the ring in giving its members priceless franchises for nothing, he was enraged by the organized vice system, universal political assessments on all employees and the purchase of appointment through politics, machine control of city contracts, and speculation by politicians with unsecured bank loans. But there were two things in Philadelphia that burned him up:

(1) A political machine working from the state down, in league with if not controlled by big and corrupt business, which completely disfranchised the voters with the aid of a one-party system, and the elimination of all opposition including the press, and, at the same time,

(2) A fine American population, with above average education, home ownership, culture and traditions, doing little and caring less about their loss of liberty, their abdication to the local and state Republican rings.

He summed it all up in the phrase: "Philadelphia—corrupt and contented."

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Times have changed since then. But still we fight the old fights over and over again, though they come up in new guises and challenge the good citizen in new ways from decade to decade.

There isn't time to call the roll of shame today but here are some recent examples as a background for observations on the problem ahead.

Today's Roll

Boston. Within the year the mayor of Boston was sentenced to 67 years in prison and assessed fines of $16,000, not for a lifetime of low political morality but for his part in a $60,000 mail fraud in connection with crooked promises to land government war contracts while he was also a member of Congress. Thus a man who began his political career under the shadow of prison bars will write his memoirs in quiet confinement. There is plenty to think about in Boston. *Commonweal,* the Catholic journal, blames the Catholic voters and leaders of Boston for the system which made Curley possible. It points out that "church attendance, reception of the sacraments and a good family life" are not enough, and that a communion which dominates the politics of a city for three generations must develop "social conscience" and encourage free citizens rather than "docility and lack of responsibility in shepherded flocks" if it is to escape responsibility for a political condition which may become like that of Spain, Italy and Mexico.

Memphis. Examine the recent Tennessee commemorative postage stamp, with its portraits of Andrew Jackson and John Sevier, hold it to the light and look for the watermark. You should see Mr. E. H. Crump, undisputed head of the not-so-invisible government of Tennessee. And on the face of the stamp, after the "3," note the superimposed initials "CI," standing, I believe, for "Crump Imperator." As *Time* said some months ago, "Tennessee's governor is a Crumpet; so is U.S. Senator Tom Stewart. Sick old spoilsman Kenneth McKeller is beholden to Mr. Crump. West Tennessee congressmen are his to command. He sways the state legislature. And in Memphis and Shelby County politicians move like automatons at his bidding—running daily to his office for instructions."

How is it done in Tennessee? It is done by "ruthless rawhiding, ramrodding" control of elections, physical violence by the police, and before one election such incidents as the arrest of every reporter in sight on charges of "threatened breach of the peace," or traffic tickets for funeral processions directed at a recalcitrant undertaker. In 1940 a Memphis druggist who supported Willkie had all his customers searched on the spot by police for "narcotics."

Crump may not have stolen a nickel through common political graft, as it is said he boasts; he has stolen something much more valuable. It is freedom and the right to vote for candidates of one's own choosing. One should mention that Mr. Crump is in the insurance business, and that his business is very very good. For some reason that is hard to explain, businessmen, merchants, utilities and manufacturers just thrust their business on him without any thought of any protection except from fire or other insurable casualty.

Prophesy on Chicago

Chicago. In the early 30's Lincoln Steffens said "watch Chicago" because Chicago is going to give good government "without disturbing the roots of privilege." This was to be accomplished, he said, by the election of "bad men," "who are experienced and powerful in the underranks of politics and privileged business" in which he included vice, gambling and many other shakedown operations. Was he right? The record speaks for itself. And there have been gang murders again in Chicago, though not as many as before; there have been unrivalled manipulations of assessments and of special assessments, brought to light through court actions, and the open "pedipulation" of the civil service system. Still the Chicago brand of conspicuous public service and inconspicuous special privilege has won election after election, up to November 1946, without benefit of clergy.

Atlantic City. Notice how human and friendly most top city corruptionists are. Generosity is a precious jewel in a setting of high social and political crime. When the court sent Nockey Johnson up for ten years for not reporting what the *World-Telegram* referred to as his "fabulous income from the numbers racket," the court observed, "I am satisfied from the evidence that Johnson has made large expenditures and helped many people. I am also satisfied that he has done that for selfish motives, to perpetuate himself in power out of funds which cost him nothing."

Waterbury. A sweet smelling ring was turned up in Waterbury a few years ago in which the mayor, the city comptroller, the corporation council, the superintendent of streets, the purchasing agent, the city assessor, the Democratic town chairman, a local banker, two contractors, a tavern keeper who was paid to endorse fraudulent checks, a half dozen lawyers and lobbyists, the city accountant and a firm of not-so-independent outside auditors all worked together for seven years to defraud one little city of about $1,000,000. This "sindicate" was organized by the banker and the sourest note was struck by the contractors who didn't do the work for which they and others were paid.

Albany. Of all the graft today there is none that cuts so deep in America as that which surrounds the lower courts and legal services involved in bankruptcies, the administration of wills and other assigned legal duties. New York State specializes in this. The state and local bar associations must bear part of the responsibility for this evil system because professional bodies are responsible for their own code of ethics. Even so, many a boss is the county judge, north, south and west; many a judge gains his post through the boss and confers with the boss on cases in which he is interested. Thus lawless fees are collected legally, justice is bought legally, indictments are quashed legally, political dictatorships are financed legally, and the people are not only robbed of their freedom legally, but with dignity and ceremony.

Do you remember this Albany telephone conversation?

The Judge: Hello, Dan?

The Boss: How are you my boy?

The Judge: Oh I have been having a hell of a time. . . We have had that case before our court.

The Boss: Hmh'm. . . .

The Judge: I would have had three votes tonight except your little boy . . . even when I got him in his own room and tried to pin him down he wouldn't go with me.

The Boss: You got to be careful with the phones.

The Judge: Yes, I know. So I told him to put it over till tomorrow and I'll do the best I can. . . The only thing I thought if you wanted to do it —but I don't think it would do a damned bit of good—I thought you might call Whalen and I could get this young fellow to see Whalen tomorrow morning before we make any—

The Boss: He might get some law down there.

That boss was Dan O'Connell of Albany, Whalen is an O'Connell lawyer, and the judge was the late Justice Schenck, who was censored but not impeached by the New York Assembly at its last session.

How many other judges are being sent to the personal lawyers of how many political bosses "to get the law" in New York State? In Pennsylvania? In other states?

Philadelphia. Philadelphians, I should think, would like to try a little adult liberty in their own government. Must liberty in Philadelphia be always in the cradle? It is true that the dictatorship of the Vares is gone, but its citizens seem to be still contented with a low-grade city and a low-grade government.

When one sees what Philadelphia needs for the future, and what it can have, it becomes obvious it is paying too much for its civic indifference, its political oligarchy, its antiquated charter, its pervasive spoils system with its assessments and the petty corruption that always runs through an irresponsible, long entrenched machine.

Giving the Devil His Due

Steffens said some hard things about the political boss, as have I on the basis of the record. But I want to point out to the reformers that the boss performs some extraordinarily important governmental functions at the same time that he is building his machine and collecting his graft.

The boss generally gives central direction to a ramshackle city and county charter and political structure and makes it work as a coordinated enterprise in spite of its many independent boards, officers and bureaus. He establishes and maintains discipline.

The boss gives continuity to the government in spite of the changing flow of often incompetent and inexpert men who occupy official posts.

The boss regulates corruption, holding it down to tolerable limits most of the time.

The boss relieves all busy citizens of the need of devoting their precious time to civic affairs. He runs their government for them, and at a price which he determines. Large-scale democracy presupposes the existence of political parties. When other leadership defaults, it is the boss who keeps one party, and sometimes two parties, going.

The boss's machine, especially the ward organization, helps the bewildered man or woman in trouble find the public service, be it welfare, legal aid, insurance or health service, which he may need in time of accident or emergency.

Keeping the Voters Happy

The boss makes government more human and "warmer"—a service of real importance in view of all the technical experts we now employ, each with his own professional vocabulary and his elaborate forms and standards, all of which baffles the ordinary human.

The boss is a good entertainer; he keeps the town happy.

Finally the boss does what the people want, not what the laws provide. This involves (1) the direction of the whole system of non-enforcement of laws which fail to command substantially unanimous local approval, like the vice, gambling and liquor laws; and (2) the management of special privileges arising under the laws relating especially to streets, buildings, and health, fire and police regulations.

We Americans are great people for striking a moral pose in our legislation, and then remedying extreme and premature provisions by nullification or mitigation. The man who manages the nullification and administers the mitigation is the political boss. His quality of mercy is not strained because he charges the recipients. It is a dangerous occupation, but well paid.

I said the boss does what the people want. That is true in the long run, though the run is sometimes pretty long. Bosses are held responsible to their electorates, under the American system, indirectly. It is like parliamentary government. The boss and his machine pick the candidates; if they lose and lose and lose, the boss is finished. The vote is very indirect. The boss makes every effort to select pliable but popular candidates, to guarantee a favorable vote by every means, fair or foul, to buy out the opposition, coerce the free press, and to produce through the election the end sought. Such elections are not the voice of the free people coming up to guide their government, they are the echo of the voice of the boss coming back from the people. Still the election machinery is our only final defense against the skillful corruptionist and, in the long run, produces results.

There is one thing more to be said for the boss: every boss I have known was an unusual man—outgoing, dynamic, decisive, generous, loyal to his friends, thoroughly dependable, informed, inventive, well coordinated and eager to do what the people really want. This desire for popular approval is so strong that any city boss will do anything a city really wants. Why he will even give good government when the demand is there!

When we rise up to destroy a boss

and the boss system, let's check over the needed services now performed to make certain that our new civic machinery makes adequate provisions for the things that have to be performed.

Bosses, Corruption and Progress

Have we made any progress in all these years of reform and research, of extension of the suffrage and expanded education? It would be a rash man indeed who tried to give a comprehensive answer in a few minutes, but I do wish to make a number of observations as to the areas in which we have moved forward, and to recognize the areas in which we have lost ground. First as to the progress:

1. There is now less direct thievery, less cash taken right out of the till; in fact, less in government than in private business. This is the direct result of better government accounting systems and better auditing systems, both of which were almost unknown in Steffens' time.

2. There is now less mugging, kidnapping and political murder. This we owe to national publicity, the general elevation of standards and a better F.B.I.

3. There is less direct vote fraud. This we owe to voting machines, national publicity, formal primaries and the reduction of "one party political systems" in what were once 99 per cent Republican or 99 per cent Democratic cities and states.

4. There is now less franchise boodling and sale of rights to use city streets, water front, parks, etc., though this advance in morality seems to arise from the fact that the rights were all sold long ago and that the franchise purchasers are mostly bankrupt, having turned their properties over to the cities now because of the effect of 50 years of inflation on the value of the nickel.

5. There is less raw sweeping patronage than in 1903, though the assessment system is perhaps more highly developed now. I credit this change more to the "tenure system," that is, to permanent appointments, than to the merit system, though the two often go hand in hand and civil service has made its contribution.

6. We have fewer sudden, hidden, crooked deals now because we have much more publicity and control over budget, debt and ordinance procedures, more clearly fixed responsibilities, a short ballot in some cities, and more professional officials and employees in local government and on the staffs of civic organizations. An important step forward is the professionalization and nationalization of these public servants.

7. There is less municipal jobbery in the state legislature by men who have no local responsibility, especially in those states where the legislature is largely debarred from dealing with local questions and these are turned over to home rule.

8. Our city voters are vastly better educated, more literate, better informed, and more American than they were 40 years ago. In this process our "taste" for governmental service has risen. Our people expect higher levels of performance all along the line, and even politicians are now ashamed of being caught negotiating a crooked

contract or cheating on civil service examinations, though Boston gave Curley his greatest ovation in 1946 after his conviction on a war contract fraud. But a man is disgraced today for acts that were "smart politics" in Steffens' time.

Where We Have Failed

Against these eight points of unmistakable improvement we must in candor list six points of retrogression.

1. Government is much harder to supervise now than it was 40 years ago. It is more technical. It requires more professionals, has less room for rotation in office of ordinary citizens, and is thus more in danger of senile bureaucracy.

2. Government does more, spends more, and regulates more now than ever before. At every turn there is danger of more rake-off, and more special privilege than before. Our exposure to graft is greatly increased.

3. There is a vast expansion of legal graft arising from the enforcement of regulations and appeals therefrom, from court administration —bankruptcies, foreclosures and estates. So too there is a rising tide of corrupt practice in the many services performed by private lawyers, accountants, architects and engineers for private clients who, in the guise of defending their rights, seek special privileges of governmental administrative and judicial agencies. This is the great new area of American graft, presenting a challenge which goes directly to the heart of our noble professions and to the higher educational institutions of the country.

4. Another important change for the bad is the artificial constriction of city government boundaries, which has prevented the growth of city lines to cover the whole political, human and economic area of the urban region involved. This artificial restriction of boundaries has left the city with all the slums and none of the suburbs, with a geographic area too small to tackle the growing urban problems, and with a removal to the suburbs of most of the natural civic leadership of the area.

5. While the radio has expanded the opportunity for civic enlightenment, it is still the independent and fearless newspaper that exercises local civic leadership. It is tragic that as to newspapers we are worse off today than we were 40 years ago. There are fewer independent local newspapers, and fewer crusaders running them.

6. Finally, there has been conspicuous failure to modernize American civic morality during the past two generations. Our world has moved so far and so fast in family life, in community life, in work relations, in economic affairs, in international affairs, that the standards of personal behavior which we call morality and the relationships we call religion have had a hard time to keep up with events. We would be remiss not to record the lack of progress in 40 years in America in developing higher standards of civic virtue and wider dissemination of such morality through our expanding system of free public education. America seems to be a nation not only adrift as to its moral standards, trying to navigate with obsolete

charts, but more adrift now than 40 years ago.

Thus we have made important procedural advances in restricting and controlling the shame of the cities, we have improved our standards of taste, but we have gained no ground in the fundamental moral standards and patterns of behavior.

Graft and corruption and the dominance of bosses are not the shame of the cities today as they were 40 years ago. The shame of the American city today is found in three things: first, lazy citizenship with low standards; second, lack of city pride; and third, failure to look ahead and make great plans for the future.

A Sordid Picture

Our cities today are full of dirt, slums and traffic congestion. Every city has its blighted central districts where offices, factories, tenements, streets, parks and transport facilities are in various stages of obsolescence. Why don't we do something really effective about these conditions?

Though we have failed to catch up with the antomobile, we are already confronted by the age of air. Beyond a little wrangling over airports for the commercial lines what are we doing about it?

We face a generation of increasing individual leisure with a fairly short work day and week. Where are the recreational and educational activities to make the most of these new opportunities?

We have pretty well abolished child labor in the cities, but where are the youth activities to make this freedom of youth a constructive experience rather than a temptation to delinquency?

We have new technical knowledge, new mastery of steel and glass and plastics, of power air conditioning and light; we have men who can think buildings in terms of life and communities in terms of practical human ideals. Why don't we really harness this knowledge and technical competence and write our city plans in the minds and hearts of the people?

Why do we fail to make the modern city a center of pride to mankind and a source of inspired and enobled living? With all their failures the cities of the ancient world and the cities of the Middle Ages did not fail at this point.

Our shame is urban mediocrity without revolt; filth, slums, decay and traffic snarls without action; private preoccupation and lazy contentment without compelling civic loyalties or great civic dreams.

They Want to Be Good Citizens

Public opinion expert holds that political chicanery, apathy and failure of schools thwart effective citizenship.

By **GEORGE H. GALLUP***

THE quality of government, be it national or local, depends largely on the active interest of the entire electorate in elections. Every student of government has recognized this fact and has noted with concern the large number of citizens who stay at home on election day.

I, for one, have no easy solution to this problem. Nevertheless, some good is bound to come from a careful and realistic analysis of non-participation in recent national elections. If we can discover why so many Americans are uninterested in national elections, we shall have gone a long way toward finding out why they are uninterested in local elections.

The first and most important fact we must face is that here in the greatest democracy in the world, with the best educated electorate, the proportion of citizens who take the trouble to vote is lower than in any other real democracy. Fewer Americans exercise their basic right to vote for candidates and parties of their choice than do citizens of any other nation where there is anything approximating stable government.

The mere act of voting, of course, solves nothing. In Fascist and Communist nations virtually everyone who is not bed-ridden must vote or suffer the consequences. That 90 per cent of all persons over 21 years of age go to the polls, and that 95 per cent of these vote "yes" for the dictator, means nothing except that the secret police have done a good job.

Furthermore, I am not so sure that the solution of this problem in democracies is a law which compels persons to vote. In Australia and in Belgium persons who fail to vote are subject to fines.

Ideally, the citizens of a democracy should be sufficiently interested to go to the polls of their own free accord. Unfortunately, in America many persons have no such interest.

As of July 1 of 1946, the United States Bureau of the Census estimated that 91,634,472 persons were 21 years of age or older. In the national election on November 5 only 35,000,000 bothered to go to the polls. Even if we go back to the presidential election of 1944, the total number of votes cast—48,000,000—still reveals an appalling lack of interest in national affairs.

By contrast, in the last general election in England voting participation was 50 per cent greater than in this country; twice as great as in our November election.

In the national referendum in Italy last summer, two and one-half

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times as many persons voted, in proportion to population, as in our last presidential election and nearly four times as many as in our recent election.

In Canada's last national election, one-third more of its citizens voted than in our last presidential election, and nearly twice as many as in our national election of 1946.

On November 10 the people of France went to the polls a fourth time during a single year. Half of the entire population voted. If as many persons had voted the same month in this country the total vote would have reached 70,000,000.

Even when the south—with its one-party system and poll tax laws—is entirely excluded from computations, voting participation of the remainder of the United States fails to reach the level of our sister democracies.

What is perhaps even more startling and depressing is that a lower percentage of eligible voters has taken the trouble to vote in this country in recent elections than in elections 50 years ago. Even in the pioneering days of the country, one hundred years ago—with the problem of getting to the polls far more difficult—the proportion of eligible voters who voted was greater than today. Evidently the early pioneers prized the right to vote more than present-day citizens.

A dozen different factors probably contribute to the general lack of interest in our elections. Two things, I believe, are chiefly responsible.

The first is that our schools and colleges fail to give students even a rudimentary knowledge of the workings of their government and they fail to arouse interest in the affairs of national or local government.

Millions of political ignoramuses are graduated from our high schools and colleges each year. Nearly half our population over 21 years of age has had at least some high school or college training. Even if voting were limited to this group, and all these persons voted, the actual number of votes cast in November would have been many millions higher than it was.

Ignorant College Students

The truth is that any student can graduate from virtually any college in the country today and not have even a basic knowledge of the structure of our government.

You can graduate from college—and many do—without knowing that we have national elections every two years. In January of this year, only 31 per cent of all voters knew that elections were going to be held this November for Congress. One-third of all citizens who have had the advantage of a college training do not know the number of years for which a representative is elected.

Only four out of ten persons who have gone to college can name the number of justices of the United States Supreme Court.

College graduates are better informed than others of course. But when one considers that the voters of this nation have more schooling than the citizens of any other nation, one might reasonably expect to find a better informed voting public.

In the 1944 election the newspapers devoted literally hundreds of columns of space to the selection of vice presidential candidates and later gave page after page to the campaign itself. At the end of this campaign only two-thirds of the voters could name the vice presidential candidate on the Republican ticket and slightly fewer than this could name the vice presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket. Even in January 1945, two months after the election, only 68 per cent of all voters could name the man who was elected vice president of the country—*the man who is now our president!*

Only four voters in ten can name both senators from their own state; only half of all voters can give the name of their representative in Congress.

I hesitate to place all the blame for this abysmal lack of information upon the schools and colleges. And yet something must be seriously wrong with a form of education which permits this situation to exist. Surely the schools should give students a better knowledge of their government and of national affairs, or, at the very least, they should arouse in students a desire to know about their government and the men who run it.

Glenn Frank once said that most editors tend to overestimate the information of their readers and to underestimate their intelligence. My own experience of the last eleven years, during which time my organization has interviewed millions of Americans, has thoroughly convinced me that this observation applies to voters as well as to readers.

That the public isn't always well informed should not obscure for one moment the obvious truth that people possess a quality of good common sense which leads them usually to the right conclusion. Few will disagree, however, that a better informed electorate is almost certainly a guarantee of better government.

Political Antics

The second important reason for the low interest in elections and in politics generally in this country is the incredibly low plane on which most of our campaigns are fought.

The typical candidate for office—local and national—thinks he has to go through a sort of ritual as unvarying as an Indian snake dance.

Down through the haze of the political past has come a fixed pattern of behavior for all candidates—a kind of political voodooism—which must be followed by anyone who wants to get elected. The political mores require that all candidates take leave of their good manners, their sense of fairness and their intelligence, put on a devil's mask, run up and down the countryside beating tom-toms and uttering sheer nonsense.

Everyone is familiar with the ritual. Call your opponents liars and thieves. If they happen to be in office, blame every known ill on them. If this proves difficult, then blame the president. Blame Hoover for depression and crop failures. Blame Roosevelt. Blame Truman for high prices, housing shortages, low prices or whatever is best calculated to "get" the voter.

After you have disposed of your opponents as thoroughly reprehensible citizens whose venality is matched only by their stupidity, start to bribe every small minority group with promises. Offer the veterans bigger bonuses; the laboring man, higher wages; teachers, higher salaries; farmers, higher prices; taxpayers, lower rates. Don't overlook even the smallest group. Appeal to their self-interest even if it is only a matter of a new post office or a new paved road.

The last act in the ritual is equally sacred. Always end the campaign by making boastful claims that you are going to whip the daylights out of your opponents. That is supposed to get the rest of the dolts whose only interest is riding the bandwagon of the winner.

Theory All Wrong

The theory behind all this hocus-pocus must be that the voting public is made up solely of boobs who have to be paid off in money or promises of one kind or another or they won't vote for you.

Is there any wonder that the public sickens and turns its head away at the very thought of politics? Is there any wonder that a high percentage of American parents would rather see their children work as street sweepers than besmirch themselves in politics?

If the typical politician's estimate of the common sense and the fairness of the American voter were sound, I would long since have left the field of public opinion to the politicians.

But everything I have learned in eleven years of polling disproves this low estimate of the American public. The people may not always be well informed but they do have a quality of sound judgment—call it "horse sense" if you will—which makes a democracy work despite all of its handicaps.

If my experience of the last eleven years has taught me anything it is that practically every theory on how to get elected to public office is wrong. All of the snake dancing which politicians think they must perform during election campaigns is not only useless but probably loses more votes than it wins.

The most obvious fact of all is that people are influenced to a far greater extent by actions and events than by words. Virtually all elections are won or lost before a single word has been uttered in a campaign. Or, to say this in another way: Nine times in ten, election results would be no different if the candidates stayed home, saved their money, their time, their voices and their self-respect.

I do not claim that acting as a gentleman will elect a candidate, but I do firmly believe that such behavior will not lose him any votes and almost always will win him votes.

One of the amazing results of last November's election was the large vote given Senator Vandenberg in Michigan. Senator Vandenberg didn't even go back to campaign and, so far as I know, made no speeches whatsoever attacking his opponent and none beating the tom-toms for himself or his party.

Another campaign can be cited—this one going back ten years—in which the candidate refused, even under the greatest pressure from her party, to damn her opponent, to peddle hokum, or to utter a single word that wasn't constructive, a single word that might not have been said at any time in any circle. The result was inevitable. As the candidate for the office of secretary of state of Iowa this woman was elected and re-elected as long as she lived, each time with a larger majority—the last, one of the greatest ever given to any candidate for office in that state.

So it is hard for me to believe that candidates can't act like ordinary, decent and intelligent citizens and still be elected to high office. It will take a long time for many politicians to discover this fact—it will have to be demonstrated time after time—but when they do the whole atmosphere of American politics will be cleansed and made wholesome.

The Non-voter

Now, what about the person who says he doesn't vote because elections offer only a choice between tweedledee and tweedledum. Or the person who says, "What difference does it make which party goes into power? They're both the same."

On occasion this seems true, although more often it is merely rationalization and an indication that the voter hasn't interested himself enough in the election to know what differences really do exist.

As a partial answer to this particular reason for not voting, and as a solution to another serious problem in our peculiar form of democracy, I propose that in every election voters be permitted to record their views on important issues in the form of an advisory referendum.

Some of the greatest errors have come about through the attempt to read into the election returns on candidates the will of the people on issues. Hoover, for example, thought the great majority he received in 1928 constituted a mandate to continue prohibition. If voters who went to the polls that year had had an opportunity to express their views not only on Mr. Hoover versus Mr. Smith but also on the question of modifying or repealing the eighteenth amendment it is certain a majority would have voted for modification or repeal of the prohibition act. Mr. Harding decided after the 1920 election, wholly without evidence, that the people were against the League of Nations, although every fact I can find points to the opposite conclusion. Mr. Roosevelt in 1936 thought the election gave him a mandate to circumvent the powers of the Supreme Court, although every poll showed exactly the contrary.

Senator Wayne Morse is reported to have said not long ago that last November's election gave the Republicans no mandate to change the labor laws. Other senators say that it did. And so the argument goes.

But if every citizen who went to the polls had had the chance to record his views on this issue, and on a dozen others, there would be no mistaking the will of the people—even if the results were accepted only as a guide to Congress and not binding. This plan is already in effect to a degree in Massachusetts.

The American people would take a far greater interest in elections if they could make their views known on important and controversial questions because the public is more interested in issues than in candidates.

We must learn to think of government as a living, growing institution which should be modified and improved to meet demands of a larger and more highly organized society.

During the war we mobilized the public to produce a volume of goods which amazed the world. We learned that we can work wonders if we have the will to, and if we have the courage to thrust aside old forms and old habits of thinking.

Let the Citizens Serve

As I tried to point out at the League's last national convention,[1] this country has never yet, in its efforts to solve its greatest problems, brought to bear its greatest resource—the brains of our people.

Even during the war, with all of our amazing achievements in producing war goods, there were still millions of able and willing people whose brains and talents were never utilized in the service of the nation.

Today there are fifty million people who say they would be willing to serve, without pay, on committees made up of private citizens, the purpose of which would be to study current problems in their own communities such as housing, strikes, health, juvenile delinquency, unemployment, education. Seven out of every ten of the leading men of the nation say they would gladly take time to help solve these problems in their communities.

Even though the pattern has never been set for the functioning of such committees they have sprung up spontaneously in some communities to meet local problems. And it is my opinion, with which I believe many will concur, that most of these great problems can be solved better at the local than at the national level.

In Toledo, for example, a committee of citizens undertook to settle labor disputes in that city. The success they achieved prompted the people of Louisville to organize a labor-management committee modeled on the Toledo plan.

There are millions of people ready and eager to go to work today on our most urgent problems. If we send this army of citizens into action we can achieve more in the next five years than we have in the last fifty in improving the lot of our people.

We have to work out a pattern to use the time and abilities of these millions who are eager to go to work in the thousands of communities on the important problems of this day.

God blessed this nation with great natural resources. He blessed it with a people who have a tremendous urge to help their fellow man. He blessed them with intelligence. Has the time not come when we should discover ways to make use of this greatest of all our resources—the brains of our people?

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[1] See "Drafting the Nation's Brain Power," the REVIEW, January 1942, page 11.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Hartford Votes Manager Plan 2 to 1

Citizen Group Defeats Two-party Opposition

WHEN the Connecticut legislature meets in January it is expected to ratify the action of Hartford's voters who set something of a precedent on December 3 when they voted better than two to one for a council-manager charter.

Long-standing custom in Connecticut has been for the legislature first to pass a charter and then perhaps submit it to the people of the city for their approval. Hartford reversed the process. A special commission appointed in 1945 by Mayor William H. Mortensen held public hearings, retained Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal government counselor of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, to aid in drafting a charter, held more hearings, and then, after certain revisions, submitted their final draft. This draft was to have been voted upon at the same time as the state elections, November 5, but the Board of Aldermen rescinded this part of their original resolution and delayed the referendum to December 3 at a special election.

Over the combined opposition of the two major political parties, who came out openly against the charter after the state and national elections of November 5, the supporters of the new charter carried all of the city's 39 precincts but three. The vote was 21,089 for to 9,748 against. About 3,000 other persons disqualified their vote by errors in the use of the voting machines. A total of 34,000 electors participated; normally 45,000 to 50,000 vote in mayoralty elections.

Mr. Mortensen, who did not seek reelection in 1945, was honorary chairman of the Citizens' Charter Committee which spearheaded the fight for the new charter. Three other former mayors joined him in the fight. In opposition there appeared the "Second Charter Oak Committee," a title reminiscent of the story of how Captain Wadworth hid the Connecticut colonial charter in the Charter Oak in 1686. Under this banner speakers from both parties campaigned and warned the voters "don't be managed." On the day of the referendum the opponents complained of not having workers because they could not pay them; the proponents had the services of many volunteers, conducted a telephone drive, and brought out the vote. Both of Hartford's daily newspapers backed the new charter aggressively.

Leslie M. Gravlin, *Director*
Hartford Governmental
Research Institute

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The votes for council-manager charters in Hartford, Connecticut, on December 3 and Paris, Tennessee, on November 20 (see below) bring the number of manager adoptions reported in these columns during 1946 to 81. These figures include three Canadian cities—Quebec, St. Jerome and Val d'Or, all in the province of Quebec—where the plan was adopted previous to 1946 but not reported. They also include four cities—Winter Park, Florida; Gaffney, South Carolina; Falls Church, Virginia; and Fremont, Michigan—which have not been placed on the official council-manager list of the International City Managers Association because of their curtailment of the responsibilities of the manager. The ICMA now recognizes 724 places in the world as having the standard council-manager form of government, of which 686 (nine of them counties) are in the United States.

Paris, Tennessee, voted for a council-manager form of government at a special election on November 20 by a vote of 307 to 93. The proposal was backed by the Veterans Better Government League. A special election of commissioners was provided for December 17.

A council-manager charter for **Augusta, Georgia,** prepared by the legislative delegation from that city, with the help of Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, for the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League, is to be submitted to the next legislature and, when legalized, to popular referendum in Augusta.

The mayor and council of **Carrollton, Missouri,** have appointed a Civic Planning Committee under which, in turn, there is now a four-man committee to study types of city government and to make recommendations for Carrollton, which is now under a century-old special charter. Both the manager plan and the third-class city form under Missouri law will be investigated as possible substitutes.

In **Poplar Bluff, Missouri,** the Chamber of Commerce has voted unanimously to ask the city council to submit a council-manager proposal to the voters early in 1947.

In **Kansas City, Kansas,** with the announcement that Mayor McCombs, after twenty years in office, declines to run again, the *Kansan* is urging adoption of the manager plan. Considerable interest in the plan is being shown, particularly by veterans.

The **Leavenworth, Kansas,** Civic League, recently organized, has held an open forum attended by nearly 500, at which the council-manager plan was sympathetically discussed.

The Public Affairs committee of the **Larned, Kansas,** Kiwanis Club is making a study of the manager plan and its advantages for that city.

A proposed manager charter amendment for **Bellingham, Washington,** has been attacked by the former city comptroller as having a defective clause for blanket repeal of conflicting ordinances and charter provisions.

Adoption of the council-manager plan has been recommended for **Clinton, Iowa,** by the Citizens' Municipal Finance Committee, appointed some time ago by the mayor (see also page 52).

Grafton, West Virginia, will vote on a proposed new charter providing for the council-manager plan on January 21.

The charter revision group recently formed in **Toledo, Ohio,** to consider possible changes in the existing council-manager-P.R. charter, as a result of a meeting called by the CIO-PAC, has chosen as its permanent chairman A. G. Spieker, local contractor and chairman of the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority. A blanket invitation to organizations and individuals to submit proposed charter changes has been issued. The CIO-PAC is reported to favor the election of a mayor and a nine-man council at large, while the Toledo Central Labor Union has proposed the election of a mayor and of a council consisting of a member from each of nine districts.

The **Minneapolis** Charter Commission has resolved to proceed at once to draft a new charter to provide more definite administrative responsibility, and to submit it to the voters at the earliest possible date. It declined to commit itself at present to the council-manager, the mayor-council or the commission form.

A committee of ten residents of **Portsmouth, New Hampshire,** to formulate plans for promoting the manager plan for that city, was appointed in December by a special committee of the Chamber of Commerce.

In North Carolina the Junior Chambers of Commerce in **Raleigh** and **New Bern** are centers of interest in movements to obtain the council-manager plan. In New Bern the junior chamber has endorsed the plan with a council elected by districts, which would appoint the police chief as well as the manager.

The city council of **Anderson, South Carolina,** has voted to postpone a referendum on adoption of the manager plan. The *Anderson Independent,* stating that it, for one, means to keep the matter alive, points out that a majority of the aldermen were recorded in the recent campaign as favoring a referendum—but some did not specify when.

With the Illinois legislature meeting this month, the Illinois Council-Manager Conference is renewing its efforts to obtain legislation enabling **Illinois** cities to adopt manager government. An existing statute limits the plan to municipalities of 5,000 or under. Interest in the manager plan is evident in many places.

A vote on adoption of the manager plan is expected to be held in the spring in **Greeley, Colorado.**

The Chamber of Commerce of **Garden City, Michigan,** has recently resolved to sponsor charter revision to include the council-manager plan.

AMA Resolutions

The American Municipal Association at its 23rd annual conference in November adopted a series of resolutions which included the following subjects among others:

Urging Congress and the state legislatures to appraise the efficacy of existing federal-aid programs and initiate studies leading to the effective reallocation of revenue resources among the various levels of government to facilitate their financing of their own functions;

Protesting the proposed rules and regulations of the Civil Aeronautics Administration, the efforts of the states to control federal funds for local airports (see separate item) and urging the federal government to hasten the return of municipal airports that have been leased to federal departments;

Asking for extension of the federal Social Security Act to municipal employees;

Opposing mandatory state legislation benefiting special groups of employees;

Urging legislation to make municipal strikes unlawful (see separate item).

Minneapolis Redistricting Wins; Housing Authority Loses

The charter amendment for redrawing council district boundaries in Minneapolis was adopted at the November election by a vote of 110,737 to 48,954.

A proposal to establish a city housing authority which could accept federal grants and construct houses received 93,252 votes in favor to 71,916 against, but failed of adoption because a 60 per cent majority, amounting to 99,100, was required. It is planned to redraft the amendment for submission at a later date.

U. S. Cities Shun International Meetings

Lack of participation by American cities in various international congresses was editorially criticized by the *Kansas Government Journal* in its November issue. It was pointed out that there were five officials of U. S. cities at the International Congress of Cities at Paris in 1925, but none at Seville in 1929, London in 1932, or Berlin in 1936. Total representatives at these congresses ranged from 622 to 924. In

October 1946, at Hastings, England, meetings were held by both the International League of Municipalities and the International Housing and City Planning Congress. At the latter the U. S. delegation consisted of eight people—two federal government employees, one District of Columbia employee, two university professors, one representative of the American Society of Planning Officials, and the executive director of the League of Kansas Municipalities. The editorial said:

"There were no U.S. city officers in attendance; there were no up-to-date papers presented from the U.S.; and there was no exhibit worthy of the name from our broad country.

"There were a thousand delegates who were eager to look at, listen to, and study the experiences, methods and achievements of the housers and city planners of the U.S. These 1000 disappointments are no help to our billions invested in internationalism. Our lack of interest in what our neighbors are doing likewise is no help to us at home or abroad."

The executive director of the League of Kansas Municipalities, John G. Stutz, as vice president of the International League of Municipalities, also attended the Hastings meeting of that body and helped make plans for the seventh International Congress of Cities in Paris, June 8 to 14, 1947, at which a thousand city representatives from thirty or more countries are expected. The extent of participation by U.S. cities is problematical.

Mayors Meet This Month

At the annual convention of the U. S. Conference of mayors, to be held at the Hotel Statler in Washington January 20-22, subjects to be considered include housing, labor disputes, airports, municipal revenues, surplus property, veterans' problems, public health, etc.

Governors Seek More Control by States

Greater authority for the states as against local as well as federal government was urged at the meeting of the Council of State Governments in Miami, Florida, December 3 and 4. Need for more clarity as to federal-state relations was also stressed.

Resolutions adopted included one urging the states to insist on supervision of local airport construction under federal grants; one seeking clearer delineation of state and federal responsibility to veterans; and one for integration of employment service, recently returned to the states by the federal government, with the administration of unemployment insurance.

Another resolution directed the council's research staff to make a thorough investigation of all federal programs for grants in aid in order to improve their operation, foster uniformity and eliminate administrative confusion. Eight services now financed jointly by the states and the federal government, by grants, were noted with differing policies, programs and administrative methods.

Improvement of state legislative procedures was called for in a report proposing, in part, that the number of legislative committees be reduced and that provision be made for public hearings on all major legislation.

States Would Control Federal Airport Grants

A "model" bill prohibiting direct federal grants to municipalities for airports and requiring the channeling of all such grants through state agencies is proposed by the Council of State Governments and is expected to be urged by state governors upon many of the 44 state legislatures meeting in 1947. Massachusetts and Wyoming have already adopted such a law. The proposal also would require any city to submit any project application under the Federal Airport Act to the state airport agency before sending it to the Administrator of Airports of the United States.

Such action is bitterly opposed by the American Municipal Association and various other city agencies and representatives. Efforts to require the channeling of federal airport funds through state agencies had failed when the Federal Airport Act was adopted. The AMA reports: "Municipal opposition to the state-sponsored channeling bill has already developed. The general observation is that the states, finding the front door closed, are trying to come in the back. The sponsors of this bill in a number of states can expect firm municipal resistance if the state government undertakes to control the federal-municipal airport projects without sharing in the costs of construction."

California Sixth State with Annual Legislative Sessions

A constitutional amendment providing that the legislature meet every year was adopted by California voters in November. According to the Council of State Governments legislatures in only five other states are scheduled to meet annually instead of biennially.

The California amendment provides for two kinds of annual legislative sessions, in alternate years. General sessions will be held in odd-numbered years; budget sessions, in even-numbered years, will begin the first Monday in March instead of the first Monday in January.

Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island and South Carolina also have annual legislative sessions. States in which regular legislative sessions are biennial frequently have found it necessary to call special sessions to enact emergency measures and provide special funds to keep pace with mounting operating costs.

Seventeen states called special legislative sessions during 1946 because of reconversion problems and fluctuating costs. California, Illinois, Michigan and New Jersey had two special sessions; Arizona had three special sessions this year and Ohio four.

The council observes that restrictions on the length of regular sessions often make special sessions necessary to conclude vital legislative business. Twenty-six states limit the length of regular sessions; special sessions are restricted in sixteen states.

In all states the power to call special sessions is vested in the governor. In Nebraska, Louisiana, Virginia and West Virginia the governor is required to call a special session on application of two-thirds of the members of each house.

The governor of Massachusetts must call the legislature into special session if a majority of its members requests him to do so. In Georgia the governor must call a special session upon petition of three-fifths of the members of each house.

New Hampshire is the only state where a special session may be called at the discretion of the legislature itself. The legislature has never exercised this right, however, though there have been special sessions in New Hampshire upon the call of the governor.

Fight Continues for Illinois Redistricting

Another effort to compel revision of Illinois legislative districts, unchanged since 1901 despite constitutional requirements, has been made by two university professors and a Chicago lawyer. Suit has been filed in the federal court to void the 1901 statute, still on the books, and enjoin the state primary certifying board from certifying in 1948 or thereafter any nominations or elections for the legislature. The suit is based on two federal statutes, the Declaratory Judgment Act and the Civil Rights Act, the latter of which provides for equality of rights of all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States in every state and territory. Under present legislative districting, inequalities of representation run as high as fourteen to one; and Cook County (containing Chicago), with a majority of the state's population, has much less than majority representation.

Two of the present petitioners recently sued unsuccessfully to invalidate existing Congressional districts, also dating from 1901 (see the REVIEW, July 1946, page 359).

Strikes and Anti-Strike Efforts in Public Work

Efforts to prevent strikes in public employment have continued on the part of individual cities and groups of city representatives. At its annual conference in November the American Municipal Association urged the enactment of legislation to make unlawful any strike of municipal employees or the inciting of any strike that might imperil the public safety, health or welfare, and to prohibit employment by any municipal government of any person who incites or participates in any strike imperiling public safety, health or welfare. In December the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers held its annual conference in Washington, primarily to deal with current labor problems in industrial cities.

A Texas court has upheld a Dallas ordinance prohibiting union membership of city employees. The ordinance is reported to be an outgrowth of CIO efforts last spring to organize a union of 200 local garbage disposal employees. At that time a lower court denied the union an injunction to restrain the city from dismissing union members. The union appealed to the Court of Civil Appeals in Dallas which held that employees voluntarily accepted employment with the city and assumed obligations incident to such employment as regulated by existing laws. The city ordinance prohibiting civil servants' union membership was enacted in 1942.

The city council of Omaha, Nebraska, has made it illegal for police or firemen to join a union that permits members to strike for any reason.

In Tulsa, Oklahoma, a strike of municipal workers was ended when a state court held that a labor union of city garbage collectors had no right to strike against the municipality. The court also issued an injunction prohibiting picketing.

The longest recent strike of unionized municipal employees was the 42-day walkout of 310 city employees in Pontiac, Michigan. The union finally accepted a raise retroactive to July 1 and employees returned to their jobs. A proposal to increase the city tax levy by charter amendment in order to give further pay boosts was defeated by voters on November 5.

One of the most disturbing recent manifestations is a group of strikes and strike threats among school teachers, following the example in Norwalk, Connecticut.[1] On November 25 teachers in St. Paul, Minnesota, struck for higher wages, closing the city's 77 grade and high schools to 30,000 students. A similar strike in Minneapolis was averted on December 2 when the Federation of Teachers (AFL) agreed to a settlement reported to represent an immediate cost-of-living bonus, an initial salary increase of $40 per month and ultimate annual increases of $1,200 and a budget increase of $2,000,000. Another large-scale strike was in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, where 400 teachers returned to their classes on December 11 after a two-day strike; negotiations were to go on as to the claim for increases of $300 to $600 per annum. In nearby Providence substantial salary increases were demanded. In Hartford, Connecticut, a $450 cost-of-living adjustment was being urged, to the accompaniment of a strike threat.

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[1] See the REVIEW, October 1946, page 474.

Other cities where public employees went on strike recently for periods of several days include Bangor and Portland, Maine; McKeesport, Pennsylvania; Canton, East Liverpool and Wellston, Ohio; Goshen, Indiana; New Orleans, Louisiana; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Stockton, California; and Louisville, Kentucky.

Wide Variation in Police Ratios

Figures released by the Federal Bureau of Investigation disclose that Boston has the most police department members per unit of population of the nation's nineteen largest cities. It has 2,206 police officers and 238 civilian police employees, the 2,444 total being equivalent to 3.17 police personnel per 1,000 population.

Minneapolis, at the other extreme, has 495 police officers and 45 civilian police employees, or 1.10 police personnel per 1,000 population. The average for the 19 cities is 2.23 police personnel per 1,000 people. Chicago comes closest to the average with a ratio of 2.31 police to 1,000 population.

Computed on the basis of policemen per unit area, St. Louis ranks high with 36.22 police employees per square mile. Baltimore has 22.97 policemen per square mile, Cleveland has 25.92, and Kansas City only 11.16. The average for the 19 cities is 24.79 police employees per square mile.

Police Courses Draw from Far and Wide

A basic two-week course in traffic police training will be conducted in Oakland, California, January 6-18, by the Northwestern University Traffic Institute and the Traffic Division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Thirty-four police officers from all parts of the country attended a three-week course in traffic police training at the Northwestern University Traffic Institute in Evanston, Illinois, in November. The course embodied the principles of modern traffic control and accident prevention, and was participated in by police from points as far distant as Maine, South Carolina, Oklahoma and the state of Washington.

Twenty-four municipal and state police officers, who were selected in nation-wide competition, are now attending the fall course in traffic police administration, which will be concluded January 25, 1947.

Some thirty regular Army officers enrolled December 2 at the Traffic Institute for a three-week course in traffic control; this is reported to be the first course of its kind ever offered anywhere and is one phase of the Army's intensive accident prevention program.

This is the first of three courses which will stress accident prevention and control of traffic, and will cover all subjects normally given in the institute's traffic police training courses.

Eighty policemen, representing 28 law-enforcement agencies in Oregon, took part last fall in that state's first postwar police training school.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Research Ranges Over Many Fields

Planning, Services, Personnel And Governmental Machinery

A REPORT on a preliminary revision of a $170,000,000 postwar improvement program for San Francisco, recommended by the Mayor's Citizens Postwar Planning Committee, is summarized in a bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director.

Water, its procurement, purification and distribution is the principal subject dealt with in a series of weekly numbers of *Citizens' Business,* issued by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** William C. Beyer, director. In "Choosing a Drink," the point is made that "selecting a water source because of its raw quality or distance from Philadelphia has little bearing on the drink obtained." Bulletins on stream purification review the causes of pollution and recent governmental action which "gives substantial grounds for optimism in regard to the restoration of our streams." Asking the question "Whose water bill do you pay?", one bulletin urges universal metering as the only way by which the careful user can be protected from subsidizing the water waster. The bureau has also issued a comprehensive special report, *Philadelphia's Water Supply,* embodying the results of its study of the water problem, analyzing proposals and recommending a program.

As in most cities, Philadelphia has a parking problem, which has also been discussed in recent numbers of *Citizens' Business.*

"Very few problems concern so many people of a city as traffic," according to a twenty-page *Traffic Study* issued by **Future Springfield, Inc.,** Springfield, Massachusetts, Sherman P. Voorhees, director. This report, which follows the pattern of earlier Future Springfield reports in the use of pictures and charts, lays the basis for a comprehensive attack on the traffic problem. "Halfway or restrictive measures are but a postponement of the day of reckoning."

Housing Survey

The *Pittsfield Housing Survey Report,* published by the City Planning Board by arrangement with the **Pittsfield Housing Survey Committee,** is the outcome of a survey conducted as "a community enterprise," under the direction of Philip C. Ahern, research director of the **Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association.** Mr. Ahern calls attention to the fact that Pittsfield is known by market researchers and public opinion polls "as the 'Middletown' of the East . . . a community representative of urban American life." This is only one reason why these 158 pages of well organized tables, graphs and illustrations, with a minimum of editorial comment, should be interesting to persons in other communities who wish to discover and present the facts about their own housing problems.

Business Looks at Vocational Education in Pennsylvania is the first of a series being prepared by the **Research Bureau of the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce,** Leonard P. Fox, general secretary. The report is designed to present the over-all picture in terms of the basic facts about general versus vocational education, vocational offerings and enrollment, and job opportunities. It concludes that present "vocational training facilities are inadequate and not sufficiently related to the needs of the state."

One of the chief reasons for inadequate facilities is that vocational education is too expensive for many of the more than 1,000 school districts with separate secondary school systems. Other retarding factors have been the shortage of qualified teachers, attitudes and policies both of employers and of organized labor, and especially "the widely held conception that manual labor is degrading, that true culture can be taught only in academic schools and colleges, and that the successful man is one who works with his head rather than with his hands." Research was done by Arnold L. Edmonds, staff secretary of the chamber's committee on education.

The *Allegheny Conference Digest*, **Allegheny Conference on Community Development,** Park H. Martin, executive director, has carried a report on "Refuse Disposal in Allegheny County" by Alex W. Johns of the **Pennsylvania Economy League,** covering substantially the same ground as the joint report issued by the Economy League, which was mentioned in this section in October (page 479).

The Allegheny Conference has also issued a seventeen-page mimeographed memorandum by Marshall Stalley, assistant director, on the *Administration of Public Recreation* in nineteen cities. Essential facts are summarized in tables. The report concludes that "the importance of recreation as a major function of municipal government has become increasingly well recognized" and that "although there are relatively few examples of actual administrative consolidation or centralized management" there is a definite trend "toward fuller cooperation between local boards of education and city recreation departments" and other agencies.

"Veterans' Benefits in Connecticut" available from state and federal sources are summarized in an October 17 bulletin of the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director.

Now that the war is over "we must strive, as soon as it is at all possible, to pay both private and public employees out of current revenue and we must set all personnel establishments on the basis of actual present need," says the **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada,** Horace L. Brittain, managing director, in a recent bulletin. The bulletin suggests certain criteria by which citizens may judge the extent to which their governments are adjusting their personnel programs to peacetime conditions.

The trend of provisional appointments in Philadelphia's civil service is analyzed in two recent numbers of *Citizens' Business* published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.**

Interns in Government

The **Los Angeles County Bureau of Administrative Research,** H. F. Scoville, director, which has resumed its training program for "interns in government" has brought up to date its 1942 report on the personnel records of 46 student research technicians who have taken the course since 1933. The report summarizes the educational background and work experience since internship of each graduate. So far only four of these students, selected because of unusual prominence and interest in "making public service a career" have gone into strictly private industry. The typical graduate has had at least five positions and has attained a salary of about $350 a month.

The chronic weakness of local pension funds, particularly police and fire funds, is illustrated by three recent reports.

Taxpayers' Problems, issued by the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council,** Merle W. DeWees, executive director, gives comparative finance data on five city pension funds, indicates that three of them are in trouble and recommends steps to bring all future policemen, firemen, custodians and engineers into the sound city employees pension fund.

City of Flint Pension Plans, a report by the **Genessee County Taxpayers Association,** G. Keyes Page, executive secretary, presents an eight-page analysis of the present condition and possible improvement of the city's pension funds. It points out that "the city has accumulated a staggering liability under a pension plan for members of its Police and Fire Departments," the blame for which goes back to the framers of the original plan in 1923.

"A Pension Fund Warning" is sounded in *It Is Your Business,* issued by the **Indianapolis Bureau of Governmental Research,** Carl R. Dortch, director. The report points out that the continuance of present police and fire pension policies threatens to deprive the men of anticipated benefits. Suggesting that the $.20 tax rate that would probably be necessary to support the fund by 1957 would "likely be prohibitive," the report recommends "complete reorganization of the two systems."

For Forms of Government

"The Old and the New, a Comparison of the Main Features of the Proposed Council-Manager Charter and the Existing Hartford City Charter," is presented with organization charts enlivened by pictographs, in the October number of *Taxpayers' Business,* published by the **Hartford Governmental Research Institute,** Leslie M. Gravlin, director.[1]

Boston's 1909 city charter as amended is summarized in *Boston City Charter 1909-1946,* a report prepared for the Special Charter Commission of 1946 by the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau,** Richard A. Atkins, secretary, and the **Civic Department of the Boston Chamber of Commerce,** E. J. Brehaut, manager. The 22-page report closes with an organization chart of the city government. It points out that the charter is one of the earliest examples of the strong-mayor type. For a complete view of municipal government in Boston the report states that it is necessary to consult many general laws and special statutes relating to the organization and powers of city departments and officers, Suffolk County agencies and other matters.

Two- or three-year staggered terms for members of the Toronto city council in place of the present one-year terms are again recommended by the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research,** Horace L. Brittain, director, in its October *Letter.* Among the reasons given for the change are desirability of an "*assured* continuity of membership," the elimination of the temptation under which all members of the council now rest to be obsessed at least for the last three or four months each year with "thoughts of election," and the avoidance of unwise measures calculated to influence sectional votes. The report also points out that the change should result in more responsible budget-making by the council actually responsible for executing it.

In pursuance of its policy of providing its readers with background information, the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** Sidney Detmers, managing director, has devoted two numbers of *Just a Moment* to descriptive reports on the Erie County Board of Supervisors and governmental forms in Erie County. The Board of Supervisors consists of 54 members elected by town, ward and city districts. It has not only legislative duties but also "almost absolute control of the administrative and executive functions of all the county departments even though some of them are headed by elective officials."

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[1] See page 32 this issue.

The *Monthly Bulletin* of **Government Research, Inc. of Los Angeles,** Ed F. Thompson, executive secretary, reports the findings of a study by the city's Bureau of the Budget and Efficiency on the Department of Mechanical Engineers. This department, one of two that report directly to the council, is described as an "orphan" which, because of a lack of a full-time administrative coordinator with definite responsibility, has developed a number of serious administrative deficiencies. Transfer of the functions and personnel of the department to the Building and Safety Department is recommended.

Your Government for October 7, bulletin of the **University of Kansas Bureau of Governmental Research,** Ethan P. Allen, director, is devoted to a discussion of the reorganization of Congress by Rhoten A. Smith, research assistant. The report notes shortcomings of the recent reorganization including the failure to include original proposals for machinery to develop more effective legislative-executive relationships. The report concludes that while it is impossible to put "unbounded faith in the power of political machinery," the reorganization act of 1946 "is a long stride in the direction of an invigorated Congress."

University Bureaus of Public Administration

The University Bureaus of Public Administration (87 pages), edited by Roscoe C. Martin and published by the **Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama,** is a series of eight papers with a tentative list of 28 existing bureaus. This series grew out of two round table sessions at the 1946 meeting of the **American Political Science Association.** In a foreword Dr. Martin describes a university bureau of public administration as "somewhere short of a separate school yet definitely outside of the usual college-and-departmental structure . . . set up in a number of institutions by way of answer to the needs of public administration for special emphasis." Authors of the papers are: James W. Fesler, Rowland Egger, Lent D. Upson, Samuel C. May, Robert S. Ford, Weldon Cooper, Morris B. Lambie, and Lee S. Greene.

The first annual report of the **University of Mississippi Bureau of Public Administration,** Robert B. Highsaw, director, again calls attention to the rapid progress of university bureaus of public administration in the South. With a director and assistant director, three student research assistants and the part-time assistance of members of at least three university departments, the bureau plans an ambitious program of research, publication and service at the regional, state and local levels during the next year. Scheduled for early appearance are *Handbook for Mississippi Legislators, Forms of Municipal Government,* and *Housing Needs in Mississippi.* During the last year the bureau supplied service to legislators, state administrators and local officials; published two local surveys—a survey of Greenville, Mississippi, and a fiscal survey of Leland; and completed its part of the Regional Resources Administration Project, written by the director, to be published this winter under the title, *Mississippi's Wealth: A Study of the Public Administration of Natural Resources.*

A tentative joint research project on government in the Cleveland area has been outlined by Professor Karl Bosworth for **Western Reserve University** and the **Citizens League,** of which he is assistant director. Among proposed topics are the search for leaders and followers, systems of election and representation, and cooperation and interaction among the governments.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Know-How of Civic Action

Effective Organization a Must for Good Citizens

ONE of the sessions of the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, held in Philadelphia November 11-13, was a panel discussion on "Guiding the Civic Battle," under the direction of Dr. Shepherd L. Witman, director of the Council on World Affairs, Cleveland, and a well known expert on the conduct of discussion groups.

Members of the panel included Mark Matthews, former president of the U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce; Miller McClintock, consultant to Encyclopaedia Britannica Films; L. H. Dooley, president of the McMinn County, Tennessee, Good Government League; Mrs. Virgil Loeb, of the Missouri League of Women Voters; Carter W. Atkins, executive director of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council; and Forest Frank, executive director of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee. Other participants included representatives of local, state and national civic and research groups.

Mr. Frank directed his remarks to "Political Organization and the Civic Battle." "Government, even on the community level, is not a simple mechanism," he said. "It is a complex interaction of four distinct factors: the laws or framework under which the community operates, the public officials who make and administer the laws, the voters who ultimately choose or delegate the choice of the public officials, and the organizations through which the voters unite to make their choices effective.

"Unfortunately," he continued, "in most civic enterprises, attention is concentrated on the elected officials and the framework of government. Too little concern is paid the organizations through which voters unite to make their choices effective.

"Because political parties at the community level have so often degenerated into political machines, there has been a tendency to assume that the way to avoid degeneration was to avoid the methods of the political parties. As a result, effective organization of voters has been achieved principally by political machines and special interest pressure groups. The great bulk of the citizenry has been content to criticize or ignore the conduct of civic affairs. At best, it has opposed the disciplined forces of the political organization with only the chaotic or ineffectual force of nonpartisanship.

"The stereotype response among even so-called better citizens to suggestions having to do with action on public affairs is, 'Oh, I never take sides. That's political and I don't want anything to do with politics.' As if it were a virtue to be ineffectual or an achievement to be blind.

"Businessmen, who would not think of attempting a public opinion survey or launching a household product without the most minutely planned and carefully supervised customer research or neighborhood canvass, recoil from the methods of political organization as from a plague. Social workers trained in the techniques of the neighborhood social unit see in political organization an unclean device. Yet political organization methods antedate customer research, neighborhood canvasses, and the social unit by many centuries in time. Political organization methods are as old as democracy itself, as old as the market place of Athens and the forum of Rome.

"It is true that the organization of political parties too frequently does degenerate into the organization of political machines. But this is due chiefly to our pernicious American custom of using public office to promote private gain. Despite the great strides which the last 30 years have witnessed in the development of a true public career service in the United States, awarding of jobs and contracts on a political patronage basis is still a marked characteristic of our civic life.

Patronage Unnecessary

"Many well meaning citizens, of course, continue to believe patronage is necessary to preserve the national parties 'at the grass roots where the precinct work is done.' But fortunately, other citizens are coming to realize that this is a false view. The example of England where patronage is unknown is becoming clear. We can only hope that eventually party leaders themselves will recognize the evils of the system and bring about its elimination.

"Political patronage is unnecessary, but political organization is vital. The most tragic error commonly made by those who seek to achieve civic reforms and civic progress is the assumption that they can be effective without organization.

"Though they may deny it, even so-called nonpartisan groups frequently make at least partial use of the organization methods of the political parties. In Cincinnati the City Charter Committee, though depending on the support of citizens who are staunch Democrats or Republicans in national affairs, utilizes the ward, precinct and election-day methods of the political parties so far as it possibly can.

"In every community there are men and women of different creeds, races and walks of life who have become accustomed to working together for unselfish and altruistically inspired objectives. They are the men and women who conduct our social service agencies, our community fund campaigns, and a host of other social and civic activities. Their spirits are welded together in elevation of community standards of health, character and welfare. The extension of their activities and effectiveness into the field of politics is a natural one. The only obstacle to its ready accomplishment is the continuing error which confuses political organization with the political machine.

"It must be the function of our educators and civic leaders alike to expose this error and to re-emphasize the importance of organized participation in politics. There must be discarded the prevalent notion that political organization of itself is beneath the dignity of good citizens, and that progress in governmental affairs is possible without cooperative effect and organization technique.

"The realities of political organization are the stock-in-trade of those who use public affairs for private gain. It is up to those whose motives are more socially inspired to recognize the hard practical sense of the methods of the politician and 'go and do likewise'."

In a general session of the conference devoted to "Education for Action," and presided over by Frederick P. Gruenberg of the Fels Fund, Philadelphia, Dr. John J. Mahoney, of Boston University, author of *For Us the Living: An Approach to Civic Education*, took as his subject, "Time to Begin." He described briefly the plans of the state teachers colleges in Massachusetts, just begun, which are working at the formulation of a program of civic education. "Massachusetts as a state," he said, "has joined the ranks of those pioneering communities that are trying definitely and realistically to educate for democracy."

Time to Begin

"The most important and by far the most difficult problem before American educators today," continued Dr. Mahoney, "is that of formulating teaching procedures that are calculated to teach 140,000,000 Americans how to live together well and in the democratic way. To accomplish this purpose educators should begin now to develop an adequate program of education for democracy—civic education—in which every teacher of every subject from grade 1 to grade 12 should participate.

"Barring some promising ventures in a comparatively few school systems no such program is in existence. This means more specifically that no definite and adequate attempt is being made through specific teachings to cause future citizens to understand what democracy, as democracy, means; to develop a keen interest in politics; to secure better political leadership; to stem the tide of juvenile delinquency; to eliminate intergroup prejudices and discriminations; to wipe out economic illiteracy; to get the teachings of religion translated into civic behavior.

"Admitting that some school systems are trying earnestly to accomplish some of the purposes indicated above, few, if any, are seeing the problem clearly and seeing it whole. The great majority of secondary school graduates, as proved by tests given to some thousands of young men and women in my classes over a period of years, are tragically uninterested in politics. Hence so much vote-slacking and so many people voting their ignorance rather than their sober judgment."

The conference's "Clinic on Teaching Citizenship in the Schools," under the direction of Walter J. Millard of Cincinnati, had among its speakers: John J. Mahoney, of Boston University; Stanley E. Dimond, director of the Citizenship Education Study, Detroit Public Schools; C. Leslie Cushman, associate superintendent of Philadelphia schools; Clement A. Duran, consultant, Hi-Y Youth and Government Programs, Y. M. C. A.; and Edward W. Carter of the University of Pennsylvania.

Schools and Communities

Dr. Cushman illustrated the things that are essential for effective civic education by reminding his listeners of the story of the "Wacker Plan."

"Some forty years ago," he said, "a group of young men in Chicago got hold of the idea that the lake front of that city might be made a thing of great use and of great beauty for the citizens of that great city. They developed what was known as the Wacker Plan for the Chicago Lake Front.

"It was the opinion of these men that the plan they had dreamed would meet with many doubts and much opposition; they were convinced that a carefully planned program of education would be required. Accordingly they prepared what was known as the *Wacker Manual,* a description of their plan and of the ways they believed it might be brought into being.

"That manual became a textbook for study throughout the high schools of that city. Some few years later, about the time this generation of high school students came to the age of voting, propositions regarding this plan for the Chicago lake front began to appear on the city ballot. I am told that no one of those propositions has ever suffered defeat. The result is that throughout a period of 30 years the city of Chicago has been continously engaged in changing its lake front from a weeded waste to what is perhaps the most magnificent city front in the world."

"This story," explained Dr. Cushman, "illustrates most of the things that are essential for effective civic education. The first is a plan, a great plan or a great dream for something of wide appeal to the people of a city. Archibald MacLeish has said that the only danger to America is that people may lose their capacity to dream great dreams for the morrow, which of course is but a restatement of the words of the prophet, 'Without vision the people perish.'

Faith and Vision

"The second is that this was a vision of practical men and women who knew what they were about.

"Third, what happened was made possible through an alliance of school and community.

"There are two points, however, at which what was done leaves something to be desired from an educational point of view. First, the program did not immediately involve youth of the schools in a program of action. Second, the program related immediately to a project so vast that it was difficult for any individual in any single neighborhood to grasp its full significance, much less see how he could perform an important service in bringing it into being.

"All this may seem quite different from what people have thought of as civic education. Civic education in the schools brings thoughts of books, history, constitutions, and the like. All these have their place. But teachers and schools with books only as their implements are relatively helpless. Books, history, constitutions become meaningful when they are seen by the pupil as being related to the realization of a better community, which he may help create.

"Two fundamental generalizations can be made:

"First, we, the teachers of youth concerned with civic education can succeed in our purposes only to the extent that the community has faith in a great future, has practical plans for implementing that faith, and is ready to make the schools a full partner in realizing those plans.

"Second, the citizens of this community who have faith and who have plans have in the schools a great resource for realizing our ends—a resource that has been used in a very limited way in American society."

Dr. Cushman referred to his own city, Philadelphia, "in many ways a favorable city for the formation of such an alliance between school and community. More than any other city in America," he remarked, "Philadelphia was established as a city with a plan—a city with a material plan for streets, houses and community centers suited to the realization of a great spiritual ideal.

"In our community councils, in the cooperative activities of this body and the schools, in the program that is evolving in our elementary curriculum in our new plans for using the schools as recreational centers, in the tentative plans for an alliance of school and community, there have been made significant beginnings in the formation of such an alliance as is here proposed."

"The schools with books alone are quite incapable of preparing youth to live calmly and as law abiding citizens in a community or world of such despair. But given a community with a faith in its future, plans for making that faith a reality, and a readiness to make of the schools a full working partner, the future can be viewed as a time of the greatest promise."

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Coos Bay's First P. R. Election

France Uses List System for National Assembly

THE city of Coos Bay, Oregon, held its first P. R. election November 5, under a new charter providing for the election of six councilmen by the Hare system of proportional representation and a mayor separately elected by majority preferential vote.

This was the first use of P. R. in a municipality west of the Rocky Mountains since the successful use of that system in Sacramento, California, was interrupted by judicial interpretation of the state constitution. The system is specifically authorized in the Oregon constitution.

There were originally eighteen candidates entered in the Coos Bay race, but five were forced to withdraw because of a requirement of land ownership imposed on candidates by the charter. The campaign did not involve national party affiliations, but two groups—a labor council and a business group—endorsed lists of candidates. Two of the councilmen elected were endorsed by both groups, and one additional candidate from each list was elected. The other two councilmen elected were members of the previous city council who had been induced to seek the office by a meeting of the outgoing council. One of them was the only councilman elected on the first count and received a surplus of first choices.

The six elected happened to be the same six who were highest in first choices. This does not mean, of course, that they would have been elected under a plurality plan with six votes for each voter instead of one. Under a plurality plan some voters are likely to help elect all six while others help elect none.

There were 1,474 valid ballots cast, making a quota of 211 necessary for election. There were 64 invalid ballots, 4.1 per cent of the ballots marked. There were also 27 blanks. In the election of the mayor, who was unopposed except for a few write-in votes, there were 112 blanks and 23 spoiled out of 1,568 ballots.

The counting of the ballots for council and mayor was accomplished by the county clerk, his assistant and two election board members within a single day.

Coos Bay is noteworthy for the application of proportional representation to a small city, most of the other P. R. communities in this country and Canada being much larger. One reason for incorporation of P. R. in the charter was the hope that the assurance of proper minority representation would encourage adjoining communities to annex themselves to Coos Bay for the better development of the locality.

A vigorous campaign was carried on preceding the election to acquaint the citizens with P. R. and the use of the preferential ballot under that system. Dr. Herman Kehrli of the League of Oregon Cities made a visit to Coos Bay and explained the system before several groups. William T. McLean, a teacher at a local high school, to whom the REVIEW is indebted for information concerning the election, gave talks, demonstrations and explanations before many local societies. A high school class performed a radio program describing P. R. as applied to Coos Bay.

The accompanying result sheet tells concisely the details of the election.

RESULT SHEET

COOS BAY, OREGON, ELECTION OF CITY COUNCILMEN, NOVEMBER 5, 1946

Valid Ballots—1,474 To be Elected—6 Quota—211

	First Count	Transfer of Dashney's Surplus	Transfer of West's Ballots	Transfer of McLaughlin's Ballots	Transfer of Hanen's Ballots	Transfer of Cox's Ballots	Transfer of Nelson's Ballots	Transfer of Gebhardt's Ballots	Transfer of Wade's Ballots	Final Result
WAYNE P. CHANEY	139	+ 5 144	+ 7 151	+ 7 158	+17 175	+ 2 177	+25 202	+ 9 211	211	ELECTED
G. FRANCIS COX	80	+ 3 83	+ 4 87	+ 1 88	+ 1 89	−89				Defeated
D. D. DASHNEY	302	−91 211	211	211	211	211	211	211	211	ELECTED
ROBERT F. GEBHARDT	75	+ 7 82	+ 5 87	+ 4 91	+ 3 94	+12 106	+12 118	−118		Defeated
P. P. GRAY, JR.	137	+12 149	+ 7 156	+11 167	+ 4 171	+15 186	+23 209	+ 2 211	211	ELECTED
ALTON C. HALL	119	+18 137	+ 7 144	+ 9 153	+18 171	+ 7 178	+ 9 187	+24 211	211	ELECTED
J. C. HANEN	77	+ 6 83	+ 4 87	87	−87					Defeated
NEIL HOSKING	152	+ 5 157	+ 1 158	+16 174	+10 184	+27 211	211	211	211	ELECTED
COLIN P. MACNAB	125	+25 150	150	+ 1 151	+14 165	+ 4 169	+13 182	+21 203	+ 8 211	ELECTED
L. V. McLAUGHLIN	67	+ 3 70	+ 4 74	−74						Defeated
JOHN W. NELSON	78	+ 2 80	+ 4 84	+ 9 93	+ 9 102	+ 1 103	−103			Defeated
A. L. WADE	77	+ 2 79	+ 5 84	+10 94	+ 9 103	+ 5 108	+13 121	+ 9 130	−130	Defeated
GEORGE B. WEST	46	+ 3 49	−49							Defeated
EXHAUSTED			+ 1 1	+ 6 7	+ 2 9	+16 25	+ 8 33	+53 86	+122 208	
TOTALS	1474	1474	1474	1474	1474	1474	1474	1474	1474	

EDITOR'S NOTE.—An independent group including certain business leaders endorsed candidates Chaney, Gebhardt, Gray, Hall, McLaughlin and Nelson. The Southwestern Oregon Central Labor Trades Council endorsed Cox, Gray, Hall, Hosking, McLaughlin and Wade. Candidates Dashney and MacNab were members of the outgoing city council.

Party	*Votes*	*Per cent Votes*	*Seats*	*Per cent Seats*
Communist	5,475,955	28.6	164	30.2
Popular Republican (MRP)	5,033,430	26.3	158	29.1
Socialist	3,454,080	18.0	92	16.9
PRL and other right	3,136,630	16.4	83	15.2
Radicals and other left	1,971,660	10.3	47	8.6
Others	59,084	0.3	—	—

France Elects National Assembly

The results of the third P. R. national election held in France—the first for the newly constituted National Assembly—show little change compared with the elections in October 1945 and June 1946 for delegates to a constituent assembly. In the election on November 10 the three largest parties obtained 76 per cent of the Assembly seats in metropolitan France. The remaining seats were obtained by candidates adhering more or less to two distinct political groups. Of the latter, the group centered on the old Radical party and called the *Rassemblement de Gauche* is probably more integrated than the other, centered on the Republican Party of Liberty (P.R.L.), to which some smaller groups, classed with it for purposes of election statistics, have rather loose affiliation, if any.

In all three elections the Communist and Popular Republican parties have shown greatest strength, with between 24 per cent and 29 per cent of the votes. The Socialist party has been third, with a strength declining over the three elections from 23.5 to 18 per cent. As pointed out before, the present strength of the three leading parties constitutes a greater concentration of votes on a few leading parties than French politics produced with the single-member district system under the Third Republic. The latest election shows that the effect is persistent.

Statistics[1] of this election for metropolitan France, where 19,148,744 out of 24,387,315 registered voters participated, are given in the table above.

The National Assembly includes, in addition, certain members from overseas territories of the French Union—30 from Algeria and 15 from other areas—concerning the election of which complete statistics are not readily available. Comparison of the table above with the two elections reported in this department last July (page 371) shows surprisingly little change. The greatest change from the results of the election last June was the slight shrinkage of the Socialist vote from 21.1 per cent to 18 per cent. The slight increase in the percentage of the Communist vote was not the result of additional Communist votes, but of a falling off of attendance at the polls among other political groups. About 750,000 more votes were cast in the June election—a difference of less than 4 per cent of the total poll.

Unproportional Representation in Australian Elections

The Australian general election of September 29, 1946, indicates the shortcomings of the majority representation systems used there, even when compounded with such innovations as a preferential ballot intended to assure a majority choice in each district and compulsory voting.

Results of the Senate election were particularly undemocratic. A majority system in multi-member districts was used—each state electing three. With

(Continued on page 58)

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[1] From the French Press and Information Service.

Two Counties Consider Manager Plan

Need for New Charters Cited by Civic Groups

THE Good Government League of McMinn County, Tennessee, is now engaged in drafting a reorganization act for presentation to the forthcoming session of the state legislature. In order to observe circumstances comparable to those of McMinn County, the league is studying the manager plan as it is operating in Hamilton County, Tennessee.

Athens, county seat of McMinn County, was the scene of violence in the recent local elections in which the strongly entrenched county political machine was thoroughly defeated.[1]

Civic organizations, newspapers and community leaders of Lane County, Oregon, are uniting in their efforts to secure the manager form of government. The county judge, a successful farmer and influential civic leader, has declared publicly that if he were to operate his farm by the methods used to operate the county government he would be driven into bankruptcy. The American Veterans' Committee is sponsoring a series of radio forums upon public issues, the first of which is upon the county manager plan. The *Eugene Register-Guard* also is supporting the plan. A charter committee will be appointed if developments warrant it.

Georgia County Begins Reorganization

The three members of the Richmond County (Augusta), Georgia, Board of Commissioners who, as candidates of the Independent League for Good Government, unseated the incumbents representing the long-dominant Cracker party and thereby secured control of the county board,[1] have announced some of the measures they will adopt to improve the county government. They are abolishing the position of county engineer; and the position of superintendent of roads, bridges and stockade will represent the consolidation of three existing positions. A single officer will serve also as clerk of the board, courthouse custodian, and county purchasing agent. The positions of coroner's physician and county physician also are being combined. The question of establishing a county police system is under consideration. Also under scrutiny is the need for the three delinquent tax collectors in the county.

Michigan County Government Study

The Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, has issued a 24-page pamphlet on local government entitled, *Reorganization of Michigan's County Government.* The authors, Robert Ford and Claude Tharp, list the defects of Michigan county government as follows:

1. There is no over-all administrative head;

2. The county consists of a complicated administrative organization in which there is considerable duplication of functions among agencies;

3. The board of supervisors is too large, and it possesses both legislative and administrative powers; and

4. County government requires a "bed sheet" ballot of elective officials.

The authors declare that, "Any plan for the reorganization of county government should be judged with reference to those four basic defects and the extent to which it corrects them. In past elections many citizens have voted against reorganization proposals in Michigan because they did not understand the points at issue. Furthermore, it is a common technique in opposing government changes to distort the objectives in an effort to confuse the voter or to capitalize on his apathy so that he will either vote against the proposal or not vote at all."

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1946, page 435.

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1946, page 310.

The authors express the belief that an educational campaign should be undertaken throughout the state to explain the need for reorganization. Their pamphlet contains a description of what other states have been doing to modernize county government, including descriptions of the county option plan and home rule. Although Ford and Tharp believe that a constitutional amendment will be necessary for a thorough reorganization of Michigan county government, they suggest a number of improvements that could be made under statutory law without any change in the constitution.

Unique among their suggestions is the proposal that the county controller could be developed into a county executive. "In addition to specific duties now conferred on the controller, the legislature might add new responsibilities, such as budget preparation for presentation to the county board, recommendations concerning appointment and compensation of personnel under control of the county board, and assisting the board in the coordination of county offices and departments."

Analysis of the duties of county officials, the authors report, reveals that many duties of a manager are now vested in the controller and, consequently, with some expansion of his duties, Michigan could in effect secure modified county manager government without first adopting a constitutional amendment.

At the present time controllers can be appointed in Michigan only in counties having more than 75,000 residents. There are only four counties in which a controller has been appointed and only twelve counties which can qualify under the present law. In order to establish the plan throughout the state, it would be necessary to amend the law in order to permit any county of the state to appoint a controller.

North Carolina Counties Request Legislation

Resolutions adopted by the 39th annual convention of the North Carolina Association of County Commissioners, held recently at Wrightsville Beach, included:

1. That the tax lister be relieved of responsibility for the farm census;
2. That state aid be provided for county tubercular sanatoria;
3. That discounts for prepayment of taxes be made optional rather than mandatory upon the counties;
4. That county boards be given a voice in determining the non-federal aid roads to be given state aid, and that one-half of state road funds be used on such roads;
5. That the state install county road markers;
6. That the county tax limit be raised; and
7. That the business tax be amended to plug loopholes.

County Has Wolf Problems

Taylor County, Texas, has had to consider the problem of wolves—that is, of the old-fashioned variety. The Commissioners Court recently raised its contribution to the county trapper's salary from $100 to $125 monthly.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Urge Fiscal Reforms for Clinton, Iowa

Property Reappraisal, Budget System Needed

A COMMITTEE of officials and citizens in Clinton, Iowa, recently recommended sweeping changes in administrative and fiscal practices in an effort to eliminate chronic operating deficits and regain a legal borrowing margin adequate for the city's expanding needs.

Among the more important recommendations were: that the city adopt a modern budget system, institute an effective means of expenditure control, adopt an effective accounting system, reappraise all taxable property to equalize valuations and eliminate many patent inequalities, adopt a centralized purchasing system, and institute measures to assure collection of delinquent assessments.

The committee also urged that Clinton join with other Iowa cities and towns in seeking legislation to grant municipalities a share of state liquor profits in towns with state liquor stores, increase the city share of state licenses and motor vehicle and fuel taxes, authorize municipalities to impose local wheel or vehicle taxes, authorize higher local licenses for beer sale permits, and provide for appointment of assessors on a merit basis rather than for their election as at present.

The committee found that the city had gotten through the 1930's only by resorting to such expedients as issuing bonds to fund deficits and by refunding maturing bonds, that it had shown increasing deficits since 1940, and faced a prospective deficit of between $74,000 and $124,000 at the end of the 1946-47 fiscal year.

Despite the community's growth, realty valuations had been increased only nominally, and the tax rate had mounted but without keeping pace with rising costs. It was estimated that a reassessment would approximately double present realty assessed valuations.

Roanoke Raises License Taxes

The Roanoke, Virginia, city council early in December adopted a revised license code which is expected to raise license tax income from this year's $352,000 to at least $750,000 and perhaps to as much as $1,000,000.

Illustrative of the new rates, which went into effect January 1, is that for retail merchants, who now pay $40 plus 22 cents per $100 for sales over $4,000, and who will pay $50 plus 50 cents per $100 on all sales. Wholesalers formerly paid 20 cents per $100 on the first $100,000 of sales, and will pay 25 cents per $100 on all sales. Amusements will pay 1 per cent on their sales, hotels ¾ of 1 per cent, taxi and dry cleaners 1 per cent, etc.

Many merchants vigorously opposed the new schedule, but support from prospective taxpayers was not lacking and the revised code was adopted by a council vote of four to one.

ELMORE D. HEINS
Roanoke, Virginia

Municipal Auditoriums Lose Money

Most municipal auditoriums in the larger cities are operating at a loss and their facilities lie idle an average of almost four months per year, according to a survey made by a state-established board for the mayor of Indianapolis. Citizens of that city have been seeking to include a municipal auditorium in the city's postwar public works program.

While aware of the cultural and civic benefits of auditoriums, the board concluded that auditorium construction during the next few years was not economically feasible in Indianapolis. Construction of a building to seat 10,000 was estimated to cost nearly $10,000,000.

The board found that among nine large cities use of municipal auditorium facilities averages only about 200 days annually. Cleveland's auditorium, idle an average of only 74 days a year, was the most used. But the unit seldom pays its annual operating expenses from auditorium revenues. Many Clevelanders maintain, however, that the $10,000,000 building more than makes up for its operating deficit by attracting conventions and convention business to the city.

New Orleans and Kansas City, Missouri, were the only cities reporting receipts sufficient to pay operating expenses. Kansas City's auditorium gets most of its revenue in office rentals from a federal agency and thus pays its own operating costs.

Other cities with municipal auditoriums, all with seating capacities of over 5,000 persons, are Grand Rapids, Memphis, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, St. Louis and Milwaukee. The units cost between two and ten million dollars.

Difficulty of providing adequate parking facilities was presented by Indianapolis as another reason for not building an auditorium. A capacity crowd of 11,000 would transport itself to the building in some 3,000 automobiles, traffic experts estimate. Either four city blocks or a four-deck parking garage would be needed to handle this number of cars.

Plans for a civic auditorium in Omaha, meanwhile, were given a boost recently when the Federal Works Agency agreed to grant a $105,000 loan to finance advanced planning on the $3,500,000 proposed structure. Plans call for the unit to seat 5,000 and provide parking space for 2,500 cars.

Auditorium rentals are recent issues in other cities. Toledo councilmen have approved an ordinance fixing an average rental of $75 per night for auditorium use, with $150 per night for one-night stands.

Voters Approve Bond Issues

State and local voters assented at the elections of November 5 to the issuance of over a billion dollars of new bonds, according to the post-election tabulation made by *The Daily Bond Buyer.*[1] With only about one per cent of the election total missing, the tabulation showed 209 issues aggregating $1,009,178,130 approved. Ninety-nine issues totaling $83,982,025 were defeated, and there had been no report on 81 issues amounting to $13,998,568. The totals include a Texas state issue (approved) which was voted on at a special election held November 7 because of a mistake of the legislature in setting the date.

This year's large amount reflects mainly the inclusion of state issues, mostly for veterans' bonuses, totaling $837,000,000; all were approved.

Auto License Plate Shortage

Shortages of steel and paint are forcing a number of states to expedients almost as drastic as those of the harried owner of a prewar auto awaiting delivery of his new car. According to the Federation of Tax Administrators, Kentucky, Maine, and Wisconsin will provide motor vehicle owners with windshield stickers instead of metal license plates. Virginia will provide two plates, of aluminum, but only the numerals will be in color. West Virginia will provide a single plate, to be carried at the rear. New York, which had hoped to return to two-plate display for 1947, will hold to a single tag.

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[1] See "November Bond Proposals Over Billion Dollars," the REVIEW, December 1946, page 617.

Legislative Committees Report on Finance Surveys

The findings of recess committee surveys of municipal finance and education will be among the important matters facing the Massachusetts legislature, according to the state Federation of Taxpayers' Associations.

Presently, the cost of education in the state is approximately $77,000,000 annually, of which the state provides less than $4,000,000, distributed primarily on the basis of assessed valuation. The federation expects that a sales tax, recommended by State Tax Commissioner Henry F. Long, may be proposed to finance state assumption of a larger share of the cost. It is estimated that a 2 per cent sales tax would yield about $45,000,000.

The legislature will probably be asked also to enact laws specifically authorizing the use of parking meters by cities and towns and the payment of group life insurance premiums by municipalities. The legislative committee on municipal finance is expected also to continue its study of an over-all revision and modernization of municipal finance laws.

Michigan Increases State Aid

Michigan voters approved at the election in November the so-called sales tax amendment to the state constitution, which provides that one cent of the state's three-cent sales tax be returned to the local units. One-half cent will go to school districts, on the basis of school population, and one-half cent will go to the cities, villages and townships on the basis of county population. In addition, the amendment provided a "floor" for state general fund support to school districts designed to perpetuate the approximate relationship between state general fund school aid and state sales tax collections for 1945 and 1946.

State sales tax collections in 1945-46 exceeded $118,000,000, and conservative estimates for 1946-47 are for $135,000,000.

Baltimore Increases Its Revenues

The Baltimore city council has passed a tax levy budget of $71,184,383 for 1947 and established a real estate tax rate of $2.96 per $100 of assessed valuation. This is a budget increase of $7,868,016 over 1946 and a three-cent reduction in tax rate.

The city council, using for the first time special powers temporarily granted to the city of Baltimore by the state legislature, enacted the following:

> Taxes ranging from $10 to $25 on pinball machines, music machines, shuffleboards and the like;
>
> Tax of one cent per pack on the sale of cigarettes;
>
> Tax of 5 per cent on gas, electricity and telephone bills;
>
> Tax of 5 per cent on betting at the Pimlico Race Track. (This would not be levied if the legislature, which meets in January 1947, enacts new legislation governing the distribution of state race track revenues to the city of Baltimore and to Maryland counties.)

The estimated annual yield of these four supplementary tax sources is $4,550,000.

D. Benton Biser, *Director*
Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy

Local Government in Palestine

Cities and Towns Have Limited Jurisdiction

SINCE the national government of Palestine is not elected by the inhabitants but is chosen by the British, municipal units serve the citizen as a sounding-board for the expression of political viewpoints and desires.

Elections for municipal units, therefore, take on a sharper form and generate a more heated political atmosphere than in countries with a constitutional structure.

There is great variance in the level of development of municipal units in the Jewish and Arab communities despite the fact that, in respect to charters and constitutional rights, there is almost no distinction. The actual difference is expressed by the size of the budget, the quality of the services, social welfare, education, etc.

For example, there is a vast difference between two neighboring cities considered modern in their respective communal groups: Tel Aviv with a population close to 200,000, and Jaffa with nearly 150,000. The budget of Tel Aviv is five times greater than that of Jaffa, and that difference is obviously reflected in services and in the setup of the city itself.

There are three types of municipal units: the city, the local council, and the regional local council. Local councils differ one from the other in their area and in their populations, ranging from the smallest with a maximum of 400-500 inhabitants to large populations of 9000 and more. There is, however, no difference in their jurisdiction. The Regional Local Council is organically different in that it is a federation of a number of agricultural communities united for common affairs and activities, each village remaining autonomous in internal matters.

The charter and structure of the local units are similar to those in England, but are adjusted to the conditions of the country. Local governments are much more limited in their activities, services, budget, sources of income, however, and are subject to supervision of district commissioners.

The charters and areas of jurisdiction are fixed by the government, which does not always consider the will of the inhabitants. Consequently, despite the rapid development of the country and the growth of the *Yishuv* there are still many reactionary laws: (1) In the range of activity, (2) bad services, (3) social welfare, (4) poll tax. But, these handicaps notwithstanding, a definite progressive development has taken place.

The income of the municipal units is based on the property tax and recompense for various services, and therefore the taxes cannot be progressive.

Since the municipal units developed within the last ten years, clearly they did not succeed in acquiring great amounts of public property, schools, public institutions, etc., that would benefit the citizen. On the other hand, the dynamic development of the country, and the immigration of Jewish refugees, tax municipal units with needs in housing, health care, education, and social aid, needs that cannot be handled through the regular limited taxation. Therefore, last year a new tax was instituted, the social welfare tax not only on entertainment places and cafes but even directly on the citizen.

For a number of years now the municipal institutions have been demanding reform from the central government in respect to the tax system. The demand centralizes around (1) granting of permission to collect an income tax; (2) a grant from the government of 20 per cent of the local budget. After much pressure the government made grants-in-aid to the municipalities of 10 per cent of their receipts from the property tax.

No Community Debt

In one other area the government hampers the growth and development of local government, in the receipt of loans or issuing of bonds for important municipal projects. This difficulty persists despite the fact that the stock market and the banks are prepared to grant loans, and the institutions themselves have proved their financial stability.

As an example, the community debt and the general debt of municipalities in Palestine does not reach even one pound (four dollars) per citizen, whereas in England this debt reaches several hundred pounds for each citizen.

The development of municipal units and their activity generally has been rapid and attainments many. The Jewish community succeeded in erecting municipal institutions that serve also as an example to the Arabs.

The system of elections is not uniform throughout the country. In many places the poll tax system exists, but in many others general free elections are the pattern. The tendency in Palestine, thanks to the pressure of the labor movement, is to abolish the poll tax.

Elections for councils are held once every three years. The number of members elected is not uniform. The minimum is seven and the maximum twelve to fourteen.

The system of elections is proportional;[1] generally the slates are set up by parties. Every party puts up its candidates and, according to the number of votes received, it sends a number of its candidates to the council. Every group of citizens in the locality can set up an independent list if it receives a fixed minimum of signatures from among the citizenry when the lists are being announced. This system has proved its efficiency and excellence in that it gives a minority the fullest possibility of expressing its opinion in the municipal unit, and to participate in other activities of the locality. Similarly, the representatives reflect most accurately the will of the voters of the locality. Therefore each representative feels more powerfully his ethical and political responsibility towards his constituents, and it is natural that he must also be ethically and intellectually among the best men of the locality.

The mayor of the city or the president of the council is chosen by the council—with consent of the government. The committees and other departments follow the same rule. The mayor or president of the local council is responsible to the council and to the government for activities, budget and expenses in carrying out the decision of the council.

In general, the council delegates its members to committees in order to have them participate in the actual work of the institution and so that there be vigilance over the various departments. The heads of departments and the committees give a report on their activities before the council. The council can and often does bring a number of local citizens into every committee, and through this practice can widen the circle of citizens connected with the local government.

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[1] See "P. R. Used for Palestine Elections," the REVIEW, May 1946, page 261.

Thus it awakens and reveals instinctive sources, interest, and devotion of the inhabitants to the affairs and welfare of the community.

Housing for refugees that are streaming from all directions toward Palestine and also for the veterans returning from the fronts is the great need. Every municipality is forced to concern itself with this problem and to search for community sources through tithes—and somewhat through loans—in order to build low-rental houses; this despite the high cost of construction and materials in Palestine. In this realm many concrete projects have been undertaken and hundreds of homes have already been built. If the government were more liberal in granting aid from its own sources or in giving free reign for making loans, it would be possible to build thousands of homes thus overcoming the housing shortage.

One recent development is in the direction of erecting municipal hospitals that will be free of charge for those unable to pay, thus assuring the health of the populace. Many localities are promising by means of an impressive budget a definite compensation for every day of illness for those who need it, after a recognized minimum of sick days. This progressive, and very successful, system lightens the load of many workers' families, because a small budget is assured them. This is continued even during a prolonged illness. On the one hand, it is not very burdensome on the taxpayer and man of means and, on the other, it helps those in need.

Finally, within the municipal realm active cooperation and good attitudes exist in several places between Jew and Arab.

Undoubtedly, within the realm of the municipalities, a path will be found everywhere for real cooperation and constructive attitudes between both populations, whereby both may live and build together.

Abraham Fein

General Federation of
Jewish Labor, Palestine

Canadian Mayors Seek Federal Aid

A committee of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities has presented to the dominion government the resolutions passed at the federation's annual conference in Vancouver. Unfortunately, each time the federation has appealed to the government to put in practice the findings of its studies on postwar reconstruction, the answer is always the same, "Sorry, but we cannot deal directly with the local authorities." What is needed is a change in the British North America Act under which all power regarding municipalities rests with provincial authorities. This despite the fact that all social legislation of parliament directly concerns the community life of the nation. Even under the most careful administration local taxes do not meet the new expenditures made necessary by increasing public demands for better services. With the basis of municipal taxation strictly limited, local authorities must depend on the aid they can get from federal and provincial governments. "The British North America Act, which was enacted for a rural Canada, cannot be changed too soon," says the *Municipal Review of Canada*, "changed in such a manner as to broaden the basis .of local taxation and to allow for more direct connection between the federal and local authorities."

Saskatchewan Institutes Hospitalization Plan

A dominion-provincial-local scheme of hospitalization in Saskatchewan went into effect on January 1, 1947. It provides for the payment of hospital services for all residents of the province. Anyone who is a resident of a municipality, rural or urban, for six months or more, will be able to go to a hospital when his doctor sends him, and will receive public ward care and all medical services without charge.

The role of local government is twofold. First, registration of individuals and collection of the personal tax will be by the principal units of local government. Second, the municipalities are becoming more important in operating public hospitals. In the last eighteen months the provincial government has spent $254,000 in grants and approved an additional $80,000 to urban and rural municipal hospitals. Hospital facilities are still being expanded for the estimated increase in their use under the new plan.

If an agreement is reached by the dominion-provincial conference, the federal government will pay 60 per cent of the cost for the complete health service, with the balance to be paid by the province, plus the cost of administration and capital expenditures.

Saskatchewan is now organized into fourteen health regions, not for curative services primarily but to carry on preventive and diagnostic services. Each region has a medical health officer, three sanitary inspectors, twelve nurses, plus doctors and dentists.

Local government retains its vitality in the health function in the Canadian province which is moving toward Socialism.[1]

VOTER'S ROLE

(Continued from page 17)

to say that the fate of democracy in America is wrapped up with the vigor and effectiveness of voluntary non-governmental associations striving each in its own way to educate the people on political subjects and to stimulate them to civic duty on the one hand, and on the other to guard jealously the rights of the people against the domination of selfish influence. It is through such faithful and indefatigable activity that we shall nullify the force of Bryce's classical hindrances to good citizenship—indolence, self-interest and party spirit—in their modern forms.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 49)

about 53 per cent of the popular vote the Labor party elected fifteen of the eighteen senators chosen. When their terms begin next July they will sit with the eighteen senators elected in 1944 when Labor made a clean sweep of the senatorial election with only 58 per cent of the votes. The new Senate, therefore, will be 92 per cent Labor and 8 per cent opposition.

The election of the House of Representatives, in which the Labor party and the smaller allied Independent Labor party obtained 61 per cent of the seats with their 53 per cent vote under a single-member district system, gave a less extreme distortion of representation. But these percentages give the single-member district system the misleading appearance of more adequate representation than it really provides. By lumping together the votes for all candidates of each party—successful or defeated—it is suggested that the persons voting for defeated candidates are represented by candidates of the same party elected in other districts. A voter is not represented, of course, by a candidate in whose election he could not participate.

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[1] From *Western Municipal News*, September and October 1946.

Books in Review

For This We Fought. Guide Lines to America's Future. By Stuart Chase. New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1946. x, 123 pp. $1.

This is the final title in a series of six exploratory reports on postwar questions prepared by Stuart Chase for the Twentieth Century Fund. The writer undertakes to answer questions as to what we can do about the disillusion, for both veteran and home front citizen, which has set in. Must we lose the fruits of our victory and perhaps civilization itself by a policy of drifting—dangerous in this atomic age when time is running short? He looks at the aftermath of war, examines the goals that Americans want for their country, emphasizes our abundant power to produce, and gives his ideas of how we should organize to establish prosperity and preserve peace.

Postwar Taxation and Economic Progress. By Harold M. Groves. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1946. xiv, 432 pp. $4.50.

How production and living standards can be fostered through a well ordered tax system is the subject of this book. Based on extensive research into the problems of taxation and its effect on the national economy, the volume was prepared by the author, professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin, for the Committee for Economic Development. Its aim is to set forth certain recommendations for a postwar tax system which, it is hoped, will be to the advantage of all groups.

The problem of shifting taxes from one group to another is covered, with illustrations from actual records and factual data from governmental research bureaus, tax associations and private enterprise. Consumption taxes, including excises and sales taxes, are appraised and compared with the chief alternative, the taxation of net income. The effect of all forms of taxation on the motivation to risk-taking and enterprise, and in turn on the general economy, is examined in detail.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Assessments

1946-47 Assessor's Annual Report of Assessed Valuations and Tax Levies in Multnomah County, Oregon. Based on assessments made as of January 1, 1946, and taxes levied for the fiscal year of July 1, 1946, to June 30, 1947. By Tom C. Watson. Portland, County Assessor, 1946. 24 pp.

Highways

The Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission. By Thomas J. Evans. New York, The Municipal Forum of New York, 1946. 13 pp. 50 cents. (Apply John A. Keane, chairman, Subcommittee on Distribution, 30 Pine Street, New York.)

Housing

Housing and People. Annual Report of the Memphis Housing Authority. Memphis, Tennessee, 1946. 32 pp.

Report of Joint Legislative Committee on Housing and Multiple Dwellings. Albany, New York, Williams Press, Inc., 1946. 55 pp.

International Relations

Recovery in Europe. By John Kenneth Galbraith. (An International Committee Report.) Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1946. 40 pp. 25 cents.

Libraries

Library Service Knoxville - Knox County, Tennessee. Knoxville, The

Knox County and Knoxville City Planning Commissions, 1946. 31 pp.[1]

The Power of Print. Newark, Public Library, 1946. 48 pp. Illus.

Lobbying

Congressional Lobbying. By F. M. Brewer. Washington, D. C., Editorial Research Reports, 1946. 17 pp. $1.

Planning

Downtown Riverfront Redevelopment Plan. Metropolitan Master Plan. Cincinnati, City Planning Commission, 1946. 9 pp. illus.

Population

Population Changes by Census Tracts, City of Milwaukee, 1920-1940. By William L. Slayton. Milwaukee, City Planning Division, 1946. 26 pp.

Public Works

Report on Plan Preparation of State and Local Public Works, as of June 30, 1946. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Works Agency, Bureau of Community Facilities, 1946. 74 pp.

Radio

Radio Is Yours. By Jerome H. Springarn. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, 1946. 32 pp. Ten cents.

Social Security

How Far Should Our Social Security Program Be Expanded. By John J. Corson, Paul Sifton, Emerson P. Schmidt and Carl T. Curtis. Washington 18, D. C., The American Forum of the Air, 1946. 16 pp. Ten cents.

LET'S QUARANTINE THE BOSSES

(Continued from page 10)

That is not healthy for democracy because it means that throughout most of New Jersey there is no real opposition party. The boss system is the antithesis of the two-party system. We have taken the first necessary steps toward restoring the two-party system in New Jersey.

These are not the only ways to quarantine the bosses. Local situations may call for different solutions. The fight for democracy is never quite, but always to be, won. It is a fight that every citizen who loves his country must not shirk. Wherever a boss appears the decent citizens must rally to quarantine him lest his evil influence infect the things we hold most dear.

Correction

Several corrections in "Tax Rates of American Cities," the REVIEW, December 1946, have been reported by the Bureau of Governmental Research (Detroit) and the National Training School for Public Service, whose Volker Fellows compiled and tabulated the data used.

(1) Page 570, first paragraph: line eight should read "$.52 [not $52] per $1,000 valuation."

(2) Page 572, Table V: in second and third columns, headed "Average Per Capita Assessed Value 1946—1945" decimal point should be omitted from all figures including totals so that they read in thousands of dollars rather than in dollars and cents, i.e., $1,549, not $15.49; $1,475, not $14.75; etc.

(3) Page 576: tax rates for Pittsburgh, Pa., (No. 10 in the list) should be corrected to read: city, $20.11* (*estimated); school, $11.75; county, $8.63; total, $40.49; estimated ratio of assessed value to true value, 100%; adjusted tax rate on 100% basis of assessment, $40.49.

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[1] For further information on this publication see "Knoxville-Knox County Library Program Outlined," the REVIEW, November 1946, page 552.

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Kansas City, Mo.

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The League's Business

Model Accrual Budget Law Published

The *Model Accrual Budget Law,* first of a series by the League's Committee on a Program of Model Fiscal Legislation for Local Governments, has been published. It has been distributed to sustaining and contributing members and is available to others at 50 cents.

The model law, which is designed for adaptation by state legislatures and home rule cities and counties, is the product of more than 200 public finance experts who are members or consultants of the committee. Arnold Frye, New York attorney and specialist in the law of municipal corporations, is chairman of the committee.

The law's provisions seek to prevent fictitious estimates of expected revenue, promote intelligent control of expenditures, and maintain the financial stability of cities and counties.

Also in preparation by the committee are a *Model Cash Basis Budget Law,* a *Model Bond Law* and a *Model Real Property Tax Collection Law.*

Model State Constitution Revised

The *Model State Constitution* has been revised and republished by the League's Committee on State Government, W. Brooke Graves, chairman. Minimum voting age was reduced from twenty-one to eighteen and the provisions for the framing of home rule charters for municipalities and counties were shortened and simplified. These are the only changes made by the committee in the 1941 edition. Price 50 cents.

A Model State Civil Service Law

The League, in cooperation with the National Civil Service League and the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, has published a revised and shortened *Model State Civil Service Law.* Many of the detailed provisions of the 1939 edition have been omitted on the premise that civil service rules should embody such details. Price 50 cents.

New Study of County Government

The American County—Patchwork of Boards has been published by the League. The pamphlet consists of three articles by Edward W. Weidner, University of Minnesota, which appeared in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, plus a selected bibliography on county government. Price 35 cents.

League Book to Be Used in Japan

The League has granted a request by General MacArthur's Headquarters in Japan for the right to translate into Japanese the book, *Rent Control in War and Peace,* by Edith Berger Drellich and Andree Emery, published by the League in 1939 in cooperation with the Citizens' Housing Council of New York. The book will be used in the reorientation program, according to Major General Daniel Noce, chief of the Civil Affairs Division.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Trend Toward City Management

IT IS significant that American cities, all of which face sky-rocketing costs and rigidly limited financial resources, are turning in increasing numbers to a modern *form* of government for safety and security.

The city manager plan—more exactly, the council-manager plan—was adopted in 1946 by the voters of more than 80 communities. This is the largest number in any one year. Even during the depression years, when many cities were in financial difficulties, adoptions were at the rate of only about 30 a year.

A most encouraging incident was the adoption of the plan in Madison, capital city of Wisconsin and home of the state university, which for many years has been an honestly and intelligently run community. There was no political machine, no scandal, no villain; just a calm, orderly discussion, prompted by the League of Women Voters, of the fact that administrative responsibility was too diffused among various boards, commissions and independent officers. Such a demonstration of political maturity is encouraging.

The voters of Ypsilanti, Michigan, led by war veterans in the militant Junior Chamber of Commerce, adopted the plan in November after having turned it down the previous March. Jaycees, largely veterans, also led the successful campaign in Aberdeen, South Dakota.

The people of Hartford, Connecticut, voted for it by more than two to one over the opposition of both party organizations, which tried many of the old political tricks from forcing the question to a special election between Thanksgiving and Christmas — a most unpropitious time, they thought—to unloading a bunch of fancy half-truths and untruths in the last weeks of the campaign. They were stopped in their tracks by the vigilance and vigor of the civic leaders and newspapers.

Fifteen communities in Maine adopted the plan in 1946, the largest number in any one state. New Hampshire, which had had an unused home rule law for some years, had its first adoption.

There have never before been as many civic groups in as many communities working toward council-manager government.

Even Boston, where they say their politicians aren't so crooked as they are Curley, may get a chance to vote on the manager plan if a bill recently introduced in the state legislature isn't scuttled by the politicos as it was last year. In Hoboken, where for years the politician has been named McFeeley (that is, all the occupants of important jobs seemed to bear that name), a movement is under way. Augusta, Georgia, where the decent majority awoke last year to discover it had needlessly been enduring a minority dictatorship for a quarter of a century, is fighting for a modern charter. The Good Government League in Athens, Tennessee, of G.I. revolution fame, is seeking ways to obtain the manager plan for both the city and county.

Now of course not many of the places which have adopted the manager plan recently or are currently considering it have been victimized by the kind of spoils machines which have plagued Hoboken, Augusta and Athens. The tyranny of the bosses is still very much with us, as was recently disclosed at the National Conference on Government; but, more and more, the people are having to vote *for* an improved system of managing public affairs rather than *against* crooked politicians. Bad as many situations still are, we are simply running short on that kind of public figure.

This presumably would make the job harder for advocates of good government, for it is widely assumed that the average apathetic voter is not naturally inclined to vote for constructive change unless he can at the same time make his vote express his resentment against existing bad conditions. But many of the places which adopted the manager plan in 1946 or are considering it now find little to resent in the way things are being run. They are forced to do some pretty high-powered thinking on fundamentals, under such conditions, to realize the need for a better system of public management.

Admittedly many people vote for the manager plan without being able to explain why it is better than the old systems which it is rapidly replacing. But they do know that it is more likely in almost any situation to provide a good basis for sound government than any other, for the record proves it. They hear more and more about the good record of neighboring communities.

Therefore, the rapid rate of change is pretty sure to continue until the prediction of the experts that the council-manager plan will become standard for American communities during the next half century is fulfilled.

Works Both Ways

Municipal workers seeking salary readjustments that allow for the stratospheric cost of living not infrequently encounter from the town fathers the objection that such increases may increase unduly the local tax rate. . . .

But consider Cambridge, where a history of steady tax reduction is paralleled by a steady record of salary increases, with $410 raises for police and firemen the latest to come through. Is Cambridge out of this world? Does the bridge which may or may not bear the name of Harvard lead to the Rock Candy Mountains, where life is always pleasant and things work in your favor both ways?

Hardly. Things were not always thus in Cambridge. The success of its Plan E government [manager plan with a council elected by proportional representation] is due to nothing more magical than honesty, efficiency and competence. But the curiousest part, as Alice would say, of this wonderland where you get both lower taxes and higher municipal salaries is that among the prime beneficiaries are those who originally regarded Plan E with the most skeptical eye, the city employees. Editorial, *Boston Traveler.*

Big Government Not Inevitable

TVA administration cited by Lilienthal as example of national policy carried out by state and local agencies.

By **DAVID E. LILIENTHAL***

IF THERE is one proposition that I had supposed thoroughly well established and accepted it is this: that our democratic form of government depends for its vitality, its responsiveness to public need, on the development and strengthening and nourishing of local institutions of government.

To this proposition there is universal assent. But such approval is in part only lip service, for what has happened in practice? The policy of encouraging and nourishing the responsibilities of local government has given way to an increasing centralization of administration in the national capital. So far has this gone—by action as well as by default—that we now find a quite disturbing situation. Experts in administration and management have set out to persuade the American people that centralized "Big Government" is inevitable.

I deny that Big Government is inevitable, that we have no workable alternative. These prophets of a managerial revolution and those among public administrators who seek to persuade the American people that Big Government is inevitable are not measuring up to their high responsibility to the democratic faith. And, what is more serious, they are making more difficult the achievements and the works that make that faith the best hope of mankind.

We have two alternatives to Big Government which we should pursue. Experience in the Tennessee Valley is one kind of evidence—there are others, of course—to support the thesis that in respect to overcentralization there is no wave of the future before which we are powerless.

How is Big Government being sold to the American people? The story begins with full agreement that "of course" everyone desires strong, dynamic local government. The Big Government apologists never question that. Indeed, how could they? We are told that these are "fine ideals"—the ideal of home rule, of a flourishing community and state government. But following close upon this disarming prelude we are told that the complexities of modern living make this older ideal merely nostalgic. Our technical society, so they say, has made it obsolete and unworkable. The airplane, the telegraph, the telephone, swift transportation make it necessary, though regrettable, that the older ideal must give way to the facts of modern life.

Those who are trying to persuade us that Big Government is inevitable rarely if ever defend centralization. Their tack is to deplore centralization just as much as the rest of us. They usually admit that remote administration from Washington is not desirable. They will even agree that the withdrawal of more and more decisions out of local communities and the state into bureaus in Washington is unfortunate and corrodes our democratic institutions. But they say we must bow our heads before the inevitable trend.

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*Mr. Lilienthal prepared this article—his address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League at Philadelphia, November 12—just previous to his appointment by President Truman as chairman of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Lilienthal left the Wisconsin Public Service Commission in 1933 to become director of the Tennessee Valley Authority and was appointed chairman in 1941.

Big Government is *not* inevitable. Many of our problems *are* national. Problems that once could be dealt with as a matter of local or state policy now require a national policy. But because Congress must and should determine upon a national policy in a particular field, it does not always follow that the administration of that policy must also be centralized. This distinction between a centralized or national policy and its decentralized or localized administration is one of fundamental importance which the apologists of Big Government persistently overlook. It is a distinction which unless observed and respected by corrective action can lead to the progressive atrophy of most local and state governmental functions.

The distinction between authority and its administration is a vital one. For a long time all of us—administrators, citizens and politicians—have been none too clear on this point. We have assumed that, as new powers were granted to the government in Washington, these powers must also be administered from Washington. We have taken it for granted that the price of federal action was a top-heavy, cumbersome administration. Clearly this is not true. The problem is to divorce the two ideas of authority and administration of authority.

The TVA Pattern

It is at this point that many of us as public administrators are falling short of our high profession of democratic faith. Effective techniques of decentralization—not better ways to centralize—should claim our first attention. The first question we should ask ourselves is: "Why cannot these federal activities be decentralized; if not in whole, why not in part?" The problem of first concern we must ever keep in mind is: does this or that federal program really have to be centralized and to what extent?

The TVA is a concrete demonstration that ways and means can be devised to decentralize the administration of many of the functions of the central government. Indeed, one of the public's chief interests in TVA these days is in its practical, living proof that despite the interrelation of our vast country, despite the need for national policy on many matters heretofore local, the administration of those national policies can be placed in the hands of local community and state agencies. TVA's methods of decentralized administration may well prove to be one of the most important, if not indeed the most important, product of that experiment.

TVA, a public development corporation, is an agency of the central government. Its responsibility as defined by Congress is to develop or aid the people of the Valley to de-

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velop and to utilize their natural resources in a region of substantial size, embracing parts of seven states of the southeast. These functions are in general familiar and long-time responsibilities of the federal government—navigation, flood control, electric power, the problems of soils and forests, and research.

TVA is decentralized in more than one sense. First, it is a federal corporation directed not from Washington but from the Tennessee Valley. It is not incorporated within any Washington bureau or department.

Local Personnel Used

But there are other steps of even greater importance. The TVA has by persistent effort decentralized its functions so that most of them are carried out not by federal employees but by local and state personnel. This is effected by scores of contracts setting up joint partnerships between TVA and cities, towns, counties, state boards of health, state conservation commissions, city power boards, farmers' cooperatives, county extension services, state agricultural colleges, state geology departments—the list could be continued almost indefinitely. The widespread approval of the TVA among the people of the Tennessee Valley region is attributed by the people themselves largely to this method of decentralization.

During a period of American history when centralization of administration in Washington has increased at a rapid rate, the fact is, I believe, beyond challenge that in the Tennessee Valley state and local functions of government have grown in diversity and strength more rapidly than in any other region of the United States during the same period.

Here are a few illustrations of TVA practice. In agricultural development and control of water on the land the TVA has a responsibility in respect to the development of land as one of its basic natural resources. Part of that responsibility arises out of the use Congress required TVA to make of the great laboratory and production plants at Muscle Shoals. TVA was directed to turn these plants, built during World War I for munitions purposes (and incidentally they again rendered service as munitions plants during World War II) to the benefit of agricultural development in the valley and elsewhere.

It was essential that there be made extensive practical tests and demonstrations of the value of new phosphate fertilizers we were developing in those laboratories. To carry out this responsibility TVA did not set up a large central staff. It did not send federal employees into the communities and onto the farms of the Tennessee Valley. TVA entered into a joint program with the state colleges of agriculture, the state extension services, the county agent system—existing agencies. Under this arrangement these agencies undertook to carry forward the actual demonstration and testing program, together with the agricultural education aspects involved.

In this federal activity of TVA the experts who deal with the farmers are members of the staffs of the state colleges of agriculture and of the state and county extension systems. They are selected by those agencies, which are reimbursed by the TVA for their salaries and expenses.

Another illustration is afforded by TVA's power system. TVA has a system of more than twenty dams on the Tennessee River which carry out familiar federal responsibilities—development of navigation and flood control on an interstate river. These are multiple purpose dams. They provide a navigable channel now being put to extensive use by the barges of commerce and also a measure of flood control unprecedented in this country. The same structures through their control of water generate huge amounts of electricity.

Congress directed that this electricity be sold. It is customary in private utilities that electricity be generated, transmitted and distributed to the homes and farms and factories by a single company. But in the Tennessee Valley the disposition of electricity is divided up. The TVA operates the generating plants and 6,000 miles and more of transmission lines that carry the electricity over an area as large as Great Britain. But its distribution is decentralized. One hundred forty locally owned, locally managed, locally financed distribution agencies carry the electricity from the city gates where TVA delivers it in bulk to the ultimate consumers. An agreement between TVA and these 140 cities, towns, rural cooperatives, fixes broad general policies of accounting, of general financial policy, of tax payments, and determines the level of rates subject to mutual adjustment. But the administration of electricity supply has been effectively decentralized.

Here is another illustration. Part of TVA's task is to aid in the development of private industry through research and exploration of the natural resources of the region so that they can serve in raising the level of income and economic activity of its citizens. This, too, as everyone knows, is not a novel function of the federal government. The Departments of Commerce and Agriculture, the bureaus of the Department of the Interior and others have had comparable objectives and responsibilities for a long time.

These activities are as fully as possible carried out by a combination of TVA sponsorship with actual execution in whole or part by state agencies. As a matter of legal authority all such activities could have been carried out by the TVA directly.

Recreation Possibilities

A further illustration: When TVA began to harness the river by building a series of dams, many communities along the river were directly affected in many ways. The flooding of lands wrote new boundaries in place of the old trade areas; in many instances bridges, schools and churches had to be relocated or reappraised in their usefulness to the families which remained in the unflooded areas. Nearby TVA construction camps brought large numbers of people into counties whose health and school services were inadequate for the heavier load.

TVA urged the communities to see these problems as an opportunity to replan their facilities as a whole in the light of a new physical setting. But TVA did not want to make plans for a community. It brought communities together with their state planning boards—and where they didn't exist it suggested to the state that a planning board be set up. TVA provided modest financial assistance through contracts with the state boards and encouraged the communities in turn to establish local planning boards to work with their newly created state agency.

Legislative Support

One measure of the effectiveness of these contractual relations is the financial support given these agencies by their state legislatures. In 1935 there were no state appropriations for this purpose either in Tennessee or in Alabama. In 1946 the state planning agency appropriations in these two states amounted to about $200,000. And in these two states alone there was an increase in the number of local planning commissions from two in 1935 to 35 in 1946.

These relationships with state planning commissions have yielded other results. In several of the states where the development of industrial resources is a function of the state planning bodies, cooperative studies with TVA have uncovered new industrial opportunities based upon the local resources of the region.

In a similar way several valley states are now showing leadership in recreation development from which a whole new industry is emerging. The Tennessee River is now a chain of beautiful lakes abundant with fish. As dams were built many towns and counties suddenly saw an unprecedented opportunity for waterfront, park and water recreation development. To assure the public—the taxpaying owners of these beautiful lakes—the fullest opportunity to enjoy them, the TVA worked with the state departments of conservation (and in some cases helped the state establish such departments) to assist the communities in exploiting recreation possibilities.

In pursuing these decentralizing methods, the TVA has encountered plenty of resistance. There are those who would direct one or another phase of TVA's job from some centralized specialized bureau—in the interest, we are repeatedly told, of uniformity. As though uniformity were an end itself, regardless of the diversity which is one of the great sources of our national strength. But note, too, that the centralizer's control rests on a double assumption: not only that uniformity is desirable as an end in itself but also that similar practices can be obtained only by direct centralized supervisory control. Neither assumption is self-evident.

Overcentralization is to many attractively tempting. It has a special appeal to the administrator who quite conscientiously sees the complexity of his job in a coast-to-coast responsibility. The over-simplifications, the uniform rules and regulations, which centralization encourages, are convenient for him, however inconvenient they may be for the public.

Again, there are those managers who honestly doubt whether they can discharge their own vast responsibilities for nation-wide programs if they should rely upon units of governments over which they do not have authority to hire and fire.

But it seems to me that as against the folly of centralized administration the risks involved in delegations and agreements with state and local agencies are clearly preferable. Indeed, these risks are implicit in our democratic faith.

Nor should we overlook the deeper question of how we can help our state and local governments gain in competence and in capacity. Surely we should not encourage state and local governments to escape from their duties or abdicate their responsibilities to Big Government, for this process merely perpetuates local weaknesses.

If we turn administration of localized problems over to Washington on the ground that thus we escape the inefficiencies and political shenanigans of state and local communities we are fooling no one but ourselves. Clearly, the fundamental solution is to crowd more, not less, responsibility into the community. Only as the consequences of administrational errors become more localized can we expect citizens to know which rabbit to shoot.

Most people are concerned about the way in which cities and states have lost functions to the federal government. Fiery speeches about states' rights and local home rule are easy to make; finding workable alternatives is harder and less showy. What is needed is not emotional outbursts but rather a clearer recognition of the dangers of overcentralization and persistent ingenious efforts to find ways and means of administering national policies through local and state agencies.

Hazard to Democracy

Overcentralized administration is not something simply to be made more palatable, more efficient and better managed. It is a hazard to democracy. It is a hazard to freedom. And for those interested more in results than in method overcentralization is a bungling way to do a job.

Many of us, as administrators, recognize this simple truth. But we are so prone to accept Big Government, to improve and refine it at the center to the sad neglect of the periphery where the people live and work, that the federal administrator who tries to reverse the trend is hailed as the exception to the rule. I cite one newsworthy illustration—would that there were many more.

Speaking in the northwest recently, Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krug urged with forceful words the creation of a regional agency, decentralized and autonomous, to aid in the unified development of the Columbia River Valley. In explaining the decentralizing consequences of this proposal Secretary Krug said: "Final decisions would be made here [in the northwest] instead of in my department in Washington. Contrary to the charges frequently made of federal officials, I desire this. I would like to give up some of my power and authority exercised at Washington and see it exercised here." In such a spirit of self-imposed restraint as this lies true democratic statesmanship, and the road to a workable alternative to Big Government.

The cumulative effect of over-centralization of administration in a national capital is greatly to reduce the effectiveness of government. We are threatened, however, with an even more disastrous sequence, the loss of the people's confidence, the very foundation of democratic government.

When confidence of the community gives place to uneasiness, fears develop that the granting of further powers may be abused. Ridicule of the capriciousness of some government officials takes the place of pride. Democracy cannot thrive long in an atmosphere of scorn or fear. One of two things ultimately happens: either distrustful citizens, their fears often capitalized upon by selfish men, refuse to yield to the national government the powers which it should have in the common interest, or an arrogant central government imposes its will by force. In either case the substance of democracy has perished.

We face a dilemma; there is no reason to conceal its proportions. I do not minimize the complexities and difficulties it presents. We need a strong central government. But every important administrative decision need not be made in Washington. We must rid ourselves of the notion that a new staff, with every member paid out of the federal treasury, has to administer every detail of each new federal law or regulation.

We who believe devoutly in the democratic process should be the first to urge the use of methods that will keep the administration of national functions from becoming so concentrated at the national capital, so distant from the everyday life of ordinary people as to wither and deaden the average citizen's sense of participation and partnership in government affairs. For in this citizen participation lies the vitality of a democracy.

Keep Local Responsibility

Big Government is not inevitable. True, the growth of our vast central administrative machines needs no encouragement from anybody. Big Government does get bigger and more highly centralized unless there is a conscious, continuous, creative administrative effort to reverse the trend. The community's impulse to hand its local problems over piecemeal to one remote agency after another feeds this hazardous push toward Big Government. The surrender of local responsibility for a part of the community's function generates further local weaknesses which furnish the reason for yet another surrender. Local communities and state governments can help by resisting these temptations to take the easy way out. They can help the administrators of federal programs to work out the methods of decentralization case by case. Local governments can resist surrender constructively by raising questions wherever the community or the state is able to do an executive job which the advocates of Big Government want to do themselves.

It will take a lot of such questions and a far greater awareness of the heavy price which centralization

(Continued on page 88)

The World Demands Proof

Democracy must not be lost in the community and state if we are to succeed in preserving it in the nation and world.

By SPENCER MILLER, JR.*

HOW in the days ahead can we make state and local governments more effective and responsible—more competent for their tasks? Local government and world government may seem poles apart, but the success of the one is vital to the success of the other. If we are to achieve responsible world government, if we in America are to discharge in full measure our obligations in this great task, it will be because we have proved that we are capable of local self-government.

The most spectacular immediate result of the recognition of the moral and practical inadequacy of state and local governments about the turn of the century was an increase in federal activity. Both the "new nationalism" of Theodore Roosevelt and the "new freedom" of Woodrow Wilson called for action by the federal government to correct the failure of government to meet the requirements of the age. Theodore Roosevelt inveighed against the "twilight zone" or legal vacuum between the power of the state governments and the power of the federal government to deal with important economic problems.

Today there is little "twilight zone" left. For a generation the federal government has extended vastly the outreach of its services and its functions and has appropriated, if not preempted, all new sources of tax revenues. In the same period new services have been superimposed upon the states though severe restriction of the tax bases has greatly limited the proper development of these services.

Congressional power has been extended further during the past three decades by grants-in-aid to the states. There can be no doubt that grants-in-aid speeded up social reforms throughout the country and provided a measure of equalization of economic opportunity for all sections of America. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that the net result has been to extend federal control over local government by means of these subsidies and to weaken the initiative and responsibility of local government by further impairing the taxing powers of the state. Federal taxes on gasoline and alcoholic beverages provide two notable examples of this.

This extension of federal power and influence has been an inevitable concomitant of the increasingly national and international scope of economic and social forces. It certainly has not been without merit.

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*Mr. Miller has been New Jersey state highway commissioner since 1942 and a member of the faculty of the School of Commerce at New York University since 1941. He has been president of the village of South Orange, N.J., member of the State Planning Board, and chairman of the New Jersey Constitution Foundation. This article is Mr. Miller's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League on November 12.

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But there are limits to beneficent centralization.

If we Americans had been as assiduous as we should have been in finding ways to make the governments at the grass roots responsible and effective, we should not have had to rely so completely on the federal government for dealing with the depression and with many of the problems of war and its aftermath. The federal government in turn might have been in a somewhat better position to concentrate its energies and attention effectively on the global problems of war and peace.

Weakness at Grass Roots

In turning so readily to Washington we display a weakness in the American system which goes back to the days immediately following the Revolution. The writing of the constitution of the United States in 1787 was itself an answer, in terms of a greater central power, to the failure of the states either singly or by cooperation to deal adequately with the problems of the day.

One of the outstanding weaknesses of the first state governments was in the executive. Executive power, such as it was, was generally divided among a number of officers all of whom were dependent upon the legislature. There was neither personal nor corporate unity in the executive and little capacity for leadership or efficiency either in the formulation or in the execution of public policy. Recognizing, as Hamilton said, that energy in the executive is one of the principal ingredients of good government, the makers of the constitution of the United States departed from the state models and established the first independent American government with an adequate executive power. It was this difference between the federal and state constitutions which DeToqueville later noted as one of the principal reasons for the generally superior character of federal government and administration.

This superiority was evident to thoughtful citizens almost from the beginning. It led to a certain amount of imitation of the federal constitution by subsequent state constitutional conventions. But the imitation invariably stopped short of a frame of government adequate to the real needs of the state. Partly because of the protecting and pervasive influence of federal power, the states have not been under the kind of pressure to recondition their own governments that led to the framing of the federal constitution. More often than not amendment or revision of state constitutions has been the result of an impulse to put some new limitations or shackles on a government already too feeble to be truly responsible for its action or its inaction.

So, while the legal and actual powers of the central government have been increasing, both by liberal judicial interpretation and by constitutional amendment, the powers of state governments have been restricted by the imposition of new limitations in both federal and state constitutions. The typical American response to an unsatisfactory exhibition of governing by state, county or city has been *not* to discover the fundamental cause of misgovernment but rather to forbid the act of misgovernment by the simple device of *forbidding government*.

State constitutions have become veritable catalogues of "thou shalt nots." Restrictions on the borrowing power, the use of the state's credit, and the raising and spending of state and local revenues, have seriously limited the capacity of state and local governments to meet their own problems without federal aid.

Strait-jacket Laws

Provisions designed to prevent abuse of executive power, moreover, have so crippled it in many states that the people are forced to look to Washington for enforcement of laws and protection of rights which are the primary responsibility of the states.

Detailed constitutional provisions governing state departments and county and municipal governments have increased government costs and prevented the adaptation of state and local administration to changing needs.

So more and more, as Professor Henry Jones Ford of Princeton University pointed out in 1908, when the people have felt "the need of government" they have turned from the states to the national government in Washington. Reviewing the development of constitutional limitations on state government, Professor Ford summarized the situation thus:

"The American state is unique in that the people not knowing how to control the government have reduced it to a condition of bare existence. America has created a form of polity the world has never seen before in producing the manacled state—the state that puts a strait-jacket and handcuffs upon government. And this at a time when there is an imperative social demand for extending the sphere of government and increasing its activities!"

In this condition Professor Ford found one of the underlying reasons for "the tendencies towards aggrandizement of federal power now manifested in national legislation and in the decisions of the courts," an example of "the operation of the historical principle that sovereignty unprovided for in extant forms of government always seeks to embody itself in new forms."

Thus American political history had verified the warning Jefferson had uttered about a hundred years earlier, that it was important to revise state constitutions in order to strengthen state governments lest weak ones lose in competition for power with the federal government.

Belief in the importance of local self-government represents a profound and permanent truth which we have ignored to our peril. Even though we take this belief for granted, let us look at the reasons behind it. One has already been suggested. It is the lesson taught by all big administrative organizations that there are weaknesses and dangers in bigness.

There is another important reason for strengthening our state and local governments. These governments are recruiting and training agencies for a large proportion of the men and women who will ultimately be chosen to guide the destinies of the nation. Unfortunately, feeble government does not attract the best talent. We are rightly concerned at the distaste, the contempt even, that many Americans feel for political or public service as a career. I do not mean to disparage the many fine, not to say superior, men and women who have, despite these handicaps, made public service their profession.

All things considered, we have more of these people both in politics and in public administration than we realize, but if we would do the things we know we ought to do, politics and public service would be generally recognized as an honor and a privilege. In view of the importance of the role that American government must play in the world, we cannot longer be satisfied with any but the best talents in the higher reaches of our public service. We will never get that talent in the measure in which it is needed until we make the oportunity for real achievement in local and state government considerably greater than it is today.

No Cracker Barrel Democracy

I have left to the last the chief reason usually offered for preserving local self-government. That is the supposition that the closer the government is in geographical and physical fact to the people the better will they understand it and the more readily will they be able to control it. The trouble with this supposition is that under present conditions it is often just not so. The national news services, national radio hookups and other media of communication, enable the average citizen to feel that he knows more about candidates for president and about great national issues than he does about state, city and ward affairs.

In the old days, when it was possible for the voter to know personally most of his local functionaries, when he met them or their close associates in his ordinary daily or weekly round, he could know and control the conduct of local government in a manner much more direct than his remote control over Washington. Unfortunately, we have allowed the neighborhood or community basis of this grass roots democracy largely to disintegrate while the national market for words and ideas has almost superseded the local markets for exchange of strictly local intelligence and ideas.

Yet, I think it is true there is no substitute for face-to-face dealings in private or in public business. If it is no longer true that people can understand their local governments better than their national government it ought to be. But it will not be true again unless we make a much more conscious effort than we do now to maintain means of communication on local problems. We need everywhere nonpartisan local citizens' organizations. We need in every neighborhood a regular meeting place to which citizens may come for information and exchange of views on problems and questions of all kinds. We probably need to spend time and money to reestablish valid media for communication via the printed word and the radio concerning local problems. And we need to reinvigorate the teaching of "community civics" to young and old.

Grass roots democracy is not an

inevitable outcome of "progress" or of social change. It must be sought and worked for. What are the prospects? In spite of everything that has been said, there are many indications that the prospects may be better than they appeared to be 50 years ago.

We have entered what might be termed a new epoch of state and local government in this country. It is an epoch marked by a growing recognition of the great truth that government, like all other major institutions, exists to get things done. Consequently there has been less stress on constitutional limitations and more on rewriting state constitutions and municipal charters and reorganizing state and municipal administrations so as to permit these governments to do their share of the public business.

To be sure, the prescription for modern state government which appears in the *Model State Constitution* has not been taken whole by any one state. We have in Nebraska, however, one hopeful demonstration of the superiority of the unicameral legislature. We have an increasing number of legislative councils working to improve the quality of state legislation. We have made in many states varying degrees of progress toward integration of administration under a responsible chief executive.

We still have left largely unsolved the problems of finding satisfactory leadership in our legislatures and of achieving satisfactory working relations between the executive and legislative branches. Significantly, these are the two principal deficiencies in the organization of our federal government. It is to be hoped that the reorganization of Congress upon which a beginning has been made may be carried out to an ultimate solution of these problems at the federal level and that simultaneously more and more states will tackle these same problems.

More progress toward responsible government has been made at the local level. All but seventeen cities have abandoned the old bicameral city council. The charters of a majority of the major cities give at least some recognition to the need for concentration of responsibility.

If we really believe that self-government must begin at home we must learn to trust our state and local governments more than we have in the past. A failure to trust them indicates a fatal distrust of our own capacity for self-government. We now know that in the long run such distrust does not result in greater freedom from government, it simply means that government will be exercised from a more remote place, subject to more indirect controls and less susceptible to the bridle of a genuine public opinion.

Some Remedies

So let us reexamine some of the constitutional limitations on state and local power. Let the states give genuine home rule, fiscal as well as legal, to soundly established county and municipal governments. This does not mean that every existing county or municipality, however inadequate it may be in area, population or resources, must necessarily be given home rule powers. In great metropolitan areas, for example, we must face the fact that there can be no such thing as self-government, or genuine home rule, in a central city which is deprived of the fiscal and intellectual resources of the more fortunate beneficiaries of its industry who happen to live in suburbs legally and politically isolated from the city. "One world" will become an empty dream if those of us who live in any of the more than 140 metropolitan areas in the United States are not ready to recognize their allegiance and responsibility to the "one city."

While we free our state governments of constitutional restrictions which help to drive people to Washington when they want to get things done, we must undertake the more fundamental job of reorganizing our state governments so that they have not only the power but also, as Professor Ford said, "the responsibility and efficiency essential to democratic government." This means that where the state legislature is dangerously unrepresentative that condition should be corrected. It indicates in practically every state the need for further progress toward a more responsible executive branch. It also means in many states a pretty substantial reorganization of the judicial branch.

Cooperation Essential

I have said a good deal about the necessity for making our state and local governments more efficient in order to fit them to assume a larger share of the burden of government. This does not mean that we can divide functions of government into three distinct categories, assign one set to Washington, another to the state capitol and another to city hall. More and more it is being recognized that many functions once thought of as strictly local have statewide, national or even international implications.

Consequently our state and local governments must become better cooperators, cooperators among themselves and with the federal government. Much progress is being made in this direction, thanks to the work of the Council of State Governments and to the examples of successful intergovernmental operations of such organizations as the Port of New York Authority, Incodel[1] and others.

One other trend which points toward increasing effectiveness for state and local governments is the growing acceptance of planning. A government cannot do an intelligent job if it does not plan intelligently in advance for it. As the late Senator Dwight W. Morrow said on the subject of community planning, "I don't like to say that a plan does not cost anything, because anything that is worthwhile on this earth cost something. But I do think it is quite demonstrable that the real cost of building up a community is the cost of non-planning."

A major reason why the federal government is called upon to play so large a role in such matters as housing, urban development, modern highway construction is the fact that we have allowed our large cities and metropolitan areas to develop, or rather to disintegrate, without local plan or direction to an extent that

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[1] Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin.

Too Small to Be Efficient?

Experience of Petroleum County, Montana, cited as proof council-manager plan will cut costs, improve operations.

By R. R. RENNE*

COUNTY government has been called the "dark continent of American politics" primarily because (1) county governments are so loosely organized and supervised as to encourage corruptness in many instances and inefficiency and unnecessary waste in others, and (2) many citizens take so little interest in local government that they know less about what goes on in their local courthouse than they know about what takes place in their state or national capitol. Which head of the elusive, many-headed monster to attack first, or which weapons to use, continues to trouble students of local government.

American counties are predominantly rural. Of the nearly 3,100 counties in the United States, only an eighth have populations in which 50 per cent or more of the people live in urban areas. In more than a third of the counties there is no urban population whatsoever.[1] Hence, reforms that will improve administrative efficiency of rural counties are of major importance in our economy.

The manager plan of administration has been one of the most highly recommended reforms in county government. The belief has persisted among students of local government, however, that for various reasons the manager plan offers little real hope in rural counties. First, they say, rural counties are too small to present a sufficiently interesting challenge to attract efficient, able managers, and too small to pay the salary required to secure competent managers. Moreover, they say, the people of rural counties will insist upon the right to elect most of the officials who are to serve them in the county courthouse, and will not give up this prerogative just to save a few dollars in taxes through the more efficient administrative organization and operation characteristic of the manager plan.

With only a handful of counties that have thus far adopted the manager plan and with all the early adopters being urban counties or counties containing large cities, there has been little evidence to disprove the widely held contention that the manager plan does not fit the needs of rural counties. Before assuming that other methods of improvement

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[1] The 1940 census lists 3,071 counties, of which only 418 have urban populations equal to 50 per cent or more of the total, and 1,050 counties have no urban population.

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Kansas City,

and increased efficiency of operation must be worked out for rural counties, however, let us analyze carefully how the manager plan might work out for a rural county and then see if there are not some examples of successful use of the manager plan in a small rural county.

In most states constitutions and statutes require the election of a specific list of officers to administer county government. The number of different officials usually ranges from eight to twelve. For example, in Montana counties elect an assessor, court clerk, attorney, three commissioners, clerk and recorder, sheriff, treasurer, superintendent of schools, surveyor, coroner and public administrator, and in addition an auditor is elected in the larger counties. There is no executive coordinating head and extreme departmentalization results. In rural counties, where the total volume of work to be done is relatively small and quite seasonal, this departmentalization is especially expensive. In urban counties, where the volume of work is larger and steadier, the extreme departmentalization does not result relatively in as much waste and inefficiency.

It would seem, therefore, that the typical plan of county administration, with many independent, uncoordinated elected officials, is less well adapted to rural than to urban counties. On this score, rural counties should be a particularly fertile field for administrative improvement through adoption of the manager plan.

The fact that the numerous officials must be elected every two years in many states or every four years in others makes a long ballot that is not only cumbersome and confusing but also expensive. In some states elections every two years approximate a tenth of total county administrative costs. Rural counties with small population, lack of concentrated industrial wealth and low taxable valuation can ill afford this expense. Again, the arguments that the manager plan accomplishes particularly good results appear to be as applicable to rural as to urban counties.

Petroleum County Example

What evidence is there in actual practice that the manager plan has worked out successfully in a strictly rural county? The experience in Petroleum County, Montana, in this connection should be of interest. The manager plan went into effect there on January 1, 1943. Thus, four years of operation are available on which to appraise the effectiveness of this form of administration.

Petroleum County was the last of Montana's 56 counties to be created. Organized in 1924, it is the smallest county in the state in terms of taxable valuation or population. Its taxable valuation is less than $1,000,000, or only half that of Montana's next smallest county. Only slightly over 1,000 people live in the county, and there is only one incorporated town, Winnett, the county seat, which has a population of 400. In terms of area, the county has 1,664 square miles, is larger than thirteen other Montana counties, and nearly three times the size of the median United States county (618 square miles). Consequently, the population is very sparse with only .7 persons per square mile.

It is not necessary to give a detailed background of the events that led up to adoption of the manager plan, by a two-to-one vote, by the citizens of Petroleum County in 1942.[2] Suffice it to say that a diminishing flow of oil from the Cat Creek field and declines in crop and livestock returns accompanying drought and depression created a financial and debt situation that was impossible to handle under the usual organization of county administration. For example, Montana counties are not permitted by law to levy more than 16 mills for general administration. This maximum levy raised only $12,028 in Petroleum County for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, whereas expenditures for administration amounted to $22,882. Obviously, administrative expenses had to be cut to get within the budget raised by the maximum levy or the county would sink further into debt and eventually oblivion. For several years the deficit had been made up by sales of tax deeded lands and collection of delinquent taxes accompanying improved economic conditions, but obviously this was no permanent cure for a financially impossible situation.

The county commissioners could raise assessed valuations so that the maximum levy would raise more funds, but this was extremely unpopular and in the long run would undoubtedly have defeated its own ends by causing increased tax delinquency. It seemed imperative, therefore, to cut administrative costs. Consolidation of certain county offices was tried but was found to be inadequate.[3] County office consolidation may result in reducing administrative costs somewhat, but to achieve maximum efficiency and economy only the coordinated effort, centralized responsibility, simplified record-keeping, centralized purchasing, and selection of personnel on a merit basis, possible under the manager plan, will do the job.

Costs Cut a Third

During the next four years the manager plan showed annual administrative costs reduced more than one-third. In terms of costs per thousand dollars of taxable valuation, there has been a reduction from $27.80 to $16.45. Thus, the amount of levy required to meet administrative costs has been cut from almost 28 mills to slightly over 16 mills, the statutory maximum. In other words, in less than four years under the manager plan Petroleum County has its administrative house in such order as to be able to live within its income. It is significant that during the same four-year period administrative costs in the other 55 Montana counties, operating under the old system of administration, remained practically constant—in fact, increased slightly.

Under the old form of administration, Petroleum County employed thirteen individuals to operate its county government, in addition to electing three county commissioners. Of these thirteen employees, nine were regular elected county officers: county clerk and recorder, county treasurer, county assessor, county attorney, county superintendent of schools, clerk of court, sheriff, public administrator and coroner, and the other four were deputies, or clerks, hired to assist with the work of county government. Today, Eldon Freed, county manager, says that the total employed in the county is five: the county manager who also acts as director of finance, the chief deputy, the director of records and clerk of the district court, the sheriff and assessor, and the county attorney. The county attorney is elected under the manager law by the people, and is paid half by the state. Thus, in place of thirteen employees under the customary form of county government, there are now a total of only five, or less than two-fifths as many.

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[2] See the author's "Rural County Can Be Efficient", the REVIEW, October 1944, page 448.

[3] In 1938 the offices of superintendent of schools and assessor were consolidated and the offices of public administrator and coroner were consolidated with the sheriff's office.

Salary Bill Halved

The total salaries for regular employees amounted to only $7,960 in 1946, compared with $14,283, or approximately twice as much, in 1942. The next lowest of Montana's 56 counties spent in 1946 over one-third more than Petroleum County for salaries of the six major elected officials alone—clerk and recorder, treasurer, assessor, superintendent of schools, sheriff and attorney.

Equally as spectacular as the reduction in administrative cost is the record of debt reduction in Petroleum County under the manager plan. On June 30, 1942, before the manager plan went into effect, the county had $20,705.99 of warrants and $40,000 of bonds outstanding. On June 30, 1946, after three and a half years of manager plan operation, the county had only $131.66 of warrants outstanding, no bonds outstanding, and a net credit balance of cash of nearly $39,000 or the equivalent of approximately a 40-mill levy. Prior to adoption of the manager plan net indebtedness equaled 59 mills. This shift from a debtor to a creditor status represents a difference of nearly 100 mills to the good, in terms of tax levies, compared with a shift equivalent to only 12 mills for all Montana counties during the same years. Debt-liquidating levies have been reduced in Petroleum County from 17 mills in 1943 to 7 mills in 1946.

These very significant financial achievements are largely the result of the better coordinated plan of administration characteristic of the manager system. Under this system Petroleum County voters now elect only a board of three commissioners and a county attorney, instead of the nine officials already referred to.

The commissioners serve as a board of directors to formulate general policies and plans for the county. This board selects a manager to carry out its policies and to execute administrative details, and the manager is removable at the pleasure of the board, with rights to a public hearing. The manager appoints the employees to operate the county government. The number of employees is now only three-fifths as great as previously, following the office consolidation indicated, and less than half as many as were employed under the standard plan of county administration.

The experience of Petroleum County offers overwhelming evidence that the manager plan can work effectively in small rural counties. The results accomplished there can be repeated in most, if not all, of the 2,653 rural counties in the nation. The serious financial plight in which Petroleum County found itself necessitated a sweeping reorganization of its administrative machinery in the direction of sound business practices and efficiency. While such a financial situation helps to bring voters to their senses in doing something about improving their county government, it is not necessary for successful operation of the manager plan.

The manager form of government can result in efficient administration and make the tax dollar go much further in counties that are not in serious financial straits as well as in those that are. After all, we should be interested in seeing that as few cents as possible out of every tax dollar are used to pay administrative costs and as many as possible are left to provide essential and needed services for our people in modern society.

THE WORLD DEMANDS PROOF

(Continued from page 77)

local resources and powers are frequently incapable of reversing the trend.

If we want our local communities to avoid having to go to Washington to save them from virtual destruction, we must greatly extend and accelerate the application of planning. And mere city planning is not enough. It must include metropolitan planning, planning at the state level and in many instances regional or interstate planning. It must embrace fiscal programming. Every plan must include the measures for its fiscal achievement. The only possible answer to the failure of such voluntary planning through state and local governments will be planning for an increasing number of regions enforced by federal authority or money.

In the last analysis, the success of any system of freedom must depend upon confidence—confidence in ourselves and confidence in one another. The way to achieve confidence is to act confidently. If we are to continue to act confidently, we must correct the deficiencies in our American system and thus demonstrate both to ourselves and to the world that it works. The final proof of our capacity for responsible world government will be our demonstrated capacity to make state and local government both effective and responsible.

County Pattern for the Future

Manager plan, budgeting, cooperation with communities and state, as well as civic leadership, seen as essential.

By ELWYN A. MAUCK*

AFTER the hiatus of the past years of world conflict, the interests of the people of the United States are turning once more to their normal peace-time institutions. Some of those institutions have been permanently modified as a by-product of the war; others are resuming their prewar characteristics. In the field of local government, most institutions have quickly sloughed off their battle dress. In a remarkably short time they divested themselves of all activities relating to selective service, civilian defense, price control, rationing and other wartime functions.

Another postwar development in local affairs is the resumption of interest and participation in improvement of government structure and procedures by local community groups and civic leaders.

The evidence is unmistakable that sentiment for reform in local government is developing rapidly and extending to all parts of the United States. For the forces of good government it cannot and will not be a losing battle! The institutions of local government must advance in conjunction with other social developments; there are no alternatives.

It is not to be blithely assumed that the advocates of county reform "know all the answers." They can merely formulate plans, on the basis of all available evidence, which will serve to guide the development of our institutions in order to have them serve our best interests. In the present momentous transitional period through which we are passing, no one can foretell precisely where the transition will lead us.

The shaping of things to come, however, does lie most definitely in the hands of the people in a democratic nation. Our government is exactly what we make it. It will suffer from our neglect or it will flourish as a result of our attention. If we are to retain our democratic institutions we cannot afford to assume the complacent attitude of the woman who, in answer to a question by a Gallup poll-taker, declared, "No, I have never voted in my life. Thank God, I am not responsible for that mess down in Washington."

The fate and future of county government are by no means clear. Some persons are prepared to sing a requiem for the county; but others are inclined to believe it will continue to exhibit an entirely satisfactory degree of life and vitality. To maintain a healthy condition, however, it is obvious that the county must continue to perform desired functions with an acceptable degree of efficiency. Otherwise it will atrophy and disappear like the vestigial organs of the human body.

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Strong local government requires active participation by civic leaders in the community. An apathetic attitude can be as destructive to good government as outright opposition. If we relax our vigilance democracy will disappear at the grass roots, and our recent military victory over the authoritarian form and theory of government will have been in vain. What the people of the United States have won for themselves by force of arms must be preserved by virtue of popular insight and understanding of modern government. Any lesser course is unthinkable.

County Services

County government provides essential services for practically all our people. In rural areas it frequently is the major unit of local government; only in urban areas is it sometimes of lesser importance. Almost everywhere it levies its taxes and, in return, performs specified services for its residents. Many of the important services it renders go unheralded. It records our birth, issues our marriage license, registers our title to real property (including all our mortgages on it), and it takes appropriate notice of our death. It might even investigate should we die under mysterious circumstances. If we want to own a dog or go hunting or fishing, county officials will issue the appropriate license. The county builds and maintains our roads, keeps the peace, cares for the poor, and provides for the administration of justice.

In addition, modern American counties have expanded their functions into many other fields of activity. They now have established health, medical and recreational services; they provide streets, water, lights, fire protection and sewerage systems; they plan and zone; they build houses, auditoriums and airports; and their war programs included participation in activities such as selective service, price control, commodity rationing, civilian defense and aids to service men.

What do the prophets of doom predict for the county? They point to the trend toward centralization as proof that the county is an outmoded unit. They ridicule its weak, disintegrated structure of government. They urge us to destroy the "court house gang." They declare that the needs of modern society require that we by-pass the county for the sake of efficiency.

The true friends of counties, however, also have been in the vanguard of those who have publicized the evils in county government. They recognize that only in eradication of the evils does there lie hope for thriving county government. Hence they have outlined the evils in order to point the way to reform. With reform the county should experience a renewal of strength.

Without reform, the county has been experiencing a gradual drain of power and authority to larger units of government. The trend toward centralization is a reality and to some degree it is inevitable and desirable. We cannot oppose the trend merely because it means that local governments lose their powers to states, states to the nation, and perhaps the nation to the United Nations. Local self-government, states' rights and national sovereignty are values which must be considered in conjunction with other values which may contain points of conflict. We must look to the values to be gained as well as the values sacrificed by every such trend or transfer of powers.

The trend toward centralization must be evaluated from points of view in addition to that of hypothetical administrative efficiency. The value of democracy is not open to question in this discussion. Assuming its virtue, there is little doubt that the most effective training ground for democracy lies in the field of local self-government. This is a factor that must be weighed along with factors of efficiency when one analyzes the effects of the transfer of functions to larger units of government.

How Secure Efficiency?

The standards of efficiency and democracy are less likely to be in conflict with each other when the problem involves local government consolidation. Much has been written about consolidation of counties, city-county consolidation, and functional consolidation. Developments on occasion appear to be filled with promise, but satisfactory results have been meager. Several sparsely populated counties in western states have voted in favor of dissolution of their county governments and amalgamation of their areas with adjoining counties. No city-county consolidation has been effected for decades, although in numerous communities it is a topic of current discussion. Functional consolidation between municipality and county or between other local units has been adopted in many metropolitan communities, and almost without exception it has been an instantaneous success. In numerous other communities, some form of consolidation is being actively debated, and it is safe to assume that there will be further progress in the not too distant future.

The manager plan continues to be one of the most promising developments in the field of county government. Although less than a dozen of the country's 3,000 counties have a manager as recognized by the International City Managers' Association, many have some modified form of a manager plan which alleviates the worst features of the usual disintegrated type of county government. During recent decades the county manager plan has been the subject of vote and debate in many communities, and the number of manager counties gradually is increasing.

Home rule for counties also has been the subject of more discussion than action, although recent developments indicate that a revival of activity may be in prospect. The two new state constitutions of Missouri and Georgia contain county home rule provisions, and several counties in each state have initiated action to secure home rule charters. Also counties in other home rule states have indicated a revival of interest in securing home rule charters. In some states in which constitutional home rule has not been achieved, the counties are seeking to secure a degree of autonomy through statutory home rule.

A survey I completed recently for the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League serves to illustrate many of the problems and some of the solutions proposed with specific application to a given county. Wicomico County, Maryland, is located on the eastern shore, and probably can be described as a typical county in its area. It is a rural county devoted to truck gardening, although Salisbury, the county seat, contains several small industries and approximately half the county's population. There were no unusual governmental problems, no crises, nothing to set Wicomico apart from other Maryland counties. Its problems were those of most counties which cling to outmoded forms of government.

"Fourteen Points" for Reform

The recommendations resulting from the survey can be summarized in fourteen points:

1. Adopt the county manager plan, if possible in cooperation with similar action by the city of Salisbury;
2. Adopt a modern budget system, including a long term capital budget, and consider changing the fiscal year;
3. Join with the city and board of education in centralized purchasing;
4. Integrate financial functions, including collection of taxes, in a division of finance;
5. Install modern personnel procedures;
6. Join with the city of Salisbury in all activities which prove adaptable to cooperative effort;
7. Investigate possibility of securing more favorable formulas for allotment of state welfare and road money;
8. Consider possibility of securing the return from the state of greater jurisdiction over services such as health, welfare, county roads and assessment of property;
9. Establish a planning and zoning board to provide controls for the orderly development of the county;
10. Develop and integrate the recreational services which have been initiated;
11. Investigate further the need for a county police force, with full consideration of existing state aid and city facilities;
12. Take necessary action to have control over the liquor dispensary transferred to the county;
13. Provide desired services for unincorporated communities by the establishment of special districts;
14. Seek codification, simplification and clarification of the statutory and constitutional authority under which the county operates, with a view to permitting more effective home rule in all matters of primarily county concern.

The problems of powers, organization and structure have been discussed to the exclusion of problems of functions because the functions will continue to be entrusted to counties only if they prove themselves appropriately organized and competent to retain or undertake such functions. They are being given an unprecedented opportunity at the present time to play a significant role in developing governmental services for which there is an acute need. Many counties have appointed veterans service officers, and other counties are currently announcing the appointment of such officers. They will assist in all problems of veteran readjustment to civilian life including vocational counselling, housing, securing of government surpluses, loans for business or continuing the veteran's education, and similar matters. Although new housing at present is primarily an aid to veterans, the problem permeates every aspect of community life and has its impact on everyone in the community.

New Jobs for the County

Counties are being given a renewed opportunity in highway construction and maintenance. Roads have been allowed to deteriorate and new construction has been deferred during the course of the war. Hence an unprecedented demand has accumulated. Federal legislation requires that counties be consulted in the expenditure of federal grant-in-aid funds for highway construction purposes. The extent and effectiveness of such consultation depends ultimately upon the vigor with which counties assert their legal rights.

Airport construction and maintenance constitutes another field in which counties may assume a prominent role. It is obvious that we are now entering the air age. Commercial air transportation is expanding at a remarkable rate, and the large air lines are being supplemented constantly by smaller feeder lines. Unscheduled commercial flying and private business and recreational flying also are in their early developmental stages. The construction of airport facilities, airport zoning, and other aspects of development and regulation fall appropriately within the sphere of county jurisdiction.

There remains the question of the means to be employed to attain the objective of reform in county government. Organization, public education and the usual electoral processes furnish the answer. On this matter I may allude also to the exceptional means adopted recently by the citizens of a county in Tennessee. A group of ex-soldiers in McMinn County resolved to rid themselves of their local boss-ridden machine. They organized their own political party for county offices, but on election day they were able to secure an honest count only after a six-hour siege and exchange of gunfire with the election and other county officials. The count then showed that the GI party had won an overwhelming victory.

The action of the GI party cannot be either unqualifiedly endorsed or condemned. As a precedent it is undoubtedly dangerous. Illegal violence cannot be condoned under any but exceptional circumstances, and violent revolution must necessarily be suppressed by existing government. Violent means can be equally useful for good and evil ends, and in that lies its danger. The recent establishment of the fascistically-minded Columbians, Inc., in Atlanta, Georgia, amply illustrates this danger.

On the other hand, the vigor and determination of the GI party adherents to secure fairness and honesty in the election must command the admiration of all persons also interested in honesty in government. For philosophic justification they can find ample support in the writings of Thomas Jefferson. In the case at issue, apparently the majority will could be secured only through violent seizure of the governmental machinery from corrupt officials. The uneasy question must continue to plague many of us, "How many times is the will of the majority defeated only because a minority has a stranglehold on the election process?"

I believe we are safe in assuming that such conditions of extreme corruption are exceptional, although that they exist elsewhere there can be no doubt. In the vast majority of cases orderly processes can and must be followed, and illegal violence must be suppressed by duly constituted authority. As a first step, the forces for good government must organize inside or outside of existing party or civic associations. The organization must be built on a permanent basis, for the battle will never be entirely won. The necessary research must be undertaken, the program adopted, and the battle lines drawn. Temporary defeat must be regarded merely as an opportunity for re-evaluation and elimination of mistakes. Under such a program eventual victory for good government is inevitable. Only under such a program will we participate adequately in shaping our future and insuring the safety of our democratic institutions.

BIG GOVERNMENT NOT INEVITABLE

(Continued from page 71)

exacts before federal administrators and the management experts will find ways to decentralize. Here, indeed, is a great area of neglected administrative study of fruitful experiment. In this vital field of public management lies great opportunity for administrative ingenuity, a challenge to the joint interest and efforts of the experts in local, state and federal operations. The methods applied in the Tennessee Valley, and the results achieved there by the working partnership of public agencies engaged in a resource-development job, are not inconsiderable proof that Big Government overcentralization need not be inevitable.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Cities Move to Improve Charters

Commissions Draft New Laws for Voter Action

CITIES far and wide are actively engaged in the revision of their basic laws. Charter commissions are at work in Richmond, Minneapolis, New Haven and many other communities. Numerous municipalities are seriously considering the council-manager plan.[1]

The new charter commission of Richmond, Virginia, charged with the task of modernizing the Richmond governmental setup with its bicameral council, began its concentrated activities in December with the arrival of Dr. Thomas H. Reed of Hartford, Connecticut, the commission's technical consultant on charter drafting, and Dr. Rowland A. Egger, director of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Virginia, who will be the commission's director of research. Dr. Reed will be assisted by Mrs. Reed, who is also an expert in the field of local government, and Dr. Egger brought with him Dr. A. M. Hillhouse, professor of public finance at the University of Cincinnati, as financial consultant.

The commission's recommended charter must be ready by May 5, 1947, and will be voted on later this year; if approved it must obtain the sanction of the state legislature in 1948.

At the call of Mayor H. H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, Minnesota, representatives of organized labor have met with business leaders and representatives of other economic, social and civic groups, forming a citizens' committee interested in fiscal and administrative reform in the city's governmental structure. The committee will serve as an advisory group to the city charter commission, and will be expected to explain agreed charter provisions to the general public.

One important proposal under consideration is the establishment of a commissioner of administration, to be appointed by the mayor with approval of the council. This action would centralize in one office the functions of purchasing, accounting, tax collecting and ultimately the preparation of the budget. These are now widely separated among elective and appointive officers and boards, including the city assessor, treasurer, comptroller and the Board of Estimate and Taxation.

Centralization of responsibility in the mayor is also contemplated, with more department heads appointed by him with council approval.

Activity in Connecticut

In Wallingford, Connecticut, a committee has been appointed by officials of both the town and the borough of that name to study charter changes, including consolidation of the town and borough and adoption of a new charter.

The recently appointed charter commission of New Haven, Connecticut, has begun public hearings on proposals for improvements in that city's outmoded basic law, which has been amended some 210 times since 1899 and now provides for at least 29 different and autonomous boards. Voters are burdened with a long ballot, including mayor, city clerk, treasurer, town clerk, sheriff, registrars of voters, registrar of vital statistics, aldermen, selectmen and grand jurors.

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[1] See also "Council-Manager Plan Developments," page 90 this issue.

Andrew T. Rolfe, of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, gives the following report on Connecticut cities seeking the aid of that organization in charter revision.

A dinner meeting sponsored by the council served to bring into focus the trend for local government reform now generally rampant in Connecticut, and to emphasize the importance of getting charter legislation properly presented to the state legislature for approval. The meeting was unique in that it grew out of requests to the council from fourteen charter revision committees for more information on how to get a charter revision bill through the legislature and because the discussion started a spontaneous demand for more home rule in Connecticut.

Since that time the Connecticut League of Women Voters has announced that it is now conducting an aggressive campaign to sell the General Assembly on adopting more home rule legislation for the towns in the 1947 session. In addition, Hartford's voters have, by popular referendum, approved a new council-manager charter which contains a provision permitting amendments without recourse to the General Assembly. With this device Hartford stands to win a measure of home rule for itself, provided the General Assembly passes the charter bill unchanged.

More than 80 members of the fourteen town charter revision committees attended the meeting, many of whom brought their representatives to the legislature as guests. Towns represented were: Darien, East Hartford, Fairfield, Farmington, Hamden, Hartford, Manchester, Middletown, Milford, New Haven, Norwich, Southington, Wallingford and Windsor.

Of these towns Darien, Farmington, Hartford, Manchester, Milford and Windsor have approved the principle of the council-manager type of government. A citizen committee for better Norwich government is actively campaigning for a bill to consolidate the town of Norwich with the city of Norwich. New Haven has just appointed a new charter committee which is reported advocating a strong mayor charter. Fairfield is favoring a representative town meeting government similar to that of Greenwich and the remaining towns are looking for improvement within the structure of their present charters.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Oxnard, California, chose council-manager government at an election on December 12 by a vote of 325 to 273. The total vote was a small proportion of the registration. A companion measure to make the offices of city clerk and treasurer appointive instead of elective failed of adoption.

Mayor Patrick J. Kearns of **San Carlos, California,** has proposed that San Carlos and its neighbor **Belmont** join in the employment of a city manager. Mayor James E. Furlong, Jr., of Belmont has expressed favorable interest, and points out that the two cities now have a city engineer in common and have joint plans for a sewage disposal plant and joint operation of a city dump.

Woodland, California, will vote on the manager plan at the regular municipal election April 8.

A bill to authorize a referendum in **Boston** on adoption of the manager plan with a proportional representation council was introduced in the Massachusetts legislature on January

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3 by Representative Henry L. Shattuck of Boston. If approved by popular vote the plan could go into effect by 1950, the end of the term of the present mayor, James M. Curley. The specific plan would include a council of nine members, with two-year terms and annual salaries of not more than $6,000; it would designate one member as mayor, with a maximum salary of $7,500, and would appoint a city manager at a maximum of $25,000. The present mayor receives $20,000. Among the manager's appointments would be the Licensing Board, now appointed by the governor. Mr. Shattuck expects to introduce a further bill specifying that the Boston police commissioner be appointed by the manager instead of by the governor as at present.

The charter commission which is studying proposals for charter changes in Boston has held several hearings at which Plan E (manager and P.R.) for the city has been advocated and attacked. One member, Judge Daniel J. Gillen, has had a petition introduced in the legislature on his behalf, by Representative M. P. Feeney, for a constitutional amendment to permit adoption of Plan E or other form of charter by referendum in any city on petition of 10 per cent of the voters.

The Veterans Civic Committee in **Dover, N. H.**, is promoting the manager plan. Dover considered adoption of the plan many years ago, but this was previous to adoption of the state enabling act for cities in 1929.

Mayor Minot C. Morgan, Jr., of the borough of **Princeton, New Jersey**, has called a town meeting for February 12 to consider the idea of a borough manager.

The **Fair Lawn, New Jersey**, Council-Manager Fact-Finding Committee held a public meeting in January which was addressed by Walter J. Millard of Cincinnati, City Manager Paul A. Volcker of Teaneck, New Jersey, and Councilman Birmingham of Clifton, New Jersey.

The **Hoboken, New Jersey**, League of Women Voters and the Hoboken Chapter of the Independent Citizens League arranged a mass meeting on the council-manager plan which was also addressed by Mr. Millard.

Petitions have been circulated in **South Norfolk, Virginia**, calling for a referendum on the council-manager plan. The community is adjacent to the larger city of **Norfolk**, a council-manager city since 1918.

The Association of Commerce of **Waukesha, Wisconsin**, has circulated petitions to obtain a referendum on the manager plan and has organized a steering committee that includes representatives of service clubs, labor organizations, the League of Women Voters, the American Legion, merchants and industrialists, as well as the president of the association and of the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The City Charter Commission of **Fergus Falls, Minnesota**, has suggested various charter amendments including one for the manager plan. The League of Women Voters is interested in the latter proposal.

In **Hastings, Minnesota**, the new charter commission is studying the manager plan, including the questions of size of council, mode of election, primaries, etc.

The **Poplar Bluff, Missouri**, Chamber of Commerce has voted unanimously to support the council-manager plan. It is organizing a "master committee" on which are represented various civic, fraternal and religious groups to explain the plan and petition the city council for an election on its adoption.

The League of Women Voters in **Columbia, Missouri**, is fostering a campaign for the manager plan. The

Daily Tribune is presenting educational material concerning the plan.

Growing out of a temporary committee of World War II veterans, a Citizens' Committee for City Manager has been organized in **Kansas City, Kansas**, has printed petitions, and circulated and mailed out 40,000 letters to voters, enclosing petition cards to be returned postage-free. The petitions were filed January 6 and it is planned to hold a referendum on March 4.

Keen interest in the manager plan has been demonstrated in **Leavenworth, Kansas**, where the *Times* advocates adoption of the plan, which was explained to some 500 citizens at a public meeting by L. P. Cookingham, manager at Kansas City, Missouri, and to the Kiwanis Club by Walter Johnson, manager at nearby Atchison, Kansas.

In **Lawrence, Kansas**, a committee of the Chamber of Commerce has been studying the manager plan.

The **Hill City, Kansas**, *Times* and the **Pittsburg, Kansas**, *Headlight* advocate a change to the council-manager plan in their respective cities.

The Civic Improvement League of **Leadville, Colorado**, sponsored a public meeting in the high school auditorium where the manager plan was explained by Chet Cook, manager at Canon City.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Cozad, Nebraska**, contemplates making a campaign for the manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Monroe, Louisiana**, is considering the possibility of establishing the manager plan there.

The **San Antonio, Texas**, League of Women Voters is studying council-manager government and is expected to undertake a campaign for its adoption.

A special committee of the Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Yakima, Washington**, is studying the council-manager plan. The newly-elected mayor expressed willingness, prior to his election, to step aside in favor of a manager, but the state attorney general has ruled that a special election for adoption of the manager plan could not be held before November 1947.

Interest in council-manager government is also being shown in many other cities, including **Bath, Maine**; **Willimantic, Connecticut**; **Woodbridge, New Jersey**; **Raleigh, North Carolina**; **Columbia, South Carolina**; **Morton Grove, Illinois**; **Ashland** and **Kewaunee, Wisconsin**; **Duluth, Minnesota**; **Manhattan, Kansas**; **Seminole, Oklahoma**; **Sandpoint, Idaho**; **El Centro** and **San Luis Obispo, California**; and **Walla Walla, Washington.**

Manager Plan and Unionization

Fear of job insecurity on the part of city employees of Emporia, Kansas, as a possible consequence of recent adoption of the council-manager plan, has been asserted by union organizers as a reason for city workers to unionize, according to the Emporia *Gazette.* Apprehension of older employees has been particularly played upon, with emphasis on the fact that a city manager instead of members of the city commission would henceforth do the hiring and firing.

St. Paul Teachers Call Off Long Strike

The strike of public school teachers in St. Paul, Minnesota, after having been in force for one month, was "suspended" on December 27 when the city charter commission approved a charter amendment for submission to the city council, and by them to popular vote, authorizing an increase of over two million dollars in annual school expenditures. This would enable large salary increases to be made and possibly improvements to the schools and the school system.

Three New York Villages Advised to Form City

Consolidation of three adjacent villages in Westchester County, New York, to form a single city was recommended at the turn of the year in a report on the three communities—Tarrytown, North Tarrytown and Irvington-on-Hudson—prepared by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, municipal government consultants; it was financed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., whose Pocantico Hills estate is nearby.

The proposed city would have a population of about 20,000 and would be independent of the towns of Greenburgh and Mt. Pleasant, of which the villages are parts. There would then be only one local government except for school districts, for which the report also recommended consolidation, to be undertaken with the assistance of the State Department of Education.

Various means of eliminating duplicate or excessive expenses were suggested. The Tarrytowns were urged to combine even if Irvington declines.

The first step proposed was the appointment of a committee to draft a charter for submission to the state legislature, after which referenda would be held.

State Legislatures Consider Streamlining

Twelve recommendations for streamlining the legislative process have been prepared by the Committee on Legislative Processes and Procedures of the Council of State Covernments, for the attention of each of the 44 state legislatures scheduled to meet this year. Sessions in 42 states began in January with Florida's on April 8 and Alabama's on May 6. The only four legislatures not scheduled to meet in 1947 are those in Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia.

A summary of the recommendations follows:

1. Remove restrictions on length of regular state legislative sessions (sessions now are limited in 26 states);
2. Remove constitutional restrictions on legislators' salaries;
3. Broaden merit systems to include key legislative personnel;
4. Reduce the number of legislative committees through consolidation and reorganization on the basis of subject matter and cooperation between houses;
5. Provide for public hearings on all major bills, with ample notice;
6. Lengthen and stagger legislators' terms;
7. Provide for legislative councils or interim committees with adequate clerical and research facilities;
8. Review and strengthen legislative reference, research, bill drafting and statutory revision services;
9. Limit the period in a legislative session during which bills may be introduced and provide for filing and printing of bills before sessions open;
10. Review and revise rules wherever necessary to expedite legislative procedure, with due regard for fairness and adequate deliberation;
11. Provide for an adequate budget and further centralize legislative fiscal responsibility;
12. Provide for local home rule legislation.

The committee also considered such vital questions as legislative reapportionment, unicameralism, annual versus biennial sessions and voting procedures, but considered them beyond the scope of its current report.

Committees of the majority (Republican) party of this year's Pennsylvania legislature have prepared reorganization plans, in accordance with a resolution adopted by the last (1945) legislature and for action by the present one. Senate committees are expected to be reduced from 31 to 20, and House committees from 42 to 32. Surplus employees are to be dropped and pay increased for committee staff members.[1]

New Jersey Governor Urges Constitutional Convention

In his inaugural address on January 21 Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey called for complete revision of the century-old state constitution. He proposed a convention to draft a new constitution, which would then be submitted to the people at the general election in November. The legislature was asked to submit the question of revision to the public, presumably at a special election at which convention delegates would be selected. He suggested that the legislative representation of the small counties remain undisturbed.

Governor Driscoll thus continues the fight of his predecessor, Walter E. Edge, for constitutional reform in 1943, when the legislature drafted a new constitution which lost in a referendum the following year. (See the REVIEW, 1943-44.)

Federal Legislative Reference Service Expands

The Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress assigned to the Legislative Reference Service the task of meeting the research demands of all individual members of Congress and serving as a reserve research pool for committees. The response of Congress was to grant an initial substantial increase to a total appropriation of $425,000 (not including a sepaate increased appropriation for the State Law Section of $88,000). By January 1, 1947, it was anticipated that the service would have at least one qualified specialist in a majority of the fields of importance to Congress, and at salaries comparable to those in the executive branch.

Section 203 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (Public Law 601, 79th Congress, 2nd Session) provides for the establishment, duties, appointments, compensation, grades and retirement of personnel in the Legislative Reference Service. It also authorizes appropriations for the work of the service amounting to $550,000 for fiscal 1947, $650,000 for fiscal 1948, and $750,000 for fiscal 1949.

Since its creation in 1915 the Legislative Reference Service has owed its existence to an item in the annual legislative appropriation acts. The effect of section 203 is to give the service statutory recognition.

Section 203 (b) (2) authorizes the Librarian of Congress to appoint in the Legislative Reference Service senior specialists in a score of broad fields of public policy. Such specialists are to be available for special work with the appropriate committees of Congress in order "to advise and assist any committee of either House or any joint committee in the analysis, appraisal and evaluation of legislative proposals pending before it, or of recommendations submitted to Congress, by the President or any executive agency, and otherwise to assist in furnishing a basis for the proper determination of measures before the committee."

GEORGE B. GALLOWAY

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[1] For further reports on improvement of legislative procedure see page 99 this issue.

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Budgets and Taxes Keep Going Up

Expenditures, Salaries, and Taxes Follow Living Costs

THE high cost of living and government continues to occupy the center of the researchers' stage. Current bureau reports from many parts of the country tell much the same story, though with local variations. It is a story that has been repeated again and again in reports noted in recent months in this and other sections of the REVIEW.

Sometimes there is the happy twist of a slight reduction in the tax rate as reported both for Rochester and Monroe County, New York, in monthly bulletins of the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research,** W. Earl Weller, director. In Monroe County this was possible despite increased welfare expenditures and salary raises because of increased revenues especially in the form of state aid, reduced debt service and a decrease in the estimate of unpaid taxes.

Facts about the budgets and taxes in Erie County and Buffalo are presented in recent numbers of *Just a Moment*, issued by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** Sidney Detmers, managing director.

Anticipating the need for new local revenue to meet increased expenses, *Your Tax Dollar*, issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy,** D. Benton Biser, director, emphasizes "that if budget funds are to be spent to the best advantage, there is required a better grade of supervision and workmanship than is yet evident in many departments."

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director, points out that "by way of contrast" with the nation-wide trend "the 1947 Providence budget of $17,500,000, excluding water department operations, is $700,000 less than 1941 operating expenditures and $2,200,000 less than total 1941 expenditures. The bureau attributes this distinction to the fact that "the city's expenditures were already comparatively high in 1941." However, it concludes that "the day of comparatively large operating surpluses has passed for Providence."

Taxpayers' Problems, issued by the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council,** Merle W. DeWees, executive director, tells the more common story of anticipated 1947 expenditures almost a million and one-quarter greater than in 1946, $736,000 of which is attributed to increased salaries.

Reports in *Citizens' Business*, published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** William C. Beyer, director, on "Next Year's Revenues" and "Next Year's Expenditures," indicate that 1947 city-county expenditures out of revenues will be the largest in Philadelphia history, with pay rolls higher but debt charges going down.

According to the **Citizens' Government Research Bureau of Milwaukee,** Norman N. Gill, director, the budgets of the five local units operating in the city of Milwaukee have increased 51 per cent for operating purposes in the six years since 1941. The same bulletin which carries this report states that the five governments "are fifteen years behind in their permanent improvement programs as a result of practically no construction during the depression and the war." Need for planning "joint permanent improvement programs," estimated to cost over $200,000,000, is indicated.

"Public insistence that changes in

governmental compensation rates be made only at budget time" is called for in the monthly bulletin of **Government Research, Inc., Los Angeles,** Ed F. Thompson, executive secretary. The same bulletin also wonders if the more than 50 per cent increase in city income attributable largely to the city sales tax and other new taxes is a sufficiently stable revenue foundation for the present spending program of the city.

"They Look to the Legislature, the Story of Pittsburgh's City and School Budget for 1947," is the title of *P. E. L. Newsletter* of the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director, December 1946. The report notes that a precarious balance is struck for 1947 in the case of the school board by drawing on reserves and a hope for increased state grants and in the case of the city by refunding $2,300,000 in bonds.

Tax and Other Facts

Comparative tax rates in Oregon cities are presented in the *Information Bulletin,* issued by the **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon,** Herman Kehrli, director.

Tax rates of New Mexico municipalities for 1945 and 1946; a consolidated statement of budget allowances for the state, counties, schools and municipalities; and figures on state and local indebtedness are presented in *New Mexico Tax Bulletin* for December, published by the **Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico,** Rupert S. Asplund, director.

Actual and adjusted tax rates of California cities are listed in the October number of *Tax Digest,* published by **California Taxpayers' Association,** N. Bradford Trenham, general manager. Other factual reports in the October and November numbers cover county tax rates; trend of state expenditures, 1940-1945; data on population growth; high school costs per pupil; allocation of $90,000,000 of state aid for public works in cities and counties; California highway revenues and costs of education in California.

"Tax Rate Book for 1946," a compilation of city, school and county tax rates in Kansas, together with the population, assessed valuations, percentage taxes collected, bonded indebtedness, etc., is presented in 27 pages of the January 1947 number of *Kansas Government Journal,* published by the **League of Kansas Municipalities,** John G. Stutz, editor.

Per capita assessments, taxes, expenditures and debt for educational and other local purposes in Canada for 1943, together with a summary table indicating the trend of expenditures 1929-1943, are presented by the **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada,** Horace L. Brittain, director, in *Tax Conference Report* Number 218. This report is the end of a series started in 1922. It is announced that "a new series will be begun on the basis of gross expenditures for all functions except public utilities."

A boost of more than 15 per cent in property taxes to be levied in 1947 throughout Indiana is anticipated in a report of the **Indiana Taxpayers' Association,** Walter T. Horn, executive secretary. The report carries tables giving the property tax levy as advertised and as finally fixed for each county and a table comparing the taxes levied for 1946 and the estimated taxes levied for 1947.

Two recent bulletins of the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director, have presented facts and brief analyses of the costs of government and the tax structure of Connecticut as compared with those of seven other industrial states. Another bulletin reports on the financial condition of the state and still another on the bases and yields of individual income taxes in the 31 states which levy them.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California,** Samuel C. May, director, has issued *Postwar Bibliography No. 2: State and Local Finance and Taxation, a Bibliography of Materials Published 1941-1946,* compiled by Dorothy Campbell Tompkins, 98 pages, $1.50. Director May announces that this bibliography represents a selection from the finance section of the bureau's catalogue of more than 80,000 items on war and postwar problems. It is to form a section of an extensive work covering "social and economic aspects of the postwar reconversion period" based on the entire catalogue.

Education Costs

Increasing personnel and other costs in education are an important factor in public budgets everywhere, as many of the reports noted above indicate. A number of other reports deal exclusively with educational problems.

That the story of increased "school costs in New Mexico is in large part the story of all states of the nation" is the conclusion of *Public School Attendance and School Costs in New Mexico,* by R. J. Mullins and E. H. Fixley, issued by the **Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico.** This 26-page report sells for 50 cents.

"What constitutes a reasonable salary for Chicago teachers?" and "Where is the money coming from?" are questions discussed in a report entitled *Further Comments on Teachers' Salaries in Chicago* by the **Civic Federation,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary. The report includes tables giving facts about salary scales for fourteen large cities.

Facts Concerning the Compensation of Teachers in New Jersey has been issued by the **New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce Department of Governmental Research,** Alvin A. Burger, director. The report covers the trend of teachers' salaries in New Jersey since 1914 against the background of economic change through the two wars, compares this trend with trends in the compensation of industrial, clerical and other professional workers, and reviews other factors which indicate that, relatively, the desirability of teaching positions in New Jersey is not so low as many people believe. The report suggests bonuses to alleviate hardship cases resulting from temporarily high price levels, and careful study to discover economically safe ways to provide adequate compensation for good teachers to balance any secular rises in wages and prices. This report is to be followed by two others dealing respectively with state school aid in New Jersey and with other facts bearing on the financing of public education.

The possible effects of a recent constitutional amendment setting a minimum for teachers' salaries and providing for additional state funds for education are analyzed in a recent bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director.

"Next steps for Wayne U," according to a note by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director, should mean support and assumption of the university by the state as a unit of the statewide educational system.

For Better Control

Running through many reports is a plea for more effective control or management of fiscal operations in order to compensate as much as possible for inevitable increases in cost.

The benefits of pay-as-you-go financing of capital improvements are set forth in *Comments,* published by the

Lackawanna Tax Research Bureau, James J. Kirkwood, executive director.

A lightening of the interest burden on the Philadelphia city debt is noted in *Citizens' Business* published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.** Two other recent Philadelphia bulletins deal with the debt problem. One, entitled "It Must Not Happen Again," supports a constitutional amendment started in the legislature in 1945 to "change the city's general debt limit from 10 per cent of the *current assessed valuation of taxable property* (both realty and personalty) to 12½ per cent *of the average of the last ten annual assessed valuations of taxable real estate only.*"

The **Chicago Civic Federation** has issued a 45-page report, *Salary Rate Structure of the Local Governments of Chicago,* prepared by Stuart W. Shepard, engineer-analyst. The report finds that among urban governments throughout the country pay scales average 16.9 per cent lower than the scales prevailing in manufacturing employment, but that the Chicago local government pay scale is 20 per cent higher than the manufacturing scale in Chicago. For specific classes of Chicago government employees the variation from the standard set in private industry ranges from —3 per cent in the case of draftsmen to +48 per cent in the case of elevator operators and +29 per cent to 49 per cent for janitresses. The first recommendation of the report calls for consideration of the creation of "a small body composed of representatives from each of the local governments," (a) with the immediate objective of providing a single agency to hear claims presented by employee groups and (b) to promote uniform conditions among the several governments.

Bulletin number 250 of the Civic Federation, a statement made at the sanitation district of Chicago public budget hearing, urges serious consideration of simplification and consolidation of local government in Chicago, a complete system of centralized purchasing for the sanitation district, creation of a department of personnel and of a department of finance, etc.

"Current city salaries generally appear to be above or equal to those prevailing in private firms," according to a survey by the San Francisco Civil Service Commission reported in a December bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Govenmental Research.**

The San Francisco bureau has also issued a bulletin on San Francisco hospital costs comparing daily patient costs and charges with those in hospitals in seven other metropolitan jurisdictions.

Rates of Pay and Conditions of Employment of Sanitation Laborers in the United States in 1946, prepared by Sonya K. Essin, librarian, has been issued by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** as a contribution to "the information needed in appraising the fairness of the pay rates of Philadelphia's sanitation laborers." The information is summarized in four tables.

What Your Town Lives By, a Discussion of Budget Making, has been issued by the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division,** as an indication to citizens and budget-makers of the league's attitude toward budgets.

Another recent *P. E. L. News Letter* entitled "Centralized Accounting for Pittsburgh: Modern Business Methods, Tax Billing and Fiscal Administration" discharges "the pleasant duty of making a progress report on a project of long standing." The report predicts that the installation "should pay dividends in better tax collection."

Legal Basis of Newark Budget Procedure is the subject of a 22-page report by the **Newark Bureau of Mu-**

nicipal Research, Henry W. Connor, director.

Legislative Councils Meet 1947 Deadline

The flow of legislative council reports prepared for the 1947 sessions of the state legislatures continues.

The November *Progress Report* of the **Kansas Legislative Council**, F. H. Guild, director of research, lists eight bills to be submitted to the legislature, eight recommendations not accompanied by bills and eight other matters on which information is or will be ready for submission to the legislature. Kansas reports received include: *Licensing of Professional Engineers,* 30 pages, a factual report covering statutory definitions and requirements in various state laws and in the model law approved by the American Society of Civil Engineers. The report concludes with a statement of "fundamental legislative considerations involved." *Psychiatric Facilities in Kansas,* Part I, *Objectives of a State Program,* nine pages; Part II, *The Five State Institutions,* 78 pages, describes a survey conducted by the staff members of the United States Public Health Service. The reports point to a comprehensive modernization and expansion of mental hygiene facilities in Kansas. Part II concludes with 45 specific legislative and administrative recommendations covering all phases of the program. *Retirement of Municipal Employees* is also available.

Six **Nebraska Legislative Council** reports were adopted at the final meeting of the council, November 25, 1946. No. 9 is a report of the Subcommittee on Taxation, 56 pages, including a statement of principles and sixteen recommendations. The report concludes that the immediate need is to correct inequalities and inefficiency in the administration of the property tax.

No. 10, report of the Subcommittee on Governor's Mansion, three pages, recommends that construction of a new mansion "be deferred until such time when the work can be done on a more efficient and economic basis" without competing so directly with private housing projects. No. 11 is a report of the Subcommittee on the Genoa State Farm, sixteen pages. No. 12, a report of the Subcommittee on Colleges and Universities, "intended to be primarily impressionistic," is the result of visits by a subcommittee to nine publicly-supported institutions in neighboring states. The visitations were suggested and financed by an anonymous giver to the University of Nebraska Foundation with a view to giving members of the legislature an opportunity to learn first hand about the operation of other universities, in order that they might have a better understanding of the problems confronting the University of Nebraska.

No. 13, a report of the Subcommittee on Reports of State Departments, nine pages, recommends that "all major agencies of the state government should be required to submit periodical reports . . . in such a manner as to make them readily available to public officials and interested citizens generally" but suggests a number of ways in which present unnecessary and duplicating reporting should be curtailed. No. 14, a report of the Subcommittee on Realignment of Legislative Committees, twelve pages, points out that "the Nebraska committee system is already a streamlined one" embracing the smallest number of committees of any state legislature. Although finding that no spectacular change in the present system is in order, the report recommends eight specific improvements.

The Disposal of State Personal Property (eight pages), an analysis of present laws and procedures together with recommendations to correct certain deficiencies and to centralize the sale of all personal property through the division of purchases and stores, has been issued by the **Alabama Legislative Council.** The report was prepared by the **Alabama State Legislative Reference Service.**

Bureau Aids Legislature

The **Bureau of Public Administration, University of South Carolina,** Christian L. Larsen, assistant director, has issued the first two numbers of its 1947 series on legislative problems: *Integrated Systems of State-Supported Higher Education,* 32 pages; *Aids for State Legislators,* 25 pages. These reports were prepared in pursuance of an offer by the bureau to prepare "concise research summaries covering available materials on problems which might come before the 1947 general assembly." Dr. Larsen explains that as an impartial fact-finding agency the bureau avoids definite recommendations on controversial subjects. The first report, pointing out that South Carolina does not have an integrated system of higher learning, presents an analysis "of action taken in other states as an aid to South Carolina legislators." The appendix contains statutory and constitutional provisions of a number of other states. The second report is a convenient survey of the organization and activities of existing legislative councils, bill drafting agencies and reference services.

Two other reports from university bureaus deal with legislative organization. Hallie Farmer continues her study of the legislative process in Alabama with *Recess and Interim Committees,* **Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama,** 43 pages. Roscoe C. Martin, director of the bureau, points out in a foreword that recess and interim committees "for almost half a century have played a more important role in Alabama than in most other states." Dr. Farmer concludes that these committees have had an important effect on the legislative process and that a few minor changes would equip them for an even more useful role, especially in legislative planning.

A bulletin of the **Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Kansas,** Ethan P. Allen, director, carries a report entitled "The Kansas Legislature, Its Organization and Work," by Tom Page, research associate, and Rhoten A. Smith, research assistant. This report covers briefly the length of sessions, organization, costs, work and apportionment in the Kansas legislature.

Further Improvements in Legislative Procedure 1947, recommended by the **Connecticut Legislative Council,** is the subject of a report of the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director. The 21 proposals were worked out by the legislative council with the cooperation of the staff of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council. They cover a great variety of matters including the improvement of legislative records and bill service, legislative supervision over rules and regulations of executive departments, strengthening the governor's veto, facilitating the transaction of legislative business, an automatic system of reapportioning senatorial districts and reduction in size of the House of Representatives. A number of the proposals are designed to strengthen reforms adopted in 1945.

Law Making in Connecticut, issued by the Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut, Joseph M. Loughlin, director, charts and explains briefly the procedure followed in enacting Senate and House bills into law.

Civic Groups Prepare for 1947 Legislatures

Seek County and Electoral Improvements, Home Rule

THE year 1947 will find nearly all of the state legislatures in regular session and civic groups the country over are preparing their legislative programs and planning to keep an eye on proceedings.

According to its weekly *News*, the **Municipal League of Seattle** will cover the 1947 legislature as it did two years ago. Secretary C. A. Crosser has been designated to attend all legislative sessions. He will prepare weekly articles for the *News* to keep members informed and will cooperate with other organizations in promoting legislation for county home rule and such other measures as the league may endorse.

LWV Programs

The **New York League of Women Voters,** Ruth Harper, executive secretary, is conducting a vigorous campaign of education on permanent personal registration of voters prior to introduction in the state legislature of a bill to provide "P. P. R." for all localities in the state. The **New York City League,** Mrs. Walter Neale, president, made its official bow in the campaign by a distribution along the city's famous Fifth Avenue of 100,000 fliers which announced a meeting on the subject addressed by J. Martin McDonough of Baltimore, a leader in the campaign to secure permanent registration for Maryland. The league's speakers bureau is prepared to furnish other groups with speakers and a kit is available for distribution.

The *New York Times* has stated editorially that it endorses "the campaign soon to be started by the New York League of Women Voters for action" by the 1947 legislature and comments that "it is a movement that deserves the support of good citizens."

The **Georgia League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Leonard Haas, president, in its December *Georgia Voter,* warns that there is a movement on foot to have the state laws regulating primaries—the actual election in that state—repealed. Political leaders who want to prevent the Negro from voting, says the bulletin, "THINK this would take the primaries out of the reach of the federal courts." League members are asked to get in touch with their legislators. Other legislative issues in which the league is interested include home rule, educational requirements for voting and various items to make the state's school system more efficient including a state-supported twelve-grade school system.

The **League of Women Voters of Wisconsin,** of which Mrs. William A. Norris is president, has announced its 1947 legislative program as follows: (1) Statutory and constitutional changes to provide for improvement of county government; (2) increased and more equitable state aids for education and reorganization of school districts; (3) revision and codification of public welfare laws, control of juvenile delinquency, increased appropriations for state department of public welfare; (4) reapportionment of the state's legislative districts on the basis of the 1940 census. Mrs. John E. Wise is state chairman of legislation.

The elimination of technicalities and other burdensome requirements in the election law which hamper independent bodies and insurgent groups in putting up candidates for public office was the subject of a conference between members of the executive committee of the **Citizens Union of New York City,** George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary, and the local law committees of the two major parties. The Citizens Union pointed out that the "elector's right of suffrage includes the right to nominate candidates. Each year, however, the party machines succeed in throwing out dozens of nominating and designating petitions on technical grounds." The purpose of the meeting was exploratory, says the union in a recent newspaper release, and party representatives were not asked to commit themselves on any specific proposal. The union will urge the simplification of election law procedure as part of its 1947 legislative program.

In commenting on the current demands for an increase in compensation for members of the Michigan legislature, *The Civic Searchlight* of the **Detroit Citizens League**, William P. Lovett, executive secretary, wonders if "bigger pay will produce better legislators."

Legislative dinners in sixteen cities were sponsored by the **Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce**, Leonard P. Fox, general secretary, in order to give an estimated 1500 businessmen an opportunity to know their state legislators better. Speeches and discussions dealt with matters facing the 1947 legislative sessions. John H. Moody has been appointed manager of the state chamber's legislative service.

State legislative services of the **Hartford, Connecticut, Chamber of Commerce**, William A. Dower, executive vice president, and the **Minneapolis Chamber**, Walter W. Finke, executive vice president, are planning to keep members informed of developments at their respective state capitals.

Cleveland League Celebrates 50 Years of Service

A "gala" banquet, addressed by Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati and well known in the civic field, marked the 50th anniversary of the founding of the **Citizens League of Cleveland** in 1896. Guest of honor was William G. Mather, one of the founders of the league and its oldest living member. Judge Carl D. Friebolin, long identified with the league's work, was toastmaster. Speakers included Mayor Thomas A. Burke and League President Wendell A. Falsgraf.

Mr. Seasongood spoke on "Local Government in the United States—A Challenge and an Opportunity." He commended the league on its activities and influence in the community. City governments are better today than they were 50 years ago, he said, because of great advances in study and technique of local government, but he warned that "even the partial advances that have been won are never secure and always in danger."

"Let the league be comforted in the reflection that in worthy endeavor there is no failure," he said in closing. "May it ever be mindful of its great obligation to try to bring about a new public morality and a spirit which will rescue local government from the captivity in which it is held as a spoils ground for the achievement of national political machines. And in its next 50 years may the league not be as Oliver described the oak in *As You Like It*, 'its high top bald with dry antiquity,' but verdant, vigorous and a refuge for all good endeavor that comes under its shade."

As part of the anniversary program the league's newly created "annual commendations" of public officials for outstanding public service were presented to the late Joseph T. Sweeny, former city finance director; Linda A. Eastman, former head of the Cleveland Public Library; James A. Reynolds, former county commissioner; William A. Stinchcomb, director of the

Metropolitan Park System; and John A. Zangerle, county auditor.

A 30-page pamphlet, *The Citizens League of Cleveland 1896-1946—Fifty Years of Critical and Constructive Service,* prepared by Andrew Pangrace, chairman of the Committee on Publications, was issued in commemoration of the anniversary. On the front cover, in gold, is a tiny reproduction of *Greater Cleveland,* the league's weekly bulletin. Photographs of the founder, past secretaries and directors, and leaders in league activities are reproduced, as well as those of present officials and the staff, headed by Robert W. Chamberlin, director. The pamphlet gives a quick resume of league activities over the past 50 years. It comments on the organization of the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research in 1944 (which has the same office and staff) and the recent announcement that research will be conducted jointly by the Department of Political Science of Western Reserve University and the Bureau of Governmental Research, with results available to the Citizens League.

Other Groups Meet

Hon. Charles P. Taft, president of the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee,** addressed that organization at its 21st annual dinner on the major factors for good and ill which face both the Charter Committee and the city.

Among the oldest of active civic groups is the **Connecticut Merit System Association,** Robert C. Deming, secretary, which celebrated its 65th anniversary with a dinner on January 23. Henry J. MacFarland, director of the Municipal Service Bureau of the New York State Civil Service Commission, was the principal speaker.

The **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** met January 10 at Newark for its sixteenth annual meeting. Speakers at the banquet were U. S. Senator Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia and Dr. George S. Benson, president of Harding College of Arkansas. Featured at the afternoon session was a "taxpayers' clinic" and talks by Herbert J. Miller of the Citizens' National Committee and A. R. Everson, executive vice president of the New Jersey association.

"Better Government" was the theme of the annual meeting of the **Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues,** Frank G. Arnold, president, at Lincoln. Several sessions were scheduled for December 9, beginning at 9 A.M. and ending with a banquet addressed by Herbert J. Miller of the Citizens National Committee and Hon. Val Peterson, new governor of Nebraska. The federation's annual business meeting was held the following morning.

Voting Machines for Chicago Area

Action at the November election resulting in the four-to-one approval of voting machines for Chicago and the rest of Cook County has been outlined by the **Illinois League of Women Voters** and by the **Union League Club of Chicago.** Both organizations were active in the attainment of enabling legislation, passed by the legislature in 1941 with the aid of the **Joint Civic Committee on Voting Machines,** but heretofore utilized only by Rock Island County. In September 1946 the Chicago *Times* ran a series of articles urging action in that city; representatives of civic organizations later prevailed upon County Judge Edmund K. Jarecki to order the question on the ballot. An active campaign was organized; articles, speeches and radio programs were arranged, 115,000 copies of a campaign leaflet were distributed, and voting machine models were demonstrated in the city hall and other public or semi-public places.

A Good Slogan

"Make Steubenville a Name to Be Proud of!" is the slogan for the new **Citizens League for Good Government of Steubenville and Jefferson County, Ohio.** H. Calvin Cook is acting chairman. The group has been running a membership blank in the local newspaper with good results. Among matters to be considered is the council-manager plan.

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A Job Well Done

Forward, bulletin of the **Wisconsin League of Women Voters,** offers congratulations to the local league in **Madison** for its successful campaign to secure the council-manager plan for the city at the November election. The league initiated the movement and league members circulated most of the petitions for a manager referendum. Its speakers bureau arranged 46 talks before various local groups. There were also three public meetings and twelve radio broadcasts.

* * *

"How Knoxville Did It"

This is the title of an editorial appearing in the *Memphis Press-Scimitar,* congratulating Knoxville on its recall of three of its councilmen, including the mayor, for "abusing the city manager charter." "The methods the people of Knoxville used," cites the editorial, "are valuable to any community in which the people would like to regain control over their government. Note these three steps:

"(1) A **Good Government Group** was formed to serve permanently as a watch-dog over the city government.

"(2) Leaders came forward to head a movement for immediate action to oust the offending politicians.

"(3) The people's support was marshalled by putting forward a good government ticket of substantial public-spirited men—somebody around whom they could rally. Thus the voters were given an incentive to pay poll tax and register for the election."

* * *

Need for New State Constitution

The **Committee for a New Constitution for Kentucky,** headed by Dr. Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky, is bringing the need for a new constitution before the voters of the state. J. E. Reeves, assistant professor of political science at the University of Kentucky, is on leave to act as full-time executive for the new organization.

One of the articles published by *The Connecticut Voter,* **Connecticut League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Alexander Marcus, editor, in its series on "Know Your State," is "Revision of the Constitution of Connecticut." One of the urgent needs, says the article, is the provision of home rule for local government.

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Veteran Activities

According to a report in *Southern City,* veterans in **Hartsville, Tennessee,** where a regular election has not been held in several years, are circulating a petition calling for a change in the city government and installation of a new water system. The veterans contend that present officials should have been replaced or re-elected in 1944.

Representatives of the Community Service Division of the Kansas City, Missouri, Welfare Department are visiting all families in veterans' housing centers to discuss recreational and social needs, explain city services, and tell them of a plan to organize a community council among residents at each veterans' housing site. A general meeting to discuss the organization has been arranged.

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Town Hall Tonight

The first in a series of six "Town Hall" dinner forums, sponsored by the **Seattle Municipal League,** C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, was devoted to traffic and parking problems. The meetings are held twice a month and portions of the discussion are broadcast.

The **People's Forum of Yonkers, New York,** continues its monthly discussions of matters of public interest and problems confronting the city. The meeting for February will be sponsored by the **Yonkers Committee of 100,** Henry B. Gould, executive secretary. Dr. Luther Gulick, president of the **Institute of Public Administration,** will discuss "What Can a Citizen Expect from His Government?"

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Looking Forward

Both the Men's and Women's Divisions of the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee,** Forest Frank, executive director, are already at work organizing for the 1947 councilmanic campaign. Ward meetings held have evinced much enthusiasm. The best organization in years is predicted by Mrs. Elizabeth C. Reid, vice president in charge of organization. The committee's Charter Women's Club is planning neighborhood meetings. The Young Charterites are conducting a membership drive. Anyone under 30 is eligible, reports Mrs. Reid, but "you don't have to show your birth certificate." The committee's Smoke Elimination Committee is urging everyone interested in the adoption of a new smoke ordinance, based on that of St. Louis, to write to the city council or to circulate petitions in its behalf.

* * *

Community Projects

The **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs,** Mrs. Sara Sparks, chairman of public affairs, has sent a questionnaire to all its local groups on their community projects for the year. Clubs are asked to report on the type of project, who proposed it, why it is needed, what club committees are cooperating, and what other local groups are cooperating.

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Strictly Personal

Walter L. Pierpoint, full-time president of the Association of Omaha Taxpayers, is given high praise in the *Readers' Digest* article, "How You Can Get Greater Value from Fewer Tax Dollars," by O. K. Armstrong. The story describes the work of the Omaha group led by Mr. Pierpoint in making citizens of that community "justly proud of the fact that their town has one of the lowest tax rates, and the highest credit rating, of any city of its size in the land."

Harland C. Stockwell, assistant executive secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago since 1935, has been made executive secretary, according to announcement by James A. Cunningham, president of the federation. The position involves responsibility for carrying on the work of the organization under the president and directors, Mr. Cunningham's announcement said.

Mr. Stockwell succeeds **Douglas Sutherland,** executive secretary since 1910, who has been given the title of director.

Allen H. Seed, Jr., executive vice president of the Minneapolis Civic Council, was re-elected president of the National Association of Civic Secretaries at its annual meeting in Philadelphia, held in conjunction with the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government. **William P. Lovett,** executive secretary of the Detroit Citizens League, was re-elected vice president, and **Forest Frank,** executive director of the Cincinnati Charter Committee, was chosen as secretary-treasurer.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Forty Years of P. R. in Tasmania

Observer Terms Use Unqualified Success

PROPORTIONAL representation has been in continuous use for the Tasmanian House of Assembly since 1907. It was first proposed by A. J. Clark, then attorney-general for the state. As usual when any reform is advocated, some objection to its adoption was raised. Because of this opposition it was decided to try P. R. at one election for members of the House from the cities of Hobart and Launceston only. The act was passed in 1896 and although its success was freely acknowledged so far as these cities were concerned, the differentiation between the voting methods applied to these cities and to the country districts gave rise to dissatisfaction. Accordingly the measure was withdrawn in 1901.

Early City Experience

In its application to the two cities one change was made from the P. R. system as advocated by Thomas Hare: an elector was required to vote for as many candidates as there were members to be elected. This requirement was later modified to provide that a voter must express a choice for at least one-half of the number to be elected. With a view to eliminating the element of chance thought to be associated with the system, a very exact method for the transfer of surplus ballots was worked out.[1]

The results of the elections in the Hobart and Launceston constituencies were very satisfactory. In Hobart there were twelve candidates for the six seats to be contested, and five of these were known as "the countryman's friends." The number of votes recorded was 2,746, approximately 60 per cent of those on the roll. In Launceston there were seven candidates for the four seats. The number of votes polled was 1,827.

In Launceston, the returning officer, after a few trial ballots, declared he did not want any increase in his staff, and did not anticipate any difficulty in regard to the count. In Hobart the services of the government statistician were retained, and a large increase in the number of deputy returning officers made, but no difficulty arose. The result of the count was declared in Hobart in less than five hours and in Launceston in four. The number of informal (invalid) votes cast in Hobart was 104, about 3 per cent, spoiled chiefly because the names were scored out instead of a number being placed against them. In Launceston the number of invalid votes was 58. These facts indicate that there was no difficulty in initiating P. R.

The Hobart correspondent to the Adelaide press, writing concerning these two trial elections, said: "The more we study the results of these elections the clearer the fact becomes that Hare's system does secure correct representation and prevents the polling of a large number of useless votes; and if true representation is what is wanted, this is the only way yet devised on which it can be surely obtained."

In 1897 a pamphlet, *Observations on the Working Results of the Hare Sys-*

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[1] The P. R. system used in Tasmania is frequently referred to as the Hare-Clark system.

tem of Election in Tasmania, was issued by R. M. Johnston, F.L.S., government statistician of Tasmania, in which he reports on Hobart and Launceston.

Commonwealth Elections

An official report by the chief returning officer of Tasmania to the Senate of the Australian Commonwealth contains convincing evidence as to the justice and practicability of the single transferable vote for parliamentary elections. The report deals with the election of Tasmanian members to the commonwealth Senate and House of Representatives in 1901 by the single transferable vote. The state of Tasmania was treated as one constituency. The percentage of spoiled papers was low—1.44 per cent in the Senate election and 1.8 per cent in the election for the House.

Provincial Legislature

Although the act providing P. R. for the election of Assembly members from Hobart and Launceston was repealed, the benefits arising from its use were realized and its reintroduction in a more complete form was not long delayed. In 1907 a new act provided P. R. for all members of the House of Assembly. The state was divided into five electoral districts with six members from each. The first election under the new law took place in April 1909 and the results met with general approval.

A *Report on the General Election*, April 30, 1909, by the chief returning officer and two deputy returning officers said: "The working of the system from the point of view of returning officers was an unqualified success. No serious difficulty of any kind was found in conducting the scrutiny. The scrutinies for two of the districts were carried out in country towns, where the number of persons available for choice of staff were small; but here, as elsewhere, no serious difficulty was found."

Repeal Attempt Thwarted

Notwithstanding the fact that P. R. has proved consistently successful, in 1932 an attempt was made by the Mc Phee government to abolish it and substitute single-member districts. At the preceding election a promise was made by the McPhee party to reduce the cost of parliamentary government, and it was to honor this promise that the suggested change was introduced.

It was proposed to reduce the number of members from 30 to 24 and to establish single-member electorates. The bill providing the change was moved by the chief secretary, Hon. C. E. James, who said: "Experience had shown that the present electorates were so large that members found difficulty in keeping in touch with their constituents. He did not propose to frame any indictment of the P. R. system, because if there was a larger voting population and a numerically stronger House, the abolition of that system could scarcely be justified; but the fact remained that with an Assembly of 24 members, such as the bill contemplated, a continuance of the present method of electing members was almost bound to result in an equality of parties and therefore deadlocks. If members represented smaller electorates, they would be involved in less expense in discharging their parliamentary duties, they would be able to devote more attention to a small constituency, and electoral campaigns would become less exacting and far less costly."

The leader of the opposition, A. G. Ogilvie, K. C., said it appeared as if the bill had been introduced with a knowledge that it had no chance of being passed. It was obviously for use at the next election, and everybody in Tasmania knew it. Single electorates meant "parish pump" politics in which a member's mind had to be "as narrow as a match." A member in those circumstances could not look at a problem from a state point of view. The representative of a big electorate could better afford to act in a national manner. The bill reeked with hypocrisy and it was a farce.

On November 23 when the provision in the bill for single electorates was put to the House it was defeated by twelve votes to ten.

No further debate took place and on December 9, on a motion moved by the treasurer, it was ordered that the bill be withdrawn.

A perusal of the speeches made by members opposing P. R. shows they were only half-hearted in their opposition to this just system of voting. Their main concern seemed to be to save expense and work for the candidates. The electors appeared unworthy of much consideration. They overlooked the fact that the main purpose of an electoral act is to give represen-

(Continued on page 120)

TABLE I—ELECTIONS, TASMANIAN HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Election	*Labor* *Seats in Proportion to Votes*	*Seats Won*	*Non-Labor* *Seats in Proportion to Votes*	*Seats Won*
1909	11.69	12	18.31	18
1912	13.65	14	16.35	16
1913	13.80	14	15.78	16
1916	14.54	14	15.46	16
1919	12.44	13	17.56	17
1922	11.42	12	18.07	17[a]
1925	15.58	16	14.12	14
1928	15.15	14	14.85	16
1931	10.98	10	18.39	19[a]
1934	14.39	15	14.64	13[a]
1937	18.06	18	11.94	12
1941	18.89	20	11.11	10

[a] Where the number of members does not total 30, independents have been elected.

TABLE II—INVALID BALLOTS, TASMANIA

Year	*Number of Invalid Votes*	*Per Cent Invalid*	*Per Cent Electors Voted*
1909	1,442	2.86	52.6
1912	2,166	2.85	73.5
1913	2,035	2,87	67.2
1916	4,348	5.51[a]	73.6
1919	2,757	3.88[a]	66.1
1922	1,834	2.63	63.1
1925	1,714	2.22	67.3
1928	2,973	3.24	81.9
1931	3,885	3.45	95.0
1934	3,855	3.19	94.5
1937	2,997	2.41	94.3
1941	6,344	4.99	91.2

[a] The proportions in these years were exaggerated by the inclusion of votes by persons who were not on the roll.

City-County Cooperation Takes Limelight

Consolidation of Functions Sought by Officials, Voters

LOOKING toward efficiency, as well as a saving in costs, more cities and counties are making plans to cooperate in the administration of various governmental functions.

The county court of Pemiscot County and the city of Caruthersville, Missouri, are cooperating in the installation of a county-wide police radio system. The system will be operated on a 24-hour basis.

High Point and Guilford County, North Carolina, are making plans for the collection of taxes for both units by the county, the city to pay 45 per cent of the cost of levying and collecting. The cities of Greensboro and High Point have secured the approval of Guilford County for submission of a bill to the 1947 legislature providing that the registration system of the two cities be merged with that of the county, thereby eliminating separate registrations of voters. This action will follow the path already set by Durham and Raleigh, reports a recent issue of *Popular Government*, publication of the North Carolina Institute of Government.

The governing bodies of Durham and Durham County, North Carolina, have been meeting together to discuss joint problems such as proposed large capital expenditures for schools and the possibility of a combined city-county government center as a "living memorial" to World War II veterans.

City Councilman James E. Jackson of Atlanta has stated that he will urge his city and Fulton County, Georgia, to join in the construction of a new incinerator, says *Southern City*. Councilman Jackson said the present city incinerator will soon need an additional unit if it is to operate at maximum efficiency.

Another County Studies Governmental Relationships

Skagit County, Washington, now also has a local Council on Intergovernmental Relations. Other counties with such councils include Henry County, Indiana; Blue Earth County, Minnesota; Colquitt County, Georgia; and Santa Clara, California.[1]

Draft Manager Bill for Anne Arundel County

A bill to provide a modified manager plan for Anne Arundel County, Maryland, will be introduced shortly in the Maryland legislature. It is backed by a commission of seventeen appointed by the county's legislative delegation.

The bill retains the present county commission which would appoint a manager or executive director to serve under it. The manager would have charge of reorganizing the county setup, making bulk purchases, and in other ways working for the reduction of county expenses. It is planned to abolish the eight separate road districts, each at present with its own equipment and tax rate, bringing them under the general supervision of the county.

Wisconsin Counties Press for Home Rule

The Wisconsin County Boards Association devotes its lead article in a recent issue of *Wisconsin Counties* to the subject of home rule for Wisconsin counties. The article consists of minutes of a public hearing of the Legislative Interim Committee on County Government. The witnesses appearing before the committee stressed the importance of transferring more substantive power to counties. The issue also published testimony before the committee involving alternative proposals of county board representation.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1946, page 90; April 1946, page 206; and November 1946, pages 538 and 551.

Texas Counties Request State and Federal Action

The West Texas County Judges and Commissioners Association, in a recent meeting, recommended to the state legislature that the county commissioners courts be permitted to establish all county salaries. Also it recommended that the federal government dispose of the land it had acquired under the submarginal land program and programs incidental to prosecution of the war in order that such lands might be restored to the county tax rolls.

Illinois Counties Set Up Health Departments

Since passage of enabling legislation in 1943, 22 Illinois counties have adopted full-time county health departments, 21 of them by popular referendum. Two counties defeated the proposition at the polls.

Missouri Counties Change to Photographic Recording

Five Missouri counties have turned to modern mechanical methods of recording documents. The recorders of deeds of Cole, Buchanan, Jackson, Pettis and Jasper Counties now use photocopy machines and St. Louis County is considering the purchase of a similar machine.

Advantages of the process include 100 per cent accuracy, saving of labor and paper costs, speed and relative permanency of the records. It is estimated that through the saving of labor the machine pays for its initial cost each year.

Planning Board Changes Recommended

The Municipal League of Seattle has recommended the following changes in the structure of the King County Planning Commission:

1. The county engineer and one county commissioner should be ex-officio voting members of the twelve-member commission. No other county official or employee should be a member. The secretary should not be a member.

2. When vacancies exist, the commission should prepare a list of two or more nominees for each vacancy to present for action to the board of county commissioners.

3. The planning budget should be divorced from the county engineer's budget. The commission should be empowered to appoint its own employees.

4. After four unexcused absences within a year by a planning commission member, the commission should be empowered to recommend to the county board that the member's position be declared vacant.

5. The planning commission should be given sufficient staff to enable it to zone, rezone, and perform other necessary aspects of county planning.

Two Missouri Counties Abolish Townships

Daviess and Livingston Counties, Missouri, have voted in popular referenda to eliminate township government. This marks the first time that such a proposal has succeeded at the polls in Missouri.

San Diego County Provides Chief Administrator

San Diego County, California, has created the position of "chief administrative officer" whose duties will include the direction and control of most of the county's departments including about 1,800 employees. The Board of Supervisors plans to make its appointment without regard to residence. The county's Department of Civil Service and Personnel is accepting applications for the position, the salary for which has been set tentatively at $12,000.

County Home Rule Amendment in Washington Legislature

A constitutional amendment providing home rule for counties of over 100,000 population has been introduced into the legislature of the state of Washington and referred to the Senate Constitutional Reform and Election Committee, whose chairman is sponsoring the measure. If the amendment is passed by the legislature and signed by the governor, it will be submitted to popular vote in 1948.

Iowa Grand Jury Criticizes County Policies

The Black Hawk County, Iowa, Grand Jury in a recent report asserts that better buildings are provided for the county's cows, hogs and horses than for unfortunate old people. The report declared, however, that the buildings were clean and the supervisory personnel sympathetic and efficient. Significant findings and recommendations of the Grand Jury include the following:

"The wave of fire tragedies this year proves how inadequate are fire prevention facilities in most public buildings, even those advertised as fireproof. They are certainly dangerously inadequate in this detention hospital, which is a natural firetrap by reason of its frame construction. Until a new and suitable fireproof building can be erected as a detention hospital, the board of supervisors should immediately install a modern and adequate automatic sprinkler system.

"We recommend such increases in nurses' pay at the detention hospital as will enable the manager to employ and keep good nurses. . . . We recommend higher salaries for both manager and hired help at the county home.

"The building housing the mentally ill and insane patients is a good building in good condition. The building housing the aged and infirm and indigent patients is a disgrace to the people of Black Hawk County. . . .

"While, as taxpayers, this Grand Jury appreciates a conservative regard for watchfulness over the taxpayers' money, we want to go on record as saying that there are some places where it is necessary and wise to spend some of the taxpayers' money and we believe that it would be the wishes of the majority of the people in Black Hawk County to make these very much needed improvements."

New York Justice Courts Report

A recent release by the comptroller of New Yok State reveals that 77 per cent of all criminal cases or 71 per cent of all cases tried in justice of peace courts in 1945 involved alleged traffic violations. In a dozen counties, however, civil cases constituted nearly a third of the total. The statistics reveal also that the 10 per cent of the justices near large urban areas accounted for 60 per cent of the justice court business.

University Makes 'in Lieu' Payments to City

Ann Arbor Will Receive over $125,000 This Year

THE city of Ann Arbor, Michigan, has recently reached an agreement with the University of Michigan under which the university will pay the city about $125,000 this year in lieu of property taxes and may pay as much as one million dollars over a ten-year period. In addition, the university will in the future make a flat payment of $5,000 as a capital investment for utilities for each new university building erected.

Ann Arbor has more tax-exempt property than it has property on the tax rolls, most of it owned by the university, according to Mayor William E. Brown, Jr., writing in the December 1946 *Michigan Municipal Review.* The university is by law permitted to contribute to the cost of governing the city, but such payments are not mandatory. Earlier the city proposed the doubling of water and sewer charges on tax-exempt property, in an effort to recoup part of the expense for services to non-taxpaying property, and following these proposals the university met with a special committee to plan a system of "in lieu" payments.

The formal contract provides for payment of $97,600 earmarked for expansion of the city's water or sewage disposal facilities and of $7,500 in exchange for discontinuance of a "free bed" arrangement for city employees, together with annual payments equal to the salaries of seven policemen (now about $20,500) for the university area. Informally agreed to are the payments for installing utility improvements for new buildings and an eventual payment of about $50,000 annually toward the city's fire and police budgets. The university is also to join in asking the state legislature to provide about $200,000 to build and equip a new fire station in the university area.

Courts Strike Chain Store Tax, Oleomargarine Sales Licenses

Two types of tax measures designed to "protect" certain classes of distributors or producers were held unconstitutional in two states during the closing months of 1946. One was Kentucky's chain store tax, the other Pennsylvania's annual license tax on wholesalers and retailers of oleomargarine.

The Kentucky chain store tax, adopted in 1940, was typical of similar measures enacted in several other states. It imposed a graduated tax ranging from $25 a year for each store in chains of two to five stores to $200 a year for each store in chains of more than 250 stores. The number of stores in the chain included out-of-state stores, although the tax was levied only on those stores of the chain located in Kentucky. On November 29, 1946, in *Reeves* v. *Adam Hat Stores, Inc.*, the Kentucky State Court of Appeals held the tax was a revenue measure and ruled the classifications unreasonable and the tax non-uniform. Similar acts passed in 1930 and 1934 had also been declared unconstitutional.

In Pennsylvania the Dauphin County (Harrisburg) Court held that a law enacted in 1901, imposing an annual license tax of $500 on wholesalers and $100 on retailers who sold oleomargarine was "unreasonable, confiscatory and discriminatory, and constitutes an illegal restraint of trade."

Minneapolis Asks State Aid

The Standing Committee on Ordinances and Legislation of the city council of Minneapolis has prepared an attractive brochure,[1] illustrated with simplified charts and tables, to support its request that the new state legislature increase fiscal aid to Minnesota cities.

Citing that the city has imposed the highest property tax rate in its history for 1947 and has avoided deficits except for relief by deferring maintenance and replacements, etc., the city council urges that the state: (1) double the liquor tax and allocate half the total proceeds back to the municipalities on the basis of population; (2) increase the gross earnings tax on railroads from 5 per cent to 7 per cent and allocate 30 per cent of the total proceeds to municipalities and townships or counties, again on the basis of population; (3) allocate 30 per cent of the proceeds of the gross earnings on other utilities to the municipalities and townships or counties on the basis of population; and (4) impose a state luxury tax on cigarettes of two cents per pack, with half the proceeds to go to the local units on a per capita basis.

Wyoming Defeats Tax Rate Limit Amendment

A proposed constitutional amendment to raise the maximum city and town levy of eight mills to twelve mills was defeated by the voters of Wyoming on November 5, 1946. While the measure received a majority vote, 32,533 to 21,284, it was defeated because the state constitution requires that a constitutional amendment must secure the approval of a majority of all ballots cast in the election rather than a majority of the votes cast for a particular amendment. This total was 83,086 votes.

A similar defeat was suffered by a proposed amendment which would have exempt airport facilities from the general requirement of Article XVI, Section 6, of the constitution which prohibits the state from engaging in internal improvements unless authorized by a two-thirds vote of the people. The proposal received 41,254 favorable votes to 16,175 unfavorable, 290 votes short of the 41,544 necessary for passage.

VINCENT A. OSTROM
University of Wyoming

Baltimore Alters Revenue Program

The new sources of revenue for the city of Baltimore for 1947, reported last month, have been slightly changed by subsequent action of the city council.

The state legislature, which met in special session December 27 to make appropriations to cover increased costs during the balance of the state's fiscal year, in anticipation of action expected to be taken by the regular session on the distribution of state revenues, made allocations to Baltimore City and the counties out of state income from racing. Consequently, the city council repealed its recent ordinance levying a tax on betting at Pimlico Racetrack.

The city council also exempted domestic services from its new 5 per cent tax on gas, electricity and telephone bills, and enacted a tax of 50 cents a gallon on alcoholic beverages (except wine and beer). The tax on cigarettes was amended to include cigars and smoking and chewing tobacco. The tax on pinball, music, etc., machines remains the same.

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[1] *City of Minneapolis, Financial Problems,* 14 pages.

D. Benton Biser, *Director*
Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy

Denver Seeks New Revenues

The efforts of the city administration of Denver to obtain additional revenues of $2,500,000 for 1947, to meet an estimated budget of around $11,500,000, brought forth a wide variety of proposals. The city was faced with the necessity of raising funds from other than property taxes, since property taxes for operating purposes are limited to fifteen mills for general city purposes and six mills for county purposes—although exceptions are permitted.

Among the revenue proposals considered were a 1 per cent city sales tax; a 1 per cent personal income tax based on payrolls, estimated to yield $3,800,000; a 2 per cent tax on public utilities, estimated to yield $444,000; motor vehicle licenses averaging $5 estimated to yield $310,000; a motor vehicle ownership tax and license. estimated to yield $263,000; and a 10 per cent sewer service surcharge on water bills, estimated to yield $310,000. The only actual increase thus far, however, has been the raising of the city cigarette tax from one cent to two cents per pack, estimated to yield an additional $330,000.

Avoidance of further property taxation was one of the main reasons for favorable consideration of the city sales tax on first reading, but a massing of public opinion of business, labor and consumer interests was responsible for defeating the second reading of the ordinance. Five councilmen reversed their previous votes primarily because of the wave of public opposition.

The city administration did not present a convincing case for needed additional revenues. Furthermore, transfers of the city's general surplus to special funds, the apparent lack of a trimmed budget, and charges of underestimated revenues from possible public utility franchise tax increases were criticized by the press.

The need for additional revenues to cover salary increases for firemen and police approved by the voters in 1946, to pay increases for other city employees, and meet higher costs for materials and equipment will probably result in an increase in the total property mill levy from 41.16 to 44.08 mills. The 1946 city and county property tax levies are to stand.[1] A separate ordinance is proposed to increase the school mill levy to cover increased school salaries with a slight reduction in the state mill levy. Even with such increased property tax levies, the city council must find a way to balance the 1947 budget to the extent of some $800,000.

Denver's experience is indicative of the increasing economy-mindedness of taxpayers as well as a commentary on the city administration's failure to sell the public an expanded budget by adequate publicity.

Orba F. Traylor
University of Denver

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[1] Denver's city charter states 15 mills shall not be exceeded for "all general city and county purposes", but a Colorado Supreme Court decision of 1912 declared the 15-mill legal limit applicable only to city levies. Also, *special* city and county levies are without the legal limit. This anomaly for separately authorized city and county property levies exists despite the fact that the city and county of Denver are coterminous.

British Centralization Continues

Hospitals Pass to National Control

THE first of April 1948 bids fair to be marked on the calendar as zero hour for English local government, according to *Local Government Finance* (London). Then local authorities will suffer their first major operation—the removal of their hospitals to national control. The centenary year of the first Public Health Act will be celebrated by the dissolution of the interest of all local authorities in the maintenance of the public health: thereafter county and county borough councils alone, though without their hospitals, will function as local health authorities.

"Local government," says the Minister of Health, "must be restated from time to time in terms of the needs of the situation and in terms of new principles of administration."

It is clear that in the course of this "restatement of functions" there is no future for county district councils. Already these authorities have lost their education functions, except where they act as agents for the county authority. Soon the police powers of non-county boroughs will pass to the county councils. The fire brigades are coming back to the local authorities after their wartime service on a national basis, but the district councils will know them not.

These changes are in harmony with the trend over many years in shifting functions from minor to major local authorities and from major authorities to the central government, although local authorities are not accustomed to the speed at which these changes are being arranged. Both structure and services are being reorganized at the same time.

A recent announcement by the Boundary Commission states that boundary proposals had been received from all but three of the county boroughs and from two-thirds of the county councils, as well as a number of proposals for the creation of new county boroughs.

This announcement heralds a grand contest between the major authorities for area, population and ratable value, and it may be that some decisions will be effective in 1948. But it is possible that before then the Boundary Commission's powers may be extended to enable it to make a wider survey and, perhaps, to effect greater mergers to provide local authorities at a regional level.

Two-tier Structure?

There was an echo of the Labor party's 1943 proposals on "The Future of Local Government" (which prescribed a universal two-tier structure of regional and area authorities, each elected democratically) in remarks made by Alderman C. W. Key, parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Health. Convinced that a great widening and reallocation of local government areas is essential, Alderman Key advocates establishment of regional authorities, embracing both urban and rural areas. Subsequently Dr. W. A. Robson put forward the view that the creation of elected regional councils would be a practicable alternative to the transfer of functions from local authorities to central departments or special bodies.

During the next eighteen months municipal aerodromes required for regular air services are to be nationalized under the Civil Aviation Act; certain trunk roads are being transferred to the Ministry of Transport;

the bill to achieve the final breakup of the poor law by transferring to central government most of the public assistance functions may be expected shortly. Electricity, gas and transport undertakings are to be severed from local authority control. There is talk of a central highway lighting authority. Planning legislation on compensation and betterment may bring other changes. Many of these changes should be completed by 1948 and others well advanced. By that date also the housing problem should be well on the road to solution; a number of the new towns will be under actual construction; and the blitzed towns and cities will have begun to cover their scars.

Important changes in the sphere of finance may be expected. Revision of the block grant may be timed to take effect in April 1948 and that, in turn, should mean the preparation before that date of a new valuation list. It may be upon the solution of these two main financial problems that the survival of a strong measure of local independence depends. Several changes could be made in valuation law and procedure to the advantage of local government, notably the divorce of values from restricted rents, while the abolition of derating would make a useful contribution to the essential extension of the basis of local rating.

Durban Confronts Problem of Leadership and Coordination

To Americans the operation of the traditional English system of local government, with policy and administrative power centered in committees of the city council, represents something to avoid if an effective city government is to be established. The English themselves have had to adapt their system to changing conditions during this century the chief result of which has been the increased importance of the town clerk, who in many instances has become a general administrative manager and policy coordinator.

Problems of leadership and coordination raised by such a system are illustrated by Durban, South Africa, whose council recently asked John McIntyre, town clerk, and Ernest Green, city treasurer, to make an investigation into the procedure and organization of the city.[1] These officials found much dissatisfaction with the existing system especially because of the large amount of time which council members are required to devote to municipal affairs and the slowness of procedure and accompanying delays in disposing of the council's business.

Several solutions are suggested by the investigators. The system of cooptation used in England and Wales, known as the aldermanic system, whereby elected council members appoint additional members to the council for their experience and knowledge, has been suggested for Durban. The town clerk and city treasurer, however, feel that there are inherent dangers in such a system and that citizens who do not have the time or money necessary to contest an election could adequately serve their city through advisory boards.

A second suggestion is that procedure might be improved if councillors were expected to perform fewer duties in their role as members of standing committees of the council. It is felt that the principle of delegation of powers could be used to a much greater extent while maintaining council supremacy over matters of fundamental policy. The council would retain considerable control through its control of the budget process.

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[1] Durban, South Africa, City Council, *Proposed Simplification of Procedure.* Joint Report by Town Clerk and City Treasurer. September 1946, 109 pages.

The heads of departments generally could perform more functions directly. Matters subject to the by-laws which in themselves indicate council policy could quite safely be left to heads of departments as matters of routine administration instead of waiting for a decision of the council.

In March 1946 a continuing departmental commission, consisting of all heads of departments, was established to consider and report to council standing committees all matters connected with council activities in which more than one of the standing committees might be concerned. The town clerk serves as chairman of the committee. In the opinion of the report, the functions of the departmental committee could conveniently be broadened to include certain executive powers, thus making it not only a coordinating body but also an executive body, whose decisions on delegated matters would not be subject to review. It is suggested that each council committee could reduce its volume of work by delegating matters of a non-policy character to this administrative agency. The departmental committee would also function as a reporting and investigatory body, and would initiate policy and coordinate the work of departments and committees.

U. S. Forms Rejected

The traditional four forms of municipal government in the United States—the weak and strong mayor, commission, and council-manager plans—were examined by the committee but rejected as impractical or impossible for Durban.

Two other sweeping changes in the city's governmental structure and procedure were suggested. The executive committee type of government as illustrated by Montreal was highly recommended. In that city the large municipal council appoints five of its members to constitute an executive committee with large powers and duties assigned to it by the charter. The reports of the executive committee on matters of fundamental policy must be approved by a majority of all members of the council or may be amended or rejected by a similar majority. The committee is instructed to utilize money either out of the budget or out of the proceeds of loans voted by the council without its further approval. Communication between the executive committee and the various departments is effected through directors of the departments who are full-time paid officials appointed by the council but whose duties are assigned to them by the executive committee. The committee has the right of supervision over all heads of departments with the exception of the town clerk, chief attorney, the comptroller and assessor. All heads of departments are appointed, suspended or dismissed by the council on report of the executive committee.

It was the opinion of the report that the appointment of an executive committee in Durban, subordinate to the council itself but with certain delegated powers giving it an executive authority in certain directions, would relieve the congestion in the Durban municipal machine and would prevent much of the delay which now occurs. The institution of the executive committee system would require the abolition of all standing committees and the council-administrative relationship therein contained.

A final possibility if committees must be retained is the splitting up of

(Continued on page 120)

Books in Review

Kentucky City Finances. By James W. Martin, Vera Briscoe, Glenn D. Morrow, Herman A. Ellis, Earl K. Turner and Freda Witherow. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press and Kentucky Municipal League, 1946. 275 pp.

This study prepared by the staff of the Bureau of Business Research, University of Kentucky, will be useful to all students of public finance and public administration. To Kentucky municipal officials, for whom it is primarily designed, it is indispensable. It should also prove invaluable to municipal officials in other states and to state finance officers in Kentucky and other jurisdictions.

The title and announced purpose (see Editorial Note) might lead one to believe that it is a "dry as dust" examination of law and statistics relative to Kentucky municipalities. Nothing could be further from the truth. Legal and statistical analyses are used freely, but no method of approach is overlooked; and all sources capable of throwing light on the subject are examined.

This volume contains a complete if relatively brief statement of the principles of municipal finance. Kentucky law, practice, and results are examined in the light of these principles and compared with other states. Budgeting, accounting, reporting, purchasing, depository control, debt administration, assessments, collections and auditing are thoroughly analyzed. Possible additional sources of revenue and means of making each dollar buy more in municipal services are examined. Policy, organization, personnel and management (including over-all city management) are emphasized.

State-municipal relations are thoroughly examined. Technical assistance from the central authority and a post audit by it are favored. Joint efforts, as a rule, are preferred to grants-in-aid and shared taxes; but it is not quite clear whether in the main this preference is due to Kentucky constitutional provisions which make most grants-in-aid and shared taxes unconstitutional.

Numerous constitutional difficulties are noted and practical solutions suggested. But there seems to be a fatalistic acceptance of the constitution as unchangeable at a time when constitutional revision is a burning issue in Kentucky.

Technically and analytically this book has very few shortcomings. Where opinion on policy is expressed, it is in line with sound financial principles. Professor Martin and his associates have created a notable study which is well written and sustains the interest throughout. It deserves to be and will be widely read. It should find a preferred place on the shelf of all persons interested in state and local government.

J. E. Reeves

University of Kentucky

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Democracy

Reveille for Radicals. By Saul D. Alinsky. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946. 228 pp. $2.50.

Elections

Elective Offices of State and County Governments. By Robert H. Holley in consultation with Richard C. Spencer. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 36 pp.

Employment

City Employment in 1945. Prepared

under supervision of Lewis B. Sims. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 57 pp.

A Nationwide Employment Service Operated by the States. By Ralph E. Flanders, etc. Chicago, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* November 1946. 28 pp. 35 cents.

State Employment in 1945. Prepared under supervision of Lewis B. Sims. **State Employment in 1946.** Prepared under supervision of Allen D. Manvel. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 10 pp. each.

Federal Government

The Federal Field Service. An Analysis with Suggestions for Research. By Earl Latham, with assistance of William D. Carey, Arthur Svenson, Milton Mandell and Wallace Sayre. Prepared for the Committee on Public Administration and the Committee on Government of the Social Science Research Council. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1947. 70 pp. $1.50.

United States Government Manual—1947 (first edition). By Bureau of the Budget, Government Information Service, Division of Public Inquiries. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1947. 718 pp. $1.

Highways

Interstate Highways. A New Network of High-Type Free Roads for the Nation. Washington 6, D. C., American Automobile Association, 1946. 24 pp. Illus.

Housing

Housing Goals for Chicago. Chicago, Chicago Plan Commission, 1946. xx, 236 pp. Illus. $1.50.

Recommendations for a Revised Housing Program for Veterans. Report of the Committee on Recomendations Appointed at the Housing Inventory and Forecast Conference, Chicago. New York, National Committee on Housing, 1946. 6 pp.

Labor

Labor Relations and the Public. Edited by Herman Feldman. Philadelphia, *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November 1946. viii, 198 pp. $2.50 cloth, $2 paper.

Planning

The Civic Center Plan. A Master Plan Report. Detroit, City Plan Commission, 1946. 24 pp. Illus.

Planning 1946. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting in New York City, May 6-8, 1946. Chicago, American Society of Planning Officials, 1946. viii, 199 pp. $1.

Population

Internal Migration in the United States: April 1940 to February 1946. Migration of Families in the United States: April 1940 to February 1946. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 8 pp. and 10 pp. respectively.

Public Administration

Case Reports in Public Administration Nos. 101-120. With Cumulative Table of Contents Cases 1-120. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1946. Variously paged. $1.60.

Taxation and Finance

Family Income—Milwaukee Metropolitan District 1939. By William L. Slayton. Milwaukee, City Planning Division, 1946. 23 pp.

Governmental Debt in the United States: 1946 (Preliminary). Prepared under supervision of Allen B. Manvel. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 2 pp.

Handbook of Public Revenue Bonds. Part I, Toll Bridge and Highway Bonds. New York, Tripp & Co., Inc., 1946. 86 pp. $7.50.

Municipal Debt Administration. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* November 1946. 24 pp. 50 cents.

Oklahoma Sales Tax—Including Operations of the Use and Music Box Tax. Statistical Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1945. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1946. 31 pp.

Overhauling the Federal Tax Structure. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* September 1946. 12 pp. 25 cents.

Plan for Local Tax Burden Adjustment by State-collected Local Tax on Net Income of Corporations and Individuals (with Adequate Exemptions) to Meet the Unavoidable Increased Costs and Provide Some Relief from Excessive Burden of Tax on Real Estate. By C. Chase Zalemski. Cheektowaga, New York, 1946. 8 pp. (Apply author, Office of Supervisor, Cheektowaga, New York.)

Report of the Motor Vehicle License Division of the Oklahoma Tax Commission for the Calendar Years 1942-1943-1944. Oklahoma City, The Commission, 1946. 83 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1946. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* October 1946. 20 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic Safety

America's Traffic Safety Champions. The National Traffic Safety Contest. Chicago, National Safety Council, 1946. 29 pp.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 108)

tation to all sections of political thought, not merely to study the convenience of the political candidates. No valid or logical argument was advanced to show that P. R. had not done all its advocates claimed for it.

The statistics in Table I, relating to elections in Tasmania since the passing of the act, provide convincing evidence concerning the justice of the proportional representation principle.

Table II shows the total number of informal (invalid) votes with their percentage of the votes polled. Compulsory voting was introduced in Tasmania in 1928.

In Tasmania, since 1941, candidates have their names grouped by mutual consent, pursuant to prescribed notification to the returning officer at the time of nomination. It is of interest also to note that pre-selection ballots within a party to recommend an order of preference among the party's candidates have been abolished. Party men desirous of contesting an election receive the endorsement of their party, and the matter rests with electors as to who shall receive the No. 1 preference vote.

Proportional representation has operated in Tasmania for more than forty years, and has proved an unqualified success in giving accurate representation of the political opinion in each electoral district.

E. J. Craigie

Adelaide, Australia

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD

(Continued from page 117)

committees into subcommittees to facilitate the handling of work and to make it possible to carry on municipal affairs without undue delay.

The proposed executive committee system, which seemed to be strongly favored in the report, and the proposals relative to delegation of authority to heads of departments and departmental committees illustrate that, with the present scope of functions of municipal government, coordiation and leadership both in policy and in administration are necessary and that legislative bodies can no longer supervise details.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

New Day Coming to Chicago

IT LOOKS like the possible dawn of a new political era in the nation's second largest metropolis, something which will be unfamiliar in the memory of a great many Chicagoans.

Although it is too early to say that the cleansing hand of reform is actually taking hold, there have been several developments which seem fraught with possibility.

Al Capone, who more than any other man is generally considered responsible for the notorious alliance between politics and crime, died in his palatial fortress-estate in Florida. The voters declared overwhelmingly in favor of the use of voting machines in elections and, inferentially, against the domination of self-serving political machines. Edward J. Kelly, longtime mayor, was eased out of the leadership of the dominant political party and was even dropped as a candidate to succeed himself. He was forced to give way to a business man who, of all things, has been known chiefly for his steadfast opposition to many of the activities of what has been known as the Kelly machine.

Martin Kennelly, who was chosen by the organization as mayoralty candidate to succeed Kelly, is a successful, self-made business man but, in the popular mind, is primarily a forthright civic reformer. He is prominently identified with the Chicago Crime Commission which has made no bones about exposing police practices. Mr. Kennelly made it clear that there was no secret deal and that he had consented to head the ticket only with the understanding that there are no strings attached, and that was interpreted by the organization to mean he would countenance no continuation of customary political abuses.

Proof that the organized political minorities intend to do anything more than wash their faces publicly will come, however, only in a demonstration that they are really willing to give the unorganized, hopeless and usually apathetic majority a chance at self-government.

Will they, for example, make it possible for Chicago and other Illinois communities to decide for themselves what form of government they want? In that state only places under 5,000 population may vote for the council-manager plan. None has done so, probably because of the unusual lack of nearby examples of its operation. The six which have the manager plan all are villages which have adopted the plan by ordinance. Meanwhile, there have been 80 adoptions of the plan by communities in Maine and more than 700 in the U. S.

If the predatory politicians of Illinois unlocked the door there would be a tremendous rush for responsible home rule. Do they dare relinquish their dictatorship?

The Manacled State

A GREAT many people will agree with Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey that "The popular mandate of November 1946 was a mandate to all the states to assume their proper role in the federal system, a role which requires an efficient frame of government." Governor Driscoll made the calling of a constitutional convention the number one project of his administration.

Movements for constitutional revision are afoot in a number of other states, including Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Florida and Oklahoma. It is significant that these five are in the south, which is displaying more civic energy and initiative than some supposedly more "progressive" sections.

One thing is certain. The 1946 mandate for more effective state and local government will be meaningless unless the people of the states do something about it. Thomas Jefferson pointed this out more than 150 years ago when he observed that it is not possible to strengthen the state governments "by any change in the federal constitution . . . it must be done by the states themselves, erecting such barriers at the constitutional line as cannot be surmounted either by themselves or by the general government. The only barrier in their power is a wise government. A weak one will lose ground in every contest." Then followed a constitutional prescription for smaller legislatures proportioned "equally among the electors," more responsible executives and more independent judiciaries.

How far most of our state constitutions still are from meeting these tests is all too obvious. In the meantime, instead of improving the frame of government to attract the best men and permit them to serve the state efficiently, the typical state has taken the defeatest road of multiplying constitutional limitations in the vain attempt to keep bad men from doing too much harm. This has forced the people to go to Washington for many services which otherwise could have been performed better and more safely at home.

An eminent political scientist has found in the American state a novel political form, "the manacled state—the state that puts a strait-jacket and handcuffs on government."

Surely no American who does not enlist in the battle to take the handcuffs off his own state government has any right to object to the continued flow of power and authority to Washington. In most states the battle must seek drastic constitutional changes designed, as Charles Edison has said, to "make good government easy and natural."

Americans who believe that democracy begins at home are working as never before for the improvement of local charters and the stengthening of local civic machinery. In many states they are discovering that the state constitution is a serious obstacle to their efforts.

Let's have more and better constitutional revisions. That is one way to demonstrate that our system really has the vitality needed for survival in the atomic age. —J. E. B.

How to Get a New Constitution

It takes a lot of doing and the vital need is to inform the people thoroughly on what is wrong with the old one.

By **CHARLTON F. CHUTE***

PROBABLY no state constitution will be either amended or rewritten until a large share of the people believes there is need for change. This is fundamental. It underlies the whole procedure of constitutional revision. In Missouri, where a new constitution was adopted in 1945, an informed electorate was at the very heart of success.

Missouri's former constitution was adopted in 1875, but it had been modernized to a degree by adoption of 56 amendments during its 65-year history. So, although in some respects the amended constitution was suited to modern conditions, the amending process had resulted in a poorly arranged, patchwork document.

When the new constitution was adopted by popular vote on February 27, 1945, it was the first time in 35 years that a state constitution had been completely rewritten, submitted to the voters as one document, and adopted by them. This event is the more striking when it is realized that the constitution was adopted by a vote of almost two to one (312,032 to 185,658). It carried not only in St. Louis and Kansas City but also in almost half the state's counties. It was supported by 106 newspapers out of 123 which were polled on the question. The new constitution was endorsed by all six living ex-governors and the present governor, the heads of the Democratic and Republican state committees, the three statewide farm organizations, the teachers association, organized industry, organized labor, chambers of commerce, organizations of professional men such as doctors and lawyers, the League of Women Voters and the Missouri Municipal League. No person or organization of prominence publicly opposed its adoption.

Such widespread support is to be explained in part by the merits of the new document, but certainly of equal importance were the procedures adopted before, during and after the convention to bring about a favorable vote.

Constitutional revision began six years ago in an atmosphere of futility. People said, "Why try again to get a new constitution? It can't be done in Missouri." A few who were not impressed with the futility of such an attempt were gravely concerned over the prospect that a convention might write, and the people adopt, a constitution of a radical nature. In New Jersey, in the early days of the campaign in that state, great alarm was expressed over the possibility of a radical new constitution. In both cases these fears proved groundless and were not heard after work on the document began.

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*Dr. Chute, director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, took leave of absence to act as director of the Legislative Research Committee of the Missouri General Assembly during the preparation and adoption of legislation designed to put the new constitution of which he writes into effect. He is author of a number of publications dealing with the government of St. Louis. This article is his address before the Southern Institute of Local Government at Nashville in November 1946.

The feeling of futility was probably caused by the generally unsatisfactory results of a convention held twenty years earlier. There was a general recognition in more informed circles, however, of the need of revision. It was believed that the framers of the 1875 document did a good job to meet the conditions of their day but that many changes were in order if the constitution was to be made adequate for present-day problems. Newspapers, especially in St. Louis and Kansas City, continued to point out the shortcomings of the old constitution.

Outlining the Task

An analysis of the failure twenty years earlier led to the outlining of the job to be done in three main fields: (1) getting a favorable vote on the question of calling a convention; (2) securing good delegates to the convention and drafting a good document; and (3) getting the people to adopt the new document, provided it merited such action.

Many observers felt that one reason for the discouraging results of the 1922 convention was failure to recognize the importance of this third field. Almost no effort had been made to explain the proposed amendments to the voters and to educate them on their merits.

Many voters had heard general criticism of the constitution but had not been given specific and practical information showing the short-comings and the failures of various provisions. Here is where a research agency which represents citizens and taxpayers can make a great contribution to public understanding.

We located and supported by facts the exact nature of provisions of the old constitution that had broken down in practice. By publishing these findings in bulletins and with the hearty cooperation of the newspapers the story was brought home to millions of citizens. This was the first, and greatest, benefit of research, namely, broad public education through facts showing conclusively the need for constitutional revision.

But there were secondary benefits flowing from this research approach. Later, when delegates were elected, they came to the convention well informed on the need for revision and convinced there was a job to be done. This was quite in contrast to the situation twenty years earlier, when it was said that many of the ablest delegates came to the convention with the feeling that our 1875 constitution was a sacred document and resolved to resist all changes. One of the first motions made in the old convention, that it adjourn *sine die,* very nearly passed.

Five years before the new constitution was adopted the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis began a series of research studies and reports on the need for constitutional revision. In October 1940 its staff drafted a radio interview titled "Revising the Constitution of Missouri" which was later printed and distributed. Today that pamphlet seems trivial and superficial but at the time it was a contribution to popular understanding and was used widely.

In the spring of 1941, the institute

published its report on a survey of the government of the city of St. Louis, most of the research for which had been made in 1939 and 1940. The report recommended that the constitution be amended with respect to the taxation of intangible personal property.

League Conference Helps

For some time civic leaders in St. Louis had wanted to bring the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government to the city, and arrangements were made for this conference to be held in November 1941. A program committee of local leaders was created who decided that a new state constitution was the most important issue in the state and that it would be wise to relate a large part of the conference program to it.

One of the things to avoid in Missouri is the latent urban-rural conflict. For this reason those interested took some pains to discover leading citizens of rural areas and small towns who believed a new constitution was needed.

One such man was President Franc McCluer of Westminster College in Fulton, who called a meeting of prominent citizens in his area to discuss the need for constitutional revision. This group then issued a call for interested citizens to attend the League conference in St. Louis.

The League's conference promoted public support for revision in two ways. In the first place the newspapers gave a large amount of space to its sessions which pointed out needed changes in the fields of county government, city government, schools and so on. Secondly, the conference provided an opportunity for those concerned with the constitutional issue, coming as they did from all over the state, to organize for the work ahead.

On the last day of the conference a meeting was held to discuss organization. The chairman, Dean Isidor Loeb, formerly of the University of Missouri and Washington University in St. Louis, appointed a committee of ten to decide the form of organization. It recommended a statewide committee of two prominent men from each of the 114 counties.

Several months prior to the League conference the secretary of state publicly expressed doubts as to the adequacy of the old constitution's provision that the question of holding a constitutional convention be placed on the ballot every twenty years. The secretary of state attended some of the conference meetings, however, and witnessed the interest and enthusiasm displayed in favor of a constitutional convention. After the conference he announced he would see that the question appeared on the November 1942 ballot. While there is no proof that the conference actually caused the secretary of state to change his mind, there is good reason to believe that a cause-and-effect relationship existed.

A few weeks later Pearl Harbor was attacked and the country went to war, but the leaders decided to carry on because their purpose seemed in harmony with the aims of this country in the war.

It was at this time that information on the weak spots of our constitution was publicized in such a way that it would not arouse opposition. One bulletin, for instance, pointed to the fact that when the old constitution was framed more than two-thirds of the postal routes in the state were served by stagecoach and saddle horse. Other bulletins dealt with the rise of new forms of taxation at the state level, the unwieldy character of the executive branch because of the large number of administrative agencies, the breakdown of the constitutional provision for the control of state debt, and the large number of local governments.

Readers appreciated bulletins in which facts were set forth on state problems without too specific a solution. Occasionally alternative solutions to a problem were suggested in general terms.

Perhaps the most important bulletin was that which disclosed, for the first time, that about a third of the larger cities had exceeded their constitutional tax rate limits. This pointed to a breakdown in constitutional control of taxation. For the first time an urgent reason for outstate Missouri's vital concern with constitutional revision was demonstrated and mayors and other city officials saw why they must support the movement.

Newspapers gave widespread publicity to these bulletins, so that the information reached a larger number of readers than did the bulletins themselves.

To the surprise of most political observers the voters in November 1942 favored the calling of a convention.

There are a few things that occurred during the drafting of the new constitution which should be mentioned. Under the leadership of Professor Martin Faust of the University of Missouri a number of research men from colleges and universities undertook to collect, analyze and publish in pamphlet form research material on each article of the constitution. These studies brought to light additional reasons for revision.

Maintaining public support at this point proved to be a critical matter. It was found that a number of prominent people were inclined to say that "if the new constitution doesn't have the unicameral legislature I will be unable to support it" or "if the new constitution doesn't change the method of selecting judges I will be against it," and so on. It was necessary to spread the idea that the new constitution could not satisfy everyone, that compromise was inevitable, but that it was hoped the new document would be a great improvement.

Delegates Lend Aid

Delegates and others made frequent talks before public meetings and service clubs, explaining what the convention was about and why it was taking so long. Newspapers were kept informed of developments, contributing greatly toward maintaining public support. Another aid was the high esteem in which the delegates were held in their communities.

The president of the convention, Robert Blake, for many years a trustee of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, announced several policies at the beginning of the convention which were well received by the public. Among these were:

1. The keynote would be brevity, that is, a shorter constitution and a convention of brief duration;
2. Individuals and organizations

would be encouraged to appear before the convention's committees to present recommendations and would be assured a courteous hearing;

3. There would be no executive sessions of committees and the newspapers would be encouraged to study and report convention activities.

Another factor contributing to public support was the attitude of the great majority of delegates who said they wanted to write as modern a constitution as the people would accept. In other words, by working for a moderately progressive constitution they produced one the people would support.

Campaign for Adoption

Finally came the campaign for adoption. A mass meeting was called for December 5, 1944, in Jefferson City and at that time the "Missouri Committee for the New Constitution" was officially organized. Practically all groups in the state—business, labor, religious, education, women, etc.—were represented. Jacob M. Lashly of St. Louis, a former president of the American Bar Association, was elected chairman; other distinguished Missourians were also elected to serve as officers. Headquarters were established in St. Louis, with former delegate Franc McCluer, president of Westminster College, referred to earlier, serving as director. Under him were bureaus on organization, publicity and speakers.

It was realized, of course, that the campaign must be adequately financed. The results proved that the money provided was adequate. Just how much the campaign cost has never been stated officially, but well informed observers believe it approximated $100,000. The St. Louis Chamber of Commerce announced it was contributing $20,000 to the campaign fund.

Letters had been written by delegates to leading citizens and organizations asking their approval of the new constitution. It was easy to secure such approvals because the delegates had solicited these groups for their ideas at an earlier date and had received the groups with courtesy whenever they appeared before the convention or its committees.

The organization bureau employed ten field men and assigned ten to twelve rural counties to each. These men reached the voters in practically every precinct by seeing that an active organization was established in every county and by coordinating the campaign.

The publicity bureau regularly published releases which were used by a surprisingly large percentage of rural newspapers.

The speakers bureau, headed by former delegate Les C. Deason, recruited 170 speakers and held several schools for them. No one knows how many speeches were made but it was said there may have been as many as 5,000. There were delegates from every section who were good public speakers and who were well known as men of ability in their communities. Nearly every statewide conference had one or more delegates appear before it.

The state paid for 500,000 pamphlet copies of the new constitution, which contained the *Address to the People*. This address was also published at state expense in all the newspapers. Social study classes of high schools were provided with 100,000 copies of the pamphlet entitled *Constitution Making in Missouri,* printed by the State Teachers Association. The St. Louis Governmental Research Institute issued a series of seven one-page bulletins analyzing the most significant provisions of the new constitution.

These bulletins were used by public school and college students and through the news and editorial columns of the newspapers they reached millions of readers.

All Points of View Reached

Arguments in favor of the proposed constitution were addressed to voters of various viewpoints. Those who cherished tradition welcomed the statement in the *Address to the People* which says that the old bill of rights is excellent. Those most concerned with economy were interested to know that the new Department of Revenue would probably save a million dollars a year. Those most interested in making popular government more effective could see provisions extending the privilege of absent voting and others making an end of secret star chamber legislative committees. Those interested in strengthening local democracy were delighted with numerous provisions on city and county government. Those primarily concerned with efficiency in government liked the provisions for the reorganization of state government and the merit system. Finally, those interested in speedy and impartial justice generally praised the new article on the judiciary.

Organized opposition was led by three or four delegates to the convention and a circuit clerk from a rural county. Their chief arguments were that Negro and white children might attend the same schools, that taxes would be increased and that it was unfair to the men in the armed forces to adopt a new constitution in their absence.

Recent experiences in both New Jersey and Missouri indicate that opponents will probably make a last-minute attack on a new constitution by distorting some of its provisions. In Missouri it was found that the best way to meet this was by a thorough-going education of the public over a considerable period. There is no substitute for this. It was found advantageous, however, to launch a last-minute direct mail campaign to expose the fallacious statements of the opposition.

Checklist of Ways to Secure Public Support for Constitutional Revision

1. Convince the legislature, an appointive committee, or the voters generally that the constitution needs revision.
2. Present evidence of the shortcomings of the constitution. Emphasize issues that the majority agrees need correction.
3. Give wide distribution to the facts presented, using a variety of media so as to reach the various groups whose support is sought. Publish a series of short, popularly written bulletins.
4. Utilize statements from prominent citizens, such as former governors from both major parties, to dramatize the

need for constitutional revision.

5. Avoid increasing the urban-rural conflict by soliciting support from all areas.

6. Encourage outstanding citizens to become candidates for delegates.

7. Interest other citizens in backing up the work of the convention if it merits it.

8. Encourage organized groups to appear before the convention to suggest changes.

9. A good public relations policy for the convention is of great value. A "good press" is of untold help. Delegates who are good speakers should talk to clubs and conventions to explain the work of the convention.

10. Do not antagonize either of the major political parties.

11. If Missouri's experience is generally valid, the public will not support a long-drawn-out convention.

12. Put research services at the disposal of delegates to the convention or their committees.

13. Encourage the thought that the proposed constitution will be a compromise that will not completely satisfy all interests, but that it will be a great improvement over the old document.

14. After the constitution is framed, do not relax on the job of public education. This is the best insurance against a last-minute campaign of distortion.

15. So far as possible, get endorsements from all prominent citizens—men in both parties who have been governor, mayor, senator, congressman, etc. Also get the endorsement of as many statewide and local groups as possible. These should include farmers associations, chambers of commerce, organized labor, teachers associations, the bar, church leaders, veterans, the League of Women Voters, and so on. Such endorsements have great weight with the average voter.

16. Be careful that the friends of constitutional revision do not make inaccurate claims about the new constitution, either through excessive zeal or lack of understanding or carelessness.

17. Missouri's experience shows that those in charge of the campaign will find the following of great value in mobilizing public support: speakers, leaflets, direct mail, radio, moving pictures, school essay contests and bulletins from research agencies and taxpayers organizations.

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Simplifying State's Business

Revitalizing of administrative processes with citizen leadership seen best way to resist federal centralization.

By ARTHUR W. BROMAGE*

THE *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League holds to the standard that the state governor must have a central and powerful position in administrative management. This document provides for a governor who is to be a chief administrator in fact as well as in theory. In the interests of sound public administration the *Model State Constitution* deserves careful analysis in those states which have not yet undergone major administrative reorganization.

Briefly, its major provisions designed to make the governor a chief administrator are as follows:

1. The governor is given a four-year term, time enough to develop and execute policies in public administration;
2. He is to have a span of control over administrative departments not to exceed twenty in number.
3. He is authorized to appoint and remove the heads of all administrative departments.

With these major standards in mind, and they are sound principles, let us examine the record in the 48 states. After World War I there was a significant trend to state administrative reorganization designed to integrate public administration under the governors. It is probable that a similar trend will follow the resurgent interest in state administration now that World War II is history.

In administrative reorganization, designed to give the governor control over an integrated administrative mechanism, the states have made substantial progress in the last 25 years. The states which have been outstanding in following the principles of the *Model State Constitution* are New York and Virginia. These states are customarily designated as the integrated type because they amended their constitutions to provide for a short ballot and for the integration of administration under the governor.

In New York, in response to the demands of Governor Alfred E. Smith and others, the legislature placed a constitutional amendment before the people which was ratified in 1925. This specified the number of departments among which the legislature was directed to make appropriate assignment of all civil, administrative and executive functions. The result was that some 180 administrative agencies had to be correlated into not more than twenty new units of administration. Only the governor, lieutenant governor, comptroller and attorney general remained as elective officers.

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*Dr. Bromage, professor of government at the University of Michigan, has only recently returned from Germany where he was lieutenant colonel with the U. S. Army Military Police Corps. Dr. Bromage was a consultant to the Michigan Commission of Inquiry into County, Township and School District Government during 1931-33 and secretary of the Michigan Commission on the Reform and Modernization of Government, 1938-39. He is author of numerous books, pamphlets and articles on local and state government. This article is Dr. Bromage's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League on November 13.

This constitutional solution, following in large measure the principles of the *Model State Constitution*, has served New York well through the years. It has enhanced the prestige of the governor's office and has permitted the governor to be chief administrator in practice over a small number of departments within which public administration is integrated. The practical experience of New York attests the essential validity of the principles of the *Model State Constitution* as to administrative reorganization.

Reorganization in Virginia

In Virginia, by the reorganization act of 1927 and the constitutional revision approved by the electorate in 1928, the governor became the focal point in administrative management. Only the governor, lieutenant governor and attorney general remained elective by the people. While Virginia failed to follow the desirable rule of single heads for many of its reorganized departments, the basic conclusion is that the Virginia reorganization established the leadership of the governor in administration.

Of the Virginia system, Professor George W. Spicer has said: "In addition to the governor's control over administration through the power of appointment and removal, and the power to require reports from, and to make investigation of, the heads of departments and institutions, he maintains a continuous control over the financial affairs of the state through the various divisions of the so-called Department of Finance and the Division of the Budget."

The governors represent the people of their respective states. The people look to them for leadership in and control of the administrative process. There is no other logical place for them to fix responsibility. The New York and Virginia reorganizations followed through on this normal public reaction by making the governor a responsible chief administrator.

A majority of the states which have undergone administrative reorganization fall into the partially integrated type. This is frequently called the Illinois plan because it was originally adopted by that state in 1917. It has been the forerunner of a lesser breed of state administrative reorganizations.

The essence of the Illinois plan is a reorganization of miscellaneous statutory agencies into a series of administrative code departments under the governor, leaving untouched the long ballot for the election of the attorney general, auditor, secretary of state, treasurer and superintendent of public instruction. Some of the other states which have followed in the tradition of partial integration under the governor are Alabama, California, Idaho, Kentucky, Louisiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Washington.

Where a state has accomplished only a partial integration and has continued the long ballot, the elective administrative officers can and do compete with the governor in administrative management and in public interest. The governor can be best described as a limited chief administrator having control over the greater portion of state affairs but lacking full and complete responsibility for all phases of public administration.

Exhaustive and authoritative studies are needed of the operation of administration in the partially integrated states. Comparative studies are also needed to evaluate the integrated and the partially integrated states. This is a fruitful field for investigation by political scientists and students of public administration.

Partial Integration Systems

From fragmentary and scattered evidence it is argued that the partially integrated system does not always perform well. In Illinois, the originator of the system of partial integration, it is possible for an elective officer—and it sometimes happens—to embarrass the administration. The elective officer is entitled to act as an executive in his own right for he holds a direct mandate from the people. Partial integration is at best only a partial answer to the fundamental problem of making the governor a chief administrator with a central position in administrative management.

Still other states have emphasized fiscal management. They have depended in large measure upon fiscal control by the governor. In this group management is sought through financial supervision more than through administrative integration. Examples are Connecticut, Maine, North Carolina, South Dakota and Wisconsin.

Fiscal control is one of the most important cogs in administrative management. In any system of public administration, whether integrated, partially integrated or disintegrated, adequate fiscal control in the hands of the governor is a fine-cutting administrative tool. On the other hand, we should not forget the basic problem of integration.

Connecticut is commonly classified as the fiscal-control type. This state elects a controller, treasurer, secretary of state and attorney general. Many of the administrative department heads are appointed for four-year terms although the governor's term is for only two years. The governor is automatically placed by constitutional and statutory provisions in a difficult position if he wishes to establish unified administrative management for state policy. The fiscal-control type like the partially integrated type falls short when judged by the standards of the *Model State Constitution.*

Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Some states do not fall readily into either the integrated, the partially integrated or the fiscal-control type. Michigan, with more than a hundred departments, boards and commissions, may be described as a collection of independent, semi-independent and some integrated units of government rather than a unified system of administrative management. Most outstanding in Michigan is the continuation of the long ballot and the lack of any comprehensive overhauling of the administrative mechanism since the Groesbeck limited reorganization of 1921.

During the administration of Governor Frank Murphy in 1938 the Michigan Commission on Reform and Modernization of Government raised six basic questions as to general executive organization in Michigan. These were:

1. Practice of electing certain department heads by popular vote (i.e. the long ballot for auditor general, secretary of state, superintendent of public instruction, attorney general and state treasurer);
2. Inadequate compensation of certain state officers, especially constitutional officers;
3. Proper use of the board or commission as an administrative agency;
4. Need for the consolidation of the whole executive and administrative organization into a smaller number of departments, perhaps not more than fifteen;
5. Lack of a governor's cabinet;
6. Four-year term as against the two-year term for governor.

Michigan Problems Unsolved

These fundamental questions were raised by an official body in 1938. It is now 1947 and we have not yet found the answers in practice. Progress has been made in the establishment of a department of revenue and of a merit system. But the basic problems of administrative integration in relation to the governor's office remain unsolved. In Michigan the long ballot is partially overcome by the admixture of the primary and convention systems. The candidates for governor are nominated in primaries but the candidates for secretary of state, treasurer, attorney general and auditor general are nominated by party conventions. This permits a gubernatorial candidate nominated in the primary to influence the selection of his party's slate at the subsequent convention.

The logical approach to administrative reorganization in Michigan would be a constitutional amendment providing for: (1) the short ballot; (2) a four-year term for governor; (3) consolidation of state agencies and activities into not more than twenty departments responsible to the governor, each embracing similar functions in public administration; and (4) an authorization to the governor to accomplish administrative reorganization by executive orders subject to review by the legislature. This is a long range objective. A four-year term for governor would be highly desirable. It would give a governor sufficient time to familiarize himself with the problems of state administration and to work out a program of constructive public service.

On the other hand, the voters of Michigan have recently presented the governor and legislature with basic problems which cannot be solved by administrative reorganization. At the November 1946 election they adopted an initiated constitutional amendment which provides for a diversion of approximately 76 per cent of the sales tax, the state's most lucrative source of revenue, to the school districts, cities, villages and townships. At the same time they adopted an amendment calling for a $270,000,000 bond issue to pay a bonus to veterans of World War II. This makes financial problems a number one priority in Michigan and new taxes, or increases in the rates of old taxes, inevitable if services are to be maintained.

Missouri is an outstanding example

of a state which has recently tackled the problem of state administrative reorganization. In this instance administrative reorganization was required by the revised constitution adopted by Missouri voters in 1945. The major features are:

1. Consolidation of more than 70 agencies of administration into thirteen departments—ten major offices and departments enumerated by the constitution and three established by the legislature under a constitutional mandate limiting the total to not more than fourteen;

2. Retention of the long ballot for auditor, treasurer and secretary of state but limiting their powers and duties by constitutional definitions;

3. Establishment of a finance department with comprehensive powers under the title of a department of revenue;

4. Creation of a state merit system which places approximately half the employees under a centralized civil service system;

5. Integration of nine departments under the governor, five of these headed by single directors appointed by the governor and state senate;

6. A broad grant of responsibility to the governor for administrative reorganization which reads as follows: "Unless discontinued all present or future boards, bureaus, commissions and other agencies of the state exercising administrative or executive authority shall be assigned by the governor to the department to which their respective powers and duties are germane."

One may conclude that Missouri has greatly improved upon the Illinois plan of partial integration. Although the long ballot remains, independent lesser executives, such as auditor, treasurer and secretary of state, are restricted as to powers and duties and no duty may be imposed on them by law which is not related to their duties as prescribed in the constitution. This is designed to prevent the enhancement of these offices in the future by the legislature and at the expense of the governor's position in administrative management. In addition a broad responsibility for the assignment of agencies within the constitutional and statutory departments was vested in the governor.

New Jersey Proposals

A more sweeping proposal for executive control over administrative reorganization was made in the proposed revised constitution of New Jersey (1944). While this constitution was not adopted, it is worthy of note as a constructive suggestion for a technique of reorganization. The major proposals were as follows:

1. Principal departments were to be limited to twenty in number to be created by the governor by executive order;

2. State executive and administrative offices, departments and instrumentalities were to be allocated among the principal departments by executive order;

3. Such executive orders were to be transmitted to the legislature and to undergo a 28-day waiting period. They would take effect either upon approval by the legislature or after 28 days if the legislature failed to act. The legislature could disapprove within the specified time limit.

4. The principal departments were

to be under the supervision and control of the governor. Each department was to be headed by a single executive unless otherwise provided by law, such single executives to be nominated and appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the state senate. They were to hold office until a new governor was elected and their successors appointed and qualified, but they could be removed as provided by law.

5. The governor was to select the state officers to serve at his pleasure as the members of his cabinet.

State administrative reorganization is a matter of primary concern to the governor. The New Jersey plan, although never adopted, properly provided that the whole problem of administrative reorganization be left as a continuing function of the governor's office to be resolved by executive order subject to review by the legislature. In the future, states considering basic administrative reorganization should analyze carefully the techniques proposed in the revised constitution which the voters of New Jersey rejected in 1944. Sound principles in public administration are sometimes rejected by the people because they are novel or untried at the state level. It will be of interest to see if any other state resorts to the broad principles of the New Jersey plan and places them in actual operation.

Need for Leadership

Progress in state administrative reorganization can come about only through executive and/or legislative leadership sustained by widespread citizen endeavor and interest. If we are to have a further advance in reorganization after World War II, comparable to or exceeding the gains scored after World War I, it will be achieved fundamentally by citizen interest which makes clear and unmistakable the public demand for sound and progressive state administrations.

Only by their own efforts to improve state legislative and administrative processes can the states arrest the march to federal centralization. The movement for state administrative reorganization is by no means complete and still encounters resistance. Yet each year surveys and reports by citizens and experts lead generally in the direction of integration of administration under the governors.

An Effective Chief Executive

Minnesota's first "manager" tells how state department of administration relieves governor of time-consuming detail.

By **LESLIE M. GRAVLIN***

NOT many years ago the governorship of Connecticut was regarded as a part-time job. The state's chief executive could comfortably dispose of his work within the few hours he spent daily in his office at the capitol. His annual salary was a pittance, no doubt because it was thought he earned no more.

Connecticut had not yet entered the struggle to get itself out of the mud nor had it embraced far-reaching programs of health and social welfare. It carried on with a small budget and few taxes. State employment then was small.

Able leaders in business were active in the guidance of the various departments where they served on part-time boards, and the state's operations were not so complex that close managerial direction from the top was an imperative. We could say the same thing about many other states in that era before the states began to assume a place of greater importance in the governmental scene. In a lesser degree much the same condition applied to our cities.

But it remained for the cities to blaze a trail which is not sufficiently appreciated in this country. Daring to strike out in new directions they first brought into being the commission form of government, trying to establish in government the principle of a small policy-determining body comparable to the board of directors so common in the world of business. When it became apparent that in too many instances this produced a headless organization they ventured to adapt the system to a council-manager plan in which the basic principle of separated powers is observed but in which there is an executive trained in public administration. They found the answer to making the executive more effective.

The idea of a manager, which finds growing acceptance in our cities, towns and counties, cannot, and I do not say that it should, be reproduced in its entirety in our systems of state or federal government. Yet it is significant that at least one state has borrowed liberally from it and there has been more and more talk about management at the federal level. Recently Congressman Monroney proposed the election of two vice presidents, one of them to be in effect a federal business manager. The congressman's proposal would, of course, require a constitutional amendment. In Minnesota the change was possible without altering the constitution.

Minnesota's now proven experiment, and the kind of thinking propounded by one of the leaders in congressional reform, may indicate a new trend in our concept of the executive, not alone in state government but in national as well. Perhaps we are now ready to recognize the tremendous burden which we place on our governors and presidents. But these remarks will be confined to observations drawn from my experience as an administrator serving a governor.

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*Mr. Gravlin, director of the Hartford Governmental Research Institute, was Minnesota's first administrator under that state's reorganization act of 1939. He is a former president of the Governmental Research Association. This article is Mr. Gravlin's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League on November 13.

Let us assume that we are thinking about an elected chief executive—a governor chosen by the people. That is the pattern set by our state constitutions and there is no reason to believe that the people would consider giving up their choice of the state's chief executive to have an appointive manager. So long as there are important issues on which the desires of voters may be in conflict we can expect the people to want to elect their governor. At the local level, where the cleavages of public opinion on basic issues are absent, we have a different picture. Therefore, a mayor limited to political leadership and a manager to direct administration are wholly in keeping with recognized democratic principles.

Consider a governor, however, who has to campaign for office, see thousands of people who feel they must talk to him, consult with party leaders and workers, guide legislative programs to which he or his party are pledged, serve on a pardon board, pass on extradition matters, make innumerable speeches, greet distinguished visitors, and always be planning for the next election. Somehow, in between that trip to the far off corner of the state to address the crowd at the county fair and the next day's conference with the delegation that wants its teachers' college made into a branch of the state university, he must, in the absence of some device to meet the situation, attend to that question about making the welfare appropriation do to the end of the year.

Executive Powers Limited

Also consider the limitations of executive power that prevail so widely under our state constitutions. We must recognize the fact that a governor's authority may be seriously modified by the executive power shared by elected auditors, secretaries of state and attorneys general, who may even be of an opposing political persuasion. How can a goveror faced with such restrictions, if not actual obstacles, not to mention a sprawling mass of boards and commissions largely appointed by predecessors, effectively direct the administration of state affairs?

The series of state governmental reorganizations that followed the first world war were predicated on the assumption that the governor himself could fulfill the function of administrator if the host of boards, commissions and independent agencies could be regrouped into a few major departments whose heads would in effect be a governor's cabinet.

Undoubtedly great good has come from the consolidation of state agencies. The reduced span of executive control is in itself a gain. But in too many instances the expected results did not follow.

Such a reshuffling still leaves a managerial responsibility which few if any governors can effectively discharge. Minnesota's success with its department of administration, even under an organizational plan which did not proceed as far as it might have in the direction of consolidation, confirms this belief.

As a leader in legislation and the head of the state government who must be in constant touch with the public, the executive must be freed from all but the most important problems of state management. The Minnesota plan has met this requirement. At the governor's right hand is the commissioner of administration, who has come to be more commonly known as the state business manager. He is the governor's alter ego in matters of administration.

Governor Lays Down Policy

Only management problems which clearly must be settled by the governor—generally matters of a policy type—take up the time of the governor. As an illustration let us take the budget. Under Minnesota's law there is definitely an executive budget. But the time-consuming task imposed on some governors who are required to sit patiently through long hearings in preparing the budget is eliminated. The governor merely lays down the over-all policies and the commissioner of administration with his staff conduct the budget conferences, after which the completed budget is submitted to the governor for final consideration. It then goes to the legislature together with the governor's budget message.

In a similar way the governor establishes the policy to be used in cutting back allotments when falling revenues make it necessary to take such action. In the first two years under the system spending of appropriations had to be curbed. Aside from a few basic decisions such as the amount to be saved, and exceptions to be made such as state school aids, the details were left to the discretion of the commissioner. The governor was periodically informed of the financial condition of the state through quarterly reports from the commissioner's office and occasionally by special memoranda.

Both of these provisions as to budgeting were, of course, prescribed by law.

Obviously, no law can prevent department heads from going to the governor with their worries but in my own experience there was exceedingly little of that. In this connection it might be pointed out that an important instrument in promoting direct relations between the commissioner and the various departments was the cabinet meeting which was held at frequent intervals. At such conferences, presided over by Governor Stassen, the policies to be carried out through the commissioner of administration were clearly outlined for department heads. Thus the governor relieved himself of many individual meetings with the administrators of the operating agencies.

But the real advantage of such a reorganization lies in the constant attention that the commissioner of administration can give to operating problems. The governor, whose calendar of appointments is always filled, leaving no idle hours to extract from talk and tables the facts that are essential to wise administrative decisions, is not equipped to do such a job well.

If the executive must rely on several officials to provide data on any given question of administration, he must sift out the facts and piece them together himself. But if he can turn to one official, who is clothed with adequate authority and provided with a qualified staff, to keep him informed, his effectiveness is increased immeasurably. Minnesota's unsuccessful reorganization plan of 1925 failed to heed this fact, and the commission of administration and finance then created soon exhibited the weaknesses of board control. By and large it added little to the effectiveness of the chief executive.

Coordination under Manager

Like so many administrative boards it quickly apportioned spheres of influence so that the business of the purchasing commissioner, for instance, became none of the business of the budget commissioner. The reorganization act of 1939, in which the department of administration with a single head was created, brought an end to this lack of coordination. The commissioner of administration, appointed for a term coinciding with that of the governor, was vested with most of the powers previously entrusted to the "Big Three." Ex-officio he was budget director and purchasing agent.

The importance of this linking of related functions under one man definitely answerable to the governor cannot be overestimated in evaluating it as a device for increasing the effectiveness of the executive. Great importance attaches also to the power of the commissioner of administration over salary schedules and salary adjustments granted to employees of the civil service. Here we have a practical example of how a governor can assume his expected responsibility for expenditures because he knows that all the elements affecting those expenditures can be managed at one point.

It may be demonstrated by example just how purchasing was made to play its part in wiping out Minnesota's inherited deficits of 1939. Knowing that we had to get out of the red and also prevent any current deficits we overlooked no opportunities to achieve success. A competent purchasing agent was no small factor.

An illustration is the saving made in the purchase of liquor and beer tax stamps. Prior to 1939 they had been bought from one company and without open competitive bidding. The state had been paying $110,000 per year for the stamps. Open competitive bidding reduced the contract to about $17,000.

We were, of course, in a buyers' market which increased the possible savings, but the development of specifications contributed very definitely to reduced expenditures for supplies, materials and equipment. While establishing good standards for foods and other items for state institutions we at the same time cut expenditures for such purposes about 10 per cent the first year. This accomplishment was not alone the result of coordinated efforts of the commissioner of administration and his subordinate, the purchasing agent. It also meant close cooperation with the director of institutions.

The governor was not left in the position of uttering pious hopes about preventing deficits and then leaving it to chance that several agencies would achieve such a result. His policies were effectively executed by a centralized authority employing simple managerial procedures. And certainly no executive can be effective who cannot produce the fiscal results expected of him by the public.

Moreover the lessons distilled out of the continuing experience of such an executive agency as a department of administration lay the foundation for the success of future governors.

Varied Tasks of Manager

The aspects of state management are so varied that one can do no more than sketch them briefly here. Minnesota's consisted of much more than preparing budgets and allotting funds and controlling their expenditure. To cite a few, there was the work with the highway department and the attorney general's office to establish sound and abuse-proof policies in the rental of equipment, our assistance in developing a practical annual-wage plan for certain classes of highway labor, and setting up property inventories and transferring unused equipment from one agency to another. The department also organized central agencies for the distribution of office supplies and the maintenance of typewriters. All but a few agencies with special problems were required to use a central duplicating division.

The tasks of management in state government are beset on the one hand by the diffusion of authority among the numerous departments, boards, bureaus and commissions and, on the other, by the acute sense of independence that many of them develop from having their own funds. The lush spending of one well heeled department and the starvation diet of another depending on the generosity of a legislature for its support impose a difficult task on an official responsible for the budgetary control of both. Yet it was found possible to enforce somewhat similar standards of operation on both, using the authority of the comprehensive budget control law. Stimulation of careful programming was sought.

Experience no doubt will disclose refinements that will be necessary in the organization and scope of the Minnesota plan. It is unfortunate that the original act did not coordinate the state's accounting with its budgeting by putting the two functions together in the department of administration. But as a tool for making the chief executive more effective it has solidly established itself.

Modernizing the Legislature

State law-making bodies still in dark ages; have failed to equip themselves to deal with complex issues of today.

By **JOSEPH P. HARRIS***

THERE is a widespread movement under way for the reform and strengthening of our state legislatures. Because of the publicity which the Congressional Reorganization Act has received, and particularly because of the precedent which it establishes of higher salaries for legislators, it may be anticipated that many of the legislatures meeting this year will set up special committees or commissions to study and report on needed legislative reforms.

New York and Massachusetts have led the way with special commissions on the state legislature which have recently published reports, and the Council of State Governments has recently published a report of its Committee on Legislative Processes and Procedures which made twelve recommendations.

Our state legislatures have not kept pace with the times. Since 1930 state budgets have increased at a faster rate than the civil budget of the federal government, while far-reaching programs of public welfare, social security, health, housing, education, public works, conservation, highways and youth authorities have been added to the list of state functions or have been greatly expanded. Never before have the states played so important a role in the life of its citizens as today. State government has become big business.

State legislatures, however, still operate very much as they did many years ago when the problems of state government were relatively simple. They have not equipped themselves to deal with the complex economic and social issues which are now thrust upon them. A few states, it must be noted, have established legislative councils which are adequately staffed to assist the legislature by conducting preliminary investigations and giving consideration to proposed legislative measures prior to its sessions.

In contrast to the lack of development of the legislatures, the executive branch of state government has made notable improvements, though further advances are still needed. Almost all the states have adopted executive budgets and in nearly half—including the more populous ones—state civil service systems have been established. The role of the governor has uniformly been strengthened, and there has been a considerable amount of executive reorganization. In a number of states the finance department under the governor has developed into a strong managerial agency, and in a few effective state planning agencies exist.

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*Dr. Harris, professor of political science at the University of California, Berkeley, was on leave from 1944 to 1946 to act as director of personnel for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. In 1941 he became a lieutenant colonel—later colonel—of the U. S. Army as a member of the faculty of the School of Military Government in Charlottesville. He is author of numerous books and pamphlets on election methods and administration as well as other aspects of state and local government. This article is Dr. Harris' address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League on November 13.

The need for strengthening state legislatures today is widely recognized. Vigorous, vital, effective legislative bodies are essential to democratic government, to efficiency and economy of administration, and to the enactment of legislation on social, economic, financial and other problems facing the states.

Need for Reform

The problem of legislative reform today is quite different from that of 70 years ago when Lord Bryce said: "The real blemishes in the system of state government are all to be found in the composition and conduct of state legislatures." The cruder forms of political spoils, boss domination, venality and subservience to railroads or other large corporations which Bryce observed have happily largely disappeared. The need for legislative reform at present is due to: (1) the increased responsibilities thrust upon the legislature by the expanded functions of state government; (2) the greater complexity of the problems with which the legislature has to deal; (3) the greater need for leadership and a positive legislative program; and (4) the growth of the budget, taxation and administration.

In some ways the Congressional Reorganization Act points the way for the strengthening and improvement of state legislatures, but it should be recognized that the legislatures operate differently from Congress; their problems and weaknesses are by no means the same. Slavish copying of the federal act will do little to improve state legislatures—it may be doubted whether much real improvement will be accomplished in the operation of Congress itself.

The feature of the federal law which commended itself to the members of Congress, and doubtless also to state legislators, is the increase in salaries of congressmen. In practically all state legislatures at present members must make a substantial financial sacrifice in order to serve. Furthermore, their individual losses by reason of membership in the legislature has undoubtedly increased materially during the last ten years. The cost of living at the state capitals has grown and the length of sessions and the number of special sessions have notably increased. Members also stand to lose a greater amount of their private income because of absence from business or profession.

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For these reasons substantial increases in the salaries of state legislators are needed. At the same time such increases should not be sufficient to make the position attractive because of the salary or to approximate full-time earnings. In contrast with membership in Congress the position of state legislator should never become virtually full time. One of the strengths of state legislatures is the fact that persons from all walks of life, who are successful and active citizens in their home communities, may serve. If membership became full time many of the ablest members would be forced to drop out and the level of membership would be lowered immeasurably.

The provision of pensions for congressmen is a "reform" which state legislatures would do well to avoid.

The payment of pensions to elective, political, part-time officials is highly debatable as a public policy, and would do more harm than good to the membership of state legislatures.

Revise Committee System

A feature of the Congressional Reorganization Act which should be emulated by the states is reform of the committee system. The state legislatures, like Congress formerly, are afflicted by an unwieldly committee system based on the number of committee chairmanships desired rather than the number of committees required for the orderly consideration of legislation. If Congress can get along with fifteen committees in the Senate, and nineteen in the House, it would appear that the state legislatures might do with even less. One of the changes needed in the committee system of state legislatures is establishment of identical committees in both houses, thus facilitating joint hearings and action on pending legislation. The Massachusetts legislature has used a joint committee system for many years with excellent results, but for various reasons the idea has not spread to other states generally.

One of the most desirable features of the federal law is provision for a more adequate congressional staff. Each standing committee is provided with four professional staff members, except that the appropriation committees, with their numerous subcommittees, are authorized to have whatever staff members their work requires. The staffs of the legislative councils of the Senate and the House, and of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, have also been considerably increased.

Staffs of state legislatures should also be increased so that the legislature may have the assistance it requires and be able to consider issues in the light of all available data, collected and summarized in a form suitable to the requirements of the busy legislator. Although the movement for state legislative reference services started nearly 50 years ago, in most states this service has languished because of inadequate appropriations and staff.

It is to be hoped that the states, in making provision for increased staffs, will follow the recommendations of the LaFollette-Monroney Joint Committee rather than the provisions of the federal act as it was finally passed and provide that the legislative staff shall come under a merit system. A patronage-appointed legislative staff, regardless of its size, will not have the necessary qualifications to serve the legislature as a research and staff agency. The need of the state legislatures for a well trained, highly qualified staff to assist it in securing the data necessary for decisions is even greater than that of Congress, which can rely to a larger extent on departments and bureaus for technical assistance.

Something more is needed, however, than merely to provide for an enlarged staff; the legislature must be organized so as to utilize effectively the services of such a staff not only during its sessions but, more importantly, between sessions. This need has been met successfully in a number of states by the establishment of a legislative council which does its work primarily between sessions of the legislature. The staff of the legislative council is able not only to conduct research studies on legislative problems but also to tap available sources of information and expert outside advice. Few states have made any real attempt to utilize the services of its own employees in state departments and particularly in institutions of higher learning. Here is a rich source of highly trained, professional personnel which might be utilized to a much larger extent in the preparation of factual studies for legislative committee guidance.

The Congressional Reorganization Act contains several provisions designed to free Congress of the consideration of petty details and relatively unimportant legislation. Tort claims against the government have at long last been delegated to the departments and to the courts instead of being handled by private bills in Congress. This should result in a considerable saving of time.

State committees or commissions considering ways and means for the improvement of state legislatures should give careful attention to the steps which may be taken to save the legislature from the need to consider petty measures of little importance in the policies of the state. Only by getting rid of petty legislation will the legislatures have time for adequate consideration of important issues. Home rule for cities, if really carried into effect, will free the legislatures of many bills which belong more properly to local legislative bodies. Legislatures need to give more powers to executive departments to adopt rules and regulations and to fill in the details of administration after the legislature has laid down general policy.

Publicity for Lobbies

The Congressional Reorganization Act requires paid lobbyists to register and to file an account of their expenses and salaries. The law will have little effect in the regulation of lobbying, however, since it does not apply to corporations, labor unions, trade associations or farm and other similar organizations which today carry on the most extensive and most powerful lobbies before Congress. Many states already have tighter lobbying laws than that of the federal government, and every state would do well to consider the ways and means whereby all forms of lobbying can be given full publicity.

Recent reports on legislative improvements contain recommendations designed to bring about improvements in procedure, including the advanced scheduling of hearings, the use of joint hearings by committees of the two houses, strict limitation on the period during which bills may be introduced, and other measures designed to reduce the jam at the close of the sessions.

Any consideration of the reorganization of state legislatures should not stop with minor reforms of procedure, organization and staff but should also give attention to more fundamental, long-range reforms. First among these would be consideration of a unicameral body to replace the bicameral legislature. The successful experience of Nebraska over a period of ten years deserves the serious study of any commission inquiring into legislative organization and operation. No longer can the proposal for a unicameral legislature be regarded as academic. The Nebraska legislature has demonstrated that it is feasible to set up adequate checks against hasty and unwise action.

There is nothing sacrosanct about having two houses in our state legislatures. We have abandoned the bicameral system for city councils with altogether desirable results. Membership in the state legislature under a unicameral system would carry much greater prestige, honor and opportunity for outstanding public service than is afforded under the bicameral system.

Frequent Sessions

Commissions of inquiry on state legislatures should give careful consideration to the recommendation that legislative sessions should be shorter and held more frequently, say quarterly, thus avoiding the mistakes which arise from the jam of proposed legislation every biennium. More frequent sessions, with adequate preparation of legislative business prior to sessions, would lead to a more orderly and careful consideration of proposed laws.

State planning agencies are needed in all states to carry on continuous studies and research on state problems and policies to form the basis for sound, far-seeing programs and policies dealing with the resources of the state. It is unfortunate that planning agencies have frequently attracted the jealousy rather than the support of the legislatures. The problem of how to establish an effective state planning agency, divorced from partisan politics, adequately staffed to carry on needed research which will be utilized by both the legislature and the executive, still remains an unsolved problem.

Finally, paradoxically as it may appear, the greatest improvement which can be made in state legislatures is the improvement of the standards of state administration. More and more the function of legislative bodies is to pass upon measures submitted to it by administrative departments rather than to initiate legislative proposals. More and more the state legislature, like the board of directors of the large corporation, must turn to the executive staff for recommendations, advice and assistance in the formulation of future policies and programs.

The time is ripe for real legislative reform. Commissions which are set up to study the problem should have among their members some of the outstanding citizens of the state; they should not be limited to members of the legislature who are likely to confine themselves to minor reforms which do not affect adversely the vested interests of their colleagues. Thorough-going reforms are unlikely to be proposed by committees drawn exclusively from the membership of the legislature itself.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

University City, Mo., Votes Manager Charter

New Law Supported by Committee of 1,000

ON FEBRUARY 4 University City, largest suburb of St. Louis, Missouri, approved a council-manager charter by a vote of 3,667 to 2,305 (with 40 absentee ballots still to be counted). The special election, which came on a cold and windy day, brought out 36 per cent of the registration.

The charter was drafted by a commission of thirteen members elected on April 2, 1946 (see May 1946 REVIEW, page 247). In place of the present mayor-alderman form of government it establishes a council of seven members, two from each of three wards and one elected at large, the latter to be the presiding officer and the ceremonial city chief. The council will appoint a manager. The elective offices of city marshall or police chief, city collector and city judge are abolished and will be under the administration of the manager.

Other charter features include a merit system with present employees blanketed in; the initiative, referendum and recall; centralized purchasing; and a budget system within which the department heads must operate or be subject to fine and forfeiture of their jobs.

Three present ward aldermen will hold over in the new council; on April 1 three others will be elected, for four-year terms, and likewise the at-large member (council president). Elections thereafter will be biennial. The council will appoint a city clerk who will serve as interim manager until the council chooses a permanent one—the clerk not to be a candidate.

A citizens' committee of nearly 1000 members was active in support of the charter, which was also favored by Mayor Matt C. Fogerty.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Grafton, West Virginia, adopted a council-manager charter on January 21 by a vote of 1,405 to 154. Because wintry weather prevailed the vote was only 30 per cent of the registration, but was overwhelmingly for the proposal. The charter board expects to observe the working of the new charter closely and to propose amendments if any defects develop.

Wayne, Michigan, by a vote of 213 to 78 on January 27, adopted a council-manager charter. The present city director has been appointed manager.

The manager plan was adopted in **Colonial Beach, Virginia,** by an ordinance passed on January 3.

Avalon, Catalina Island, California, has the manager plan by virtue of an ordinance passed on January 16.

The city council of **Midland, Texas,** on January 15 created the office of city manager by ordinance. Efforts to obtain a charter amendment to this effect were opposed by the council.

Acting under state law the **Brewton, Alabama,** city council adopted the manager plan January 14. The Planning Commission was directed to seek a manager.

An act of the **Georgia** legislature gives the manager plan to **Fulton County**—see page 169.

Petitions for the manager plan have been circulated in **Manchester, New Hampshire,** by the Taxpayers Association.

Sylvan Lake, Michigan, voted for a manager charter on February 26. New councilmen were elected at the same time to take office immediately.

The **Massachusetts** legislature on January 29 adopted a bill introduced by House Speaker Frederick B. Willis, authorizing his home community, the town of **Saugus,** to vote on the question of adopting the Plan E (manager-P. R.) form of government. Governor Bradford signed the bill on January 30, thus making it possible for the plan to be voted on at the Saugus town meeting in February. Under the act a five-man board of selectmen, elected by proportional representation, would appoint a town manager.

A campaign is in progress in **Somerville, Massachusetts,** to obtain a popular vote on Plan E in November.

The League of Women Voters of **Newton, Massachusetts,** is studying the manager plan as a possible improvement on the existing mayor-council plan in that city.

The annual town meeting in **Amherst, Massachusetts,** on March 3 will consider a recent study of the town manager plan; a committee may be appointed to report on the practicability of such a plan for Amherst.

The council-manager charter approved by the voters of **Hartford, Connecticut,** on December 3 has been submitted to the state senate and assembly, having been set up in bill form by the office of Hartford's corporation counsel. Mayor Allen and Corporation Counsel Aron have agreed that no amendments will be made at this time.

After several sessions of the representative town meeting of **Milford, Connecticut,** where a proposed town manager charter was discussed, the plan was approved on February 10 by a vote of 36 to 18 and it was decided to hold a public referendum on April 3. If the manager charter is approved by the people it will be presented to the state legislature in substitution for a previous bill embodying a manager charter and calling for a referendum in the town.

The League of Women Voters of **Wallingford, Connecticut,** has urged adoption of the council-manager plan by the committee that is studying possible consolidation of town and borough under a new charter.

The city council of **New Castle, Delaware,** at the suggestion of Mayor Klingmeyer, voted on February 4 to call a referendum on the question of adopting a council-manager charter.

A bill providing for an early election on the council-manager plan for **Fayetteville, North Carolina,** has been prepared by a committee for introduction in the state legislature after approval as to form by the attorney general. The present board of aldermen would be replaced by a council of five who would be empowered to engage a city manager. The Public Works Commission, however, would remain as at present and be independent of the manager. The latter's appointment and removal of other city officials would be subject to the advice and approval of the city council.

A petition for a referendum on the council-manager plan has been circulated in **Danville, North Carolina.**

The **North Carolina** legislature has passed an act authorizing a vote in **Raleigh** on adoption of the council-manager plan. It is backed by a local city manager committee and calls for a referendum March 18. The proposed plan includes a council of seven which would appoint the manager and also the city auditor, city attorney, prosecuting attorney and his assistant, a local judge and the court clerk.

A council-manager election in **New**

Bern, North Carolina, is provided for in a bill that has passed the lower house of the state legislature.

The state legislature is requested by the authorities of **Hapeville, Georgia,** to authorize the mayor and the existing five-man council to employ a manager for a term coincident with that of the mayor.

A council-manager charter has been drawn up at the direction of the city council of **Rossville, Georgia,** and a referendum is contemplated at which the manager plan and expansion of the city to take in certain adjacent territory would be voted on.

The **Georgia** House of Representatives has unanimously approved a bill authorizing a referendum in **Augusta** on a council-manager charter which provides for a council of seven chosen from wards but elected at large.

A movement is under way in **Steubenville, Ohio,** to place a council-manager proposal on the ballot at the May primary. Radio station WSTV is giving publicity to the plan.

A citizens' committee in **Ann Arbor, Michigan,** of which Council President Creal is a member, is looking into the advisability of nonpartisan elections and the council-manager plan for that city.

A referendum on the manager plan will be held this spring in **Waukesha, Wisconsin.** The Junior Chamber of Commerce has undertaken an educational campaign.

Faribault, Minnesota, will vote on a council-manager proposal on April 1. The Junior Chamber of Commerce is actively supporting the plan.

The city charter commission of **Bemidji, Minnesota,** is studying the National Municipal League's *Model City Charter* (council-manager).

The Trades and Labor Assembly of **Two Harbors, Minnesota,** has endorsed the council-manager plan for that city and includes it in its municipal platform.

The manager plan is advocated in **Mankato, Minnesota,** by John C. Zotalis, a candidate for mayor at the coming election.

Colby, Kansas, will vote on the manager plan at a special election on March 11. If adopted the plan will go into effect April 1 with the election of three members of the city commission or council.

The Gyro Club of **Wallace, Idaho,** has adopted a resolution asking appointment of a committee to investigate with other service clubs the feasibility of the manager plan for that city. No criticism of the present administration was expressed.

The Veterans Better Government Committee of **Durant, Oklahoma,** is instituting a campaign for the manager plan.

Harlingen, Texas, is planning to employ a city manager; the city commission is authorized by charter to do so but has not heretofore taken such action.

In **Perryton, Texas,** a council-manager proposal was voted down on December 3, the vote being 471 to 216. The plan was actively advocated by the Junior Chamber of Commerce. It was opposed by Mayor George Leatherman and others, with emphasis on salary for a manager. Perryton also defeated a manager proposal in 1939.

Robstown, Texas, is contemplating a change from an aldermanic to a council-manager plan of government. It now has a city superintendent on a contract basis.

Gainesville, Texas, voted on November 29, 1946, to return to the aldermanic form from the manager plan adopted in 1927. The vote to change back was 666 to 543. The election has been challenged as illegal.

Michigan leads the 42 states in

which there are manager cities as to the aggregate number of years during which the manager plan has been in effect in the various municipalities up to the end of 1946. Its 62 manager cities give a total of 1,223 years. The states with the next largest aggregates of years are Virginia, Texas, Florida and California. Maine has the largest number of manager cities and towns—80, but having started later does not show as large a total in years.

Woman Manager for San Juan, Puerto Rico

The board of commissioners of San Juan, capital of Puerto Rico, has appointed Mrs. Felisa Rincon de Gauthier to succeed Roberto Sanchez Vilella as city manager. For many years Mrs. de Gauthier has been prominent in the city's civic and business affairs. She is the first woman manager in a city the size of San Juan—about 300,000—in United States territory.

Tennessee Legislature Scuttles Knoxville Manager Plan

Without benefit of a local referendum the Tennessee legislature and Governor Jim McCord have destroyed Knoxville's council-manager plan, adopted in 1923 and long subject to attack by local politicians. On February 6 the Governor signed a bill which transfers the administrative powers and duties of the council-appointed manager to an elected mayor; the council is reduced from eleven members, elected partly by districts, to a body of seven, elected at large, and is no longer responsible for seeing that the city gets efficient administration by a qualified nonpolitical manager.

According to a special dispatch to the *Memphis Press-Scimitar* the bill to abolish the council-manager plan had the support of former Mayor Cas Walker who, with two former councilmen, was recalled by the people last fall after they succeeded in getting Manager Paul Morton dismissed. Walker obtained some 3,000 petition signers through his local chain grocery stores supporting the legislation. The bill was put through the legislature by George Nelson, insurance man, politician and chairman of the Knox County legislative delegation. Allied with him were Lester Denton, beer distributor and state Democratic committeeman, and Charles Brown, member of the County Election Commission, which delayed last year's recall election until ordered by the State Supreme Court to call it. Robert L. Morrison, present city manager, is reported to have failed to fire the city back tax attorney as was desired by Democratic politicians.

The legislature eight years ago destroyed the Knoxville manager plan temporarily by making the mayor also the manager, but supporters of the manager plan elected a mayor pledged to work for the plan's restoration, which was accomplished with aid of a friendly legislative delegation. Now the Good Government Group, the League of Women Voters and others who opposed the anti-manager bill have the job to do over again.

The *Knoxville Journal* applauds the change, its news columns showing strong prejudice against the manager plan. The *News-Sentinel*, however, reports the results of a poll as indicating overwhelming opposition to the legislature's action.

Stamford, Conn., Would Merge City and Town

The city administration of Stamford, Connecticut, is sponsoring proposed legislation for consolidation of the city and the town (township) of that name —a movement that began in 1905.

The measure is similar to a proposed charter introduced in the legislature in 1945 which died in committee; it has been revised somewhat to bring it up to date, according to Mayor Charles E. Moore. The previous bill was prepared by a consolidation commission with representatives of the city and of the town.

Charter Suggestions for Los Angeles

Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles, California, and city department heads have had under consideration several proposals for amendment of that city's charter. They include: election of the city's fifteen councilmen at large instead of by districts; creation of a department of airports, with control over its own funds; consolidation of the park and playground and recreation departments; authorizing the water and power department to furnish electricity to the city at special rates; making the city's entire bonding capacity available for general purposes; and reduction of the city's eight salary-fixing bodies to one three-member body.

New Toledo Port Commission Established

The port of Toledo, Ohio, including parts of Lake Erie, Maumee Bay, the Maumee River and tributaries, is now under regulatory control of the Toledo Port Commission, established last year as successor to the Port and Harbor Commission. The new body comprises four members appointed by the mayor of Toledo, four by the county commissioners of Lucas County, and a ninth member chosen by the others. A 1947 budget for the new commission was authorized by the Toledo city council in January.

Legislative Activity OK'd for Michigan Municipal League

A year-old circuit court injunction barring the Michigan Municipal League from all legislative activity was wiped out by a decision of the Michigan Supreme Court on January 3. The court also confirmed the right of cities to pay annual membership fees to the league.

St. Paul Teachers Lose Referendum

The referendum on a charter amendment to permit expenditures of $42 per capita for education, instead of $30 as at present, failed of adoption on February 11. Requiring 60 per cent of the total vote, it obtained about 53 per cent—34,490 to 30,695. Authorization of the referendum had brought a suspension of the one-month strike of St. Paul school teachers for salaries higher than could be granted under charter restrictions.[1] None of the city's twelve wards gave a 60 per cent favorable vote; according to press reports the conservative wards gave the proposal better support than the labor wards.

New Jersey Provides for Constitutional Convention

Legislation has been adopted in New Jersey furthering the plan of Governor Alfred E. Driscoll to modernize the state constitution this year. An act signed by the Governor on February 17 calls for a referendum on the matter and selection of 81 constitutional convention delegates at the state primary election on June 3. If the vote is favorable, delegates would begin deliberations June 12 and finish their work within three months. The question authorizing the convention forbids it to change the present disproportionate basis of county representation in the legislature.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1947, page 92.

The convention could draft a complete new document, redraft parts of the present constitution, or submit alternative proposals for adoption by the voters at the November election. Governor Driscoll has suggested that the major party organizations unite in selecting outstanding men and women as delegate candidates.

Bill Provides Unicameral Legislature for Texas

A House joint resolution was introduced into the Texas legislature on February 3 providing for a one-house legislature of 62 members with four-year overlapping terms, two members from each of the present senatorial districts, and salaries of $3,000. The resolution provides that the body may be in continuous session if it so desires or may be called into session by the governor. The proposal, which makes provision for redistricting the state, would become effective in 1951. Reports from Texas indicate there is little chance of the legislation being passed at this session.

Illinois Legislative Districts Attacked in Federal Courts

Despite contrary decisions based on precedent, there are strong indications of new interpretations of judicial power and duty in complaints involving legislative districting. On January 28 in Chicago a three-judge federal district court reluctantly dismissed a suit attacking the discriminatory legislative districts of Illinois.

Kenneth W. Colegrove of Northwestern University, Peter J. Chamales, attorney, and Jerome G. Kerwin of the University of Chicago, citing their rights under the federal constitution, sought a declaratory judgment and appropriate relief in an action against Edward J. Barrett and others as members of the State Primary Certifying Board. Urban A. Lavery, expert in election law, served as attorney.

Two of the plaintiffs were parties in the well known action in 1946[1] against inequitable congressional districts in Illinois, decided adversely by the United States Supreme Court in a close vote on appeal. In that case Mr. Justice Frankfurter, joined by two other justices, held the issue political and beyond the jurisdiction of the court. Mr. Justice Black, in a notable dissent in which two other justices concurred, contended that relief ought to be granted in equity because equal protection of the laws had been denied and the privileges of citizens abridged. A majority of the court did not agree in opinion, and the decision was obtained only by concurrence of Mr. Justice Rutledge in the result.

The trend toward judicial recognition of appropriate federal action in districting cases is emphasized by the strongly-worded memorandum of the judges sitting in Chicago in the more recent case. But for the decisions of the United States Supreme Court, they declare, "we would have thought the law to be as stated by Mr. Justice Black in his dissenting opinion" last fall. "It appears, however, that the action of the Supreme Court. . . requires a dismissal of the complaint before us for want of equity." An appeal will be made to the Supreme Court, where the presence of the new Chief Justice and the return of Mr. Justice Jackson will afford an opportunity for another test of controlling law.

Plaintiffs in the present case point

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1946, page 129; also July 1946, page 359.

out that the Illinois General Assembly has not redistricted for election of state legislators since 1901. From each of the 51 districts one senator and three members of the lower house are elected. The largest district had a population in 1940 of 574,791 and the smallest, 35,534. Electoral weight of a voter in the latter is equal to that of 16.4 voters in the former. The proper ratio of representation for a district is 154,848. The present ratio of representation in Cook County districts is 213,860, but in the rest of the state the ratio is 119,809. While Cook County has 51.4 per cent of the population of the state, it has only nineteen legislative districts as against 32 for the rest of the state.

Franklin L. Burdette
University of Maryland

Illinois Congressmen Urge Redistricting Plan

Congressional districts in Illinois, unrevised since 1901, would be changed by a plan approved on February 7 by the Illinois congressional delegation; it must be submitted to the Illinois legislature for adoption. The plan seeks to cure the grossly disproportionate representation of that state's districts, said to be the most unequal of any in the United States. Cook County, containing Chicago, has over half the population of the state but only ten out of 25 congressional districts.[1] The new plan would give the Chicago area three additional representatives by eliminating two down-state and the one representative at large.

Reapportionment Proposed in Connecticut

An attempt to change the basis of representation in the Connecticut House of Representatives has been made in a proposed constitutional amendment introduced by former Speaker E. Lea Marsh, Jr. The present basis gives at least one representative from each town (township) and not more than two for any town or city. Towns of more than 5,000 population are entitled to two representatives, but several smaller towns also have two. Thus the town of Union with 234 population has two members, the same as the city of Hartford with 166,000 population. The Marsh bill, however, would merely substitute a basis of one representative for each town or city; it would reduce the size of the house from 272 to 169.

Another proposed amendment would provide means for reapportioning the state senate, even if the legislature fails to do so at a session next after completion of a U. S. census. Senatorial districts, supposed to be approximately equal in population, now range from 20,700 to 94,500 population.

Potomac Basin Commission Attacks Interstate Problems

The Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin, composed of representatives of the states of Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, the District of Columbia and the federal government, under a compact for mutual development of the river and basin, is presently devoting most of its attention to the problem of purifying the river, which is intensified by the dumping of much raw sewage.

After pollution has been sufficiently eliminated the commission is expected to devote more study to such other important river problems as erosion, navigation, power utilization, recreation and scenic developments, as subjects for interstate planning and joint action.

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[1] See the Review, March 1946, page 129.

Reports for 1947 Policy Makers

Transit, Traffic and Highways Get Attention

GOVERNMENTAL researchers are supplying 1947 policy-makers at state capitols and city halls with more and bigger reports than they have been for some time. The topics are as varied as the functions of government, with special emphasis on such postwar problems as traffic, housing, and how to meet rising costs without ruining the taxpayer.

New York City's big transit headache is the subject of a report by the **Citizens' Budget Commission,** Henry J. Amy, executive director. *The New York City Transit System and the Necessity for an Increased Fare* concludes that, "Only with a ten-cent fare, and no less, can subway riders hope for new cars, enlarged stations, modern ventilation, proper sanitary conditions and generally improved and expedited service."

The Citizens' Budget Commission has also reported on the New York City airport problem. After an analysis of alternative proposals of the Port of New York Authority and the New York Airport Authority, the commission concludes that no decision should be made until there has been a further review of the whole problem by independent experts.[1]

The **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research,** Henry W. Connor, director, has issued a brief analysis of the pros and cons of the *New York Port Authority Proposal to Lease Port Newark and Newark Airport.*

"Financing Street Railway Rehabilitation Again a Problem," declares a bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director. The bureau concludes that the resumption of the prewar decline in street railway passenger traffic means that the recent increase to an 8 1/3-cent fare will not meet the needs of the system.

Municipal Provision of Parking Facilities—State Laws and City Projects, by James C. Yocum and Joan P. Whipple, has been issued by the **Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University,** 117 pages, $1.25. The book is a comprehensive analysis of state enabling legislation and includes an outline of possible elements of a comprehensive enabling law and an analysis of municipally sponsored parking facilities in a number of sample cities.

A 68-page *Parking Study of the Pittsburgh Central Business District* has been prepared by the **Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association,** Wallace Richards, executive officer, for the **Allegheny Conference on Community Development,** Park H. Martin, executive director. The study "reveals the absolute necessity for the adoption of drastic corrective and protective measures. . . to deal with traffic before it drowns the commercial and economic life of the community." The general solution is found to be "a series of reservoirs" in the form of "a planned system of off-street parking facilities." A municipal parking authority to develop this system is suggested.

"Support the Traffic Program!" urges the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce,** Carl R. Dortch, director, in its bulletin, *It is Your Business!* The program outlined briefly in the bulletin was prepared by a joint committee of city and state traffic engineers in the form of recommendations for immediate and future action.

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[1] See also page 173 this issue.

Comparative costs and methods for the "Maintenance of Sheet Asphalt Streets" are discussed in a series of *Your Tax Dollar* by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.,** D. Benton Biser, director. The reports find that the "heater method" is more economical and convenient than Baltimore's present costly "replacement method." One bulletin is devoted entirely to Cincinnati's methods which cost 25-65 per cent less than Baltimore's. The report points out that Cincinnati owns its own asphalt plant whereas Baltimore uses the contract system.

A consolidated statement of all receipts and disbursements for the state of Colorado for highway purposes and a critique of administrative, accounting and fiscal methods are presented in a report on the *Finances of the Colorado State Highway Program 1941-1949,* thirteen pages, one dollar, **Colorado Public Expenditure Council,** Fred Bennion, executive director. Among the specific recommendations are that members of the State Highway Advisory Board should represent the state as a whole, not districts; that annual and long term construction budgets should be prepared on a cash basis; that financial records and accounts should be kept for all state agencies by one central accounting agency; that numerous accounts should be consolidated; etc.

"Impending Highway and Bridge Improvements" in Philadelphia is the subject of a brief factual report in a recent number of *Citizens Business,* the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** William C. Beyer, director.

Houses and the People Who Must Live in Them

Housing in Front Royal, Virginia—Facts and Trends (93 pages) has been issued by the **American University,** Washington, D. C. This attempt to describe and analyze a local community housing market in the light of the economic forces shaping community development is a cooperative effort by students in the program of study in housing conducted by the university in conjunction with the National Housing Agency. The study, modestly described in the foreword as primarily an exercise, should nevertheless be helpful to other researchers interested in "an over-all pattern for similar studies."

The net annual cost of Newark's slums is over $14,000,000 according to the *Cost of Slums in Newark* by Jay Rumney of the **Newark Colleges of Rutgers University,** and Sara Shuman, for the **Housing Authority of the City of Newark,** 36 pages. The report, based on detailed investigation of selected areas, is equipped with tables, pictures and graphs and includes some comparative figures from other cities.

The **Greater Boston Development Committee, Inc.,** T. T. McCrosky, executive director, has issued a report entitled *Guiding the Building Boom,* a study of areas suitable for residential development. The study is a contribution to thinking concerning the location of new residential construction with special attention to sites suitable for homes for veterans. The 21-page report finds that there is no shortage of suitable land within the Boston region. It urges care in selecting the best available sites and in planning and control of construction to assure better developments than some of those following the last war. Specific suggestions are made under the heads, "What the Community Can Do," "What the Lending Institution Can Do," and "What the Developer Can Do."

Additional factual material in the form of tables and graphs, presented as "working papers for individuals who are analyzing problems related to the Boston metropolitan area," has been issued by the **Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration,** Morris B. Lambie, director, under the title *Comparative Status of 43 Cities and Towns in the Boston Metropolitan Commission Districts.* The 69 pages analyze the population of these municipalities in terms of national origins, age groups and sex, school membership, birth and death rates, employment and party votes in elections.

A population study with special emphasis on labor force and employment in the Philadelphia area has been issued as a report to the **Philadelphia City Planning Commission** from the **Population and Economic Research Advisory Committee** under the auspices of the **Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania,** Stephen B. Sweeney, director. The 42-page report is entitled *The Population of Philadelphia and Environs and Labor Force and Employment Estimates—A Projection for 1950.*

Recreation and Juvenile Delinquency

Standards of Recreational Facilities has been issued by the **Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington,** Donald H. Webster, director (loose-leaf, unpaged, numerous diagrams, bibliography). This manual, prepared at the request of the **Association of Washington Cities** to provide "a check list of certain recreational activities and standards" for better planning, is a highly practical book. It contains diagrams and specifications for grounds and equipment for scores of indoor and outdoor recreation activities.

What Seattle Organizations are Doing to Combat Juvenile Delinquency Before Court Action is the title of a research report by John C. Bollens, research director of the **Municipal League of Seattle.** The report reviews the major activities of some of "at least 167 public and private social agencies, departments of school, park and law enforcing authorities, and church denominations which aid potentially delinquent children before they reach the courts."

Special Attention State Legislatures

The *Second Biennial Report* of the **Missouri Committee on Legislative Research,** William R. Nelson, director of research, is an impressive record of achievement. The report points out that although the committee recognizes that research should be its major long-time function, it has been necessary for the last two years to concentrate on "the more urgent task of drafting bills to implement the new constitution." Some measure of this task is indicated by the fact that the staff prepared almost all the approximately 450 revision bills which became laws.

A summary of recommendations on twenty widely diversified topics is contained in *Suggestions for State of Alabama Legislation,* issued by the **Legislative Council of the State of Alabama,** Gordon Madison, chairman. Research studies, upon which a number of these recommendations are based, have been reviewed in earlier Researcher's Digests. Among the subjects not previously noted are voting machines, absentee ballots, schedule of primary and general election activities, sales tax tokens, and four reports relating to traffic and motor vehicles. Bills and additional information on these subjects are obtainable from the Legislative Reference Service.

Liquor Control

State constitutional provisions and summaries of state legislation concerning alcoholic beverages are presented by the **Research Department of the Kansas Legislative Council,** F. H. Guild, director, in *State Regulation of Alcoholic Beverages.*

The Administration of Liquor Control in Virginia, by H. Wesley Ward, **Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia** ($1, 206 pages), is the first postwar report by the bureau designed to provide the people of Virginia and other states "with carefully drawn descriptive and analytical studies of the more significant institutions of state and local government and administration in Virginia." This is a useful study of a successful attempt to deal with what Rowland Egger, director of the bureau, describes as perhaps "the most important, most complex and most difficult problem of social regulation with which state governments have been confronted in recent decades . . . that of supervising the generally unpredictable and always dangerous aberrations of John Barleycorn." The report concludes that practically all needed improvements can be obtained at the administrative level rather than "by legislative tinkering with the fundamental structure of the control mechanism."

Tennessee Reports

The **Tennessee State Planning Commission,** Hayden B. Johnson, executive director, has issued three recent reports which in other states might have come from legislative councils. The explanation for this is to be found in the unusually broad program of research and reporting "on many subjects related to the planning of the economic, social, governmental, cultural or welfare conditions or problems of the people of the state of Tennessee."

The Gasoline Tax in Tennessee, a Review of its Present and Proposed Distribution (30 pages, tables), was prepared primarily to provide background for considering a current proposal that municipalities be given a share of the gasoline tax. The report, which begins with an excellent introduction and summary, analyzes the facts and discusses impartially alternative approaches to the problem. *Toll Bridges in Tennessee* (eight pages) presents facts which lead to the recommendation that the legislature "abolish or suspend toll collection upon all remaining toll bridges in Tennessee." *State Retirement Systems for Public Employees* (seventeen pages) summarizes the features of retirement systems in other states and for limited classes of Tennessee employees. Fiscal and other elements of a sound retirement system are considered and the costs of a contributory retirement system are estimated.

The purposes, accomplishments and plans of the Research Division of the Tennessee Planning Commission are outlined in an article on "The Research Program" by Margaret Pouder, research associate, in the *Tennessee Planner,* December 1946.

Report No. 3 of the 1947 series on legislative problems by the **University of South Carolina's Bureau of Public Administration,** Christian L. Larsen, assistant director, deals with *The Merit System in State and Local Government.* The report summarizes the status of the merit system in state and local governments generally and directs attention to the very limited use of the merit system in South Carolina.

The **Salary Stabilization Board of**

New York, Philip E. Hagerty, director of research, has submitted the results of its survey "of the salaries paid in other public jurisdictions and in private industry for services performed, comparable with those performed by New York State employees" in a 301-page *Survey Report.* The survey covered 250 private companies and agencies of all kinds, 104 large farms, four large counties and three large cities in New York State, federal salaries, and eight other states from Massachusetts to California. The report leads to recommendations for a complete revision of the salary plan established by the New York civil service law, although it finds that "in the main, gross salaries presently paid (including emergency compensation) are comparable and in proper relationship to salaries paid in private industry and in other private jurisdictions." Adjustments are necessary in order to avoid internal inequities resulting from the inflexibility of the present plan.

Legislative Procedure

"How a Bill Becomes a Law" is outlined in the January *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* published by the **Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico**, Rupert F. Asplund, director. The same bulletin carries an article by Arie Poldervaart, state law librarian, on "Legislative Drafting in New Mexico." This article was written in the hope "that it would prove helpful in view of the abolition in 1941 of the state's bill drafting agency, the Legislative Reference Bureau."

Hallie Farmer continues her study of the legislative process in Alabama with a 25-page report on *Legislative Costs,* issued by the **Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama,** Roscoe C. Martin, director. Over-all conclusion: "Alabama spends too little money on her legislature and does not spend that little wisely."

Pennsylvania Needs Municipal Home Rule Now, says a memo to the 1947 legislature issued as a report by the **Research Bureau of the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce**, Leonard P. Fox, general secretary. The memo calls for legislation to implement the 1922 home rule amendment to the constitution. Pointing out that because of the failure of the legislature to act, Pennsylvania lags behind other states in adoption of council-manager government, the report declares that "for most cities and many other governmental units, the council-manager plan probably offers the best form of government with which to meet the many problems now faced or just around the corner."

Taxes and Expenditures

Another Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce Research Bureau report for the chamber's Committee on taxation and Government Expenditures, Thomas J. Graves, secretary, answers the question, *Why Pennsylvania Faces a Program of New Taxes.* The report analyzes the 1945-47 and 1947-49 biennial budgets, points out that "the financial cupboard is bare" and urges sharp scrutiny of proposed spending programs before adoption of a new taxing program, which in any event should be "broad-based" so as not to hamper economic development of the state.

A comprehensive 337-page report on *State-Local Fiscal Relations in California,* compiled under the direction of Loran C. Vanderlip, has been issued by the **California State Chamber of Commerce.** The report examines and criticizes in detail state and local revenues, fiscal controls and relations, and lays the basis for a set of recommendations by the Chamber of Commerce which includes a request for a joint interim commission of the legislature to continue the study of California's tax problems. Other needs indicated by the report include reallocation and readjustment of governmental functions among units and streamlining of local governmental machinery. Appendices carry tables of financial and other data for California counties and selected cities.

A discussion of a number of current fiscal proposals in the California legislature is included in the monthly bulletin of **Government Research, Inc., Los Angeles,** Ed F. Thompson, editor, under the title, "State Legislative Issues of Importance for the County and City of Los Angeles."

The sixth edition of *Cost of Government in Indiana* has been issued by the **Indiana Taxpayers Association,** Walter T. Horn, executive secretary, with the thought that it "can be used advantageously by Indiana legislators and by all others who by reason of the constant increase in governmental costs, have become even more conscious of their responsibility to study and understand public affairs."

Strictly Personal

Dr Thomas H. Reed, local government counselor of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, and **Mrs. Reed,** of the council's research staff, have resigned to devote full time to their nation-wide municipal consulting service. The Reeds are presently serving as consultants to the Charter Commission of Richmond, Virginia; developing a plan for the consolidation of the city of Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana; and on behalf of the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League preparing a council-manager charter for Augusta, Georgia, and legislation for a small school board elected at large on a nonpartisan basis.

Dr. William C. Beyer, for 23 years director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, has announced that he will retire to join the faculty of the Wharton School and the training staff of the Institute of Local and State Government of the University of Pennsylvania July 1 in order to devote himself "to the cause of better government in the field of training for the public service."

J. M. Leonard, for many years a member of the staff of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, is working with Griffenhagen and Associates on a survey in Dayton, Ohio.

Sidney Detmers, who has been managing director of the Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau since it was organized in 1927, has retired as manager but will continue as a member of the board of directors. Mr. Detmers' successor as manager is **George O. Sipprell,** who has been with the bureau since 1937 as executive assistant and assistant manager.

John C. Bollens has resigned as research secretary of the Municipal League of Seattle to join the staff of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California, where he took up his duties the first of February. Mr. Bollens' successor is **Lorin Peterson.**

R. E. Chislett, II, is director of the new Department of Governmental Affairs of the Trenton, New Jersey, Chamber of Commerce.

The Bureau of Public Administration, University of Washington, has announced the appointment of **Ernest Howard Campbell** as assistant director and **Donald Calvin Sampson** as research associate. Mr. Campbell is a lawyer with a Ph. D in government and public law from Harvard University. Mr. Sampson's specialty is personnel administration.

Kentucky Citizens Seek Constitutional Revision

Organize Statewide Group for Vigorous Campaign

ON NOVEMBER 4, 1947, the people of Kentucky will vote upon the vital issue of calling a constitutional convention to revise and bring up to date the constitution of 1891. Success in this cause requires that those voting for a convention be a majority of all who vote on the question and equal to at least one-fourth of the total number who voted in the last general election.

Constitutional questions in Kentucky generally have not received as many votes as are required, but leading citizens and civic groups of the state are not daunted by that fact—they are already organizing and working hard to educate the people on the need for revision.

The **Committee for a New State Constitution** was organized last March, immediately after final legislative action to submit the question to a popular referendum. The committee secured financial support, distributed literature to civic leaders throughout the state, and established a speakers bureau. The speakers bureau wrote to women's clubs, school groups, luncheon clubs and professional and business societies in every city and town. Thus far it has promoted over four hundred speeches and panel discussions. Leaders in politics, education and civic affairs are members of the bureau and are helping in other ways.

In December 1946 the services of Paul G. Blazer, a leading industrialist and highly respected civic leader, were secured as chairman of the campaign organization. The statewide **Campaign for a Kentucky Constitutional Convention** is still in the process of being created; the original committee has become the Committee for Research and Organization. Mr. Blazer has brought about the active participation of a large number of business leaders, and the support of numerous civic, business, professional, educational, labor and women's groups has been secured.

No county campaign machinery has as yet been perfected. It is hoped that local leaders, with advice and assistance from the state organizing committee, will establish their own campaign organizations. To this end personal contacts are being made in the counties and letters are being sent to county leaders.

Meanwhile, the League of Women Voters and the Junior Chamber of Commerce have established local speakers bureaus in several of the larger cities and are carrying on educational campaigns. In some of the smaller cities and towns groups of lawyers and other civic leaders are promoting educational work.

Some opposition to a convention has developed, but up to the present time it is unorganized and not widespread. There is almost universal agreement that several changes should be made in the 1891 document but the opponents of a convention advocate making them by amendment. Proponents of a convention retaliate that only two amendments can be submitted at one time; and, even if the amendatory clause were changed, the legislature would hardly have time for constitutional revision in view of the fact that regular sessions are limited to 60 days every two years.

If present trends in public opinion continue the prospects for success seem bright—at least for success in the November referendum on calling a convention—but the proponents of revision are determined not to cease their efforts nor to become overconfident.

J. E. Reeves
Campaign for a Kentucky Constitutional Convention

How to Educate the Voter on Election Issues

For those organizations and citizens looking for ways and means of educating the voter on election issues and candidates, here is an account of some of the pre-election activities of the **Civic Club of Allegheny County** (Pittsburgh) as reported by Miss H. B. Scott, the club's assistant secretary.

"With a series of strikes against us —power and light, transportation and hotel—we have been operating daily under difficulties but are happy to report that the *Voters' Directory* for the November 5, 1946, election has been issued in larger numbers than ever before. Our first printing of 50,000 copies—25,000 for the **Allegheny County League of Women Voters and** 25,000 for the **Civic Club**—was practically exhausted one week from the day it was released. Less than a week later the additional 10,000 copies ordered jointly were allocated and moving quickly into the hands of individuals and agencies who use them.

"The broadcast of the KNOW YOUR CANDIDATE PROGRAM started Monday, October 21, 1946, through Friday, November 1. Each day the representatives of WWSW set up their wire recorder in front of one of the large movie theaters downtown at about 12:30 P. M. The interviewer, John Davis, outlines the reasons for the program, gives the names of the cooperating agencies, begins his interviews by putting each person at ease with one or two general questions such as name, size of family, number of voters in family, occupation, etc. Then he asks such questions as the date of the coming election; one or two of the major offices to be filled, the names of two candidates running for such office. Four or five persons are interviewed at each recording.

"A series of elaborate questions was worked out for use in the original program which began during the last primary election. It was found that the average person interviewed knew only major offices to be filled such as United States senator and governor. Mr. Davis has, therefore, concentrated on these two offices in the interviews.

"In addition to the broadcasts we are having a display window in the Farmers Bank at one of our busiest downtown locations. In this window are the photographs of candidates for the offices of governor, lieutenant governor, United States senator. In addition there is a supply of the *Voters' Directories* and a brief sign stating that the people elected to these offices will hold responsible positions in the government. To vote intelligently onlookers are urged to pick up their copy of the *Voters' Directory* inside the bank or at the offices of the cooperating agencies.

"During the period the window is set up, the wire recordings will be made there instead of at the movies. This window is being used jointly to advertise the KNOW YOUR CANDIDATE PROGRAM on WWSW and to feature the *Voters' Directory* on which the program is based.

"Another fifteen-minute program over KQV in the interest of getting out the vote had Charles L. Cunningham, chairman of the Civic Club's Voters' Directory Committee, and Mrs.

J. Telford Hamilton, chairman of the League of Women Voters' committee, as participants."

The Classroom Role in Citizenship

The **Henry County Council on Intergovernmental Relations,** in its recommendations on raising the stature of local government, comments that "Good government begins in the schools." It recommends that "a new vigorous course in government be taught in high schools and teacher training as well as general college courses, with main objects of: (a) stressing the practical study of local government; (b) emphasizing what the government does for the citizens and why; (c) emphasizing what the citizens should do for government and why."

An experiment in a campaign to get out the vote was recently conducted by Leo N. McCrann, principal of the Hartford, Connecticut, Northeast Jr. High School. Impressed with the apathy of the voters in the U. S. as compared with those of other countries Mr. McCrann brought the evidence before his faculty and student body, reports an article in *The Connecticut Voter* **(Connecticut League of Women Voters).** The result was a get-out-the-vote campaign which reached many more than the 700 students and 1,400 parents.

A six-point program of education in democracy was inaugurated. Social studies classes investigated the history of voting; English classes prepared essays on "Why Every Eligible Voter Should Vote" and a committee of five principals selected three winning essays; 85 posters were made by art students and placed in windows of neighboring stores; the school's print shop produced 700 flyers carrying voting slogans; and on the eve of election copies of a special election edition of the school newspaper, together with the fliers, were carried home by the students.

At the same time the school conducted a campaign to fill the office of president of the student body, carrying it out along the lines of an actual political campaign. "The campaign succeeded in impressing the students of their great privilege and duty as citizens to make use of their vote," says M. Gene Krieghoff, author of the article, "and when election day dawned it found Northeast Jr. High prepared to put practical democracy to work."

The **San Francisco City Planning Commission** is aiding in teaching the rudiments of urban planning to pupils at all grade levels in that city. Planning materials used in the schools are being developed into a *School Handbook on Community Planning* to facilitate teaching, according to the American Society of Planning Officials.

Matthew P. Gaffney, superintendent of the New Trier Township High School (Illinois), spoke before the Schools Committee of the **Chicago Union League Club,** where Edward M. Martin is secretary of public affairs, on teaching citizenship in the schools. One essential step, Superintendent Gaffney said, is giving students responsibility for matters they are capable of handling; two other essential steps include the creation of situations providing emotional drives for the citizenship program and giving students the necessary factual background in citizenship. In his own school, reported Mr. Gaffney, mock presidential nomination conventions and senate sessions and other dramatic presentations are used to give an emotional drive to the subject of citizenship. Dramatic productions staged by students produce the feeling that the American way of life is worth backing. A carefully worked out curriculum includes courses in citizenship and related subjects.

The **National Self Government Committee,** whose aim is a student self-government program for the schools, has begun publication of its *Self Government News Letter* with information on recent developments. In its first edition, Dr. Julius Yourman, newest member of the committee's board of directors, suggests a formula for developing democracy via the schools: "Dynamic schools initiate students in democratic tradition and provide practical experience in democratic living in classroom, school and community problems. Qualified teachers build lasting attitudes by working *with* young people on problems students feel significant, making available the perspective of the past. . . . They develop realistic school citizenship and student government, defining in a Youth Charter the areas in which elected student representatives may legislate and those in which they may advise, and those in which the student electorate has a responsibility alone or shared with the faculty. This eliminates the sham of students being told they may run their school until the reality of the veto is required, or the dishonesty of a student government permitted to do only minor school chores under the direction of an assigned faculty representative, resulting in popularity contests for student offices which hold no real responsibility, and general disinterest among the school citizens."

Citizenship Day Aids

For those interested in laying plans for the celebration of Citizenship Day on May 18, here is a list of program aids:

Program Aids for Citizenship Recognition Ceremonies, revised edition; *Citizenship—Building the Program; Citizenship—Publicity .and Educational Activities.* U. S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1500 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 2.

National Citizenship Day. By Committee on Citizenship. National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

New Voter Preparation and Recognition; Organizing New Voter Programs. By Hugh S. Bonar. National Education Association, Washington, D. C.

Citizenship Training and Induction for New Voters. Organization Handbook. A Guide to the Wisconsin Citizenship Program. National Municipal League, 299 Broadway, New York 7.

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New Publications

The *Toledo Municipal News,* new monthly publication of the **Municipal League of Toledo,** Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary, is a four-page newspaper, with numerous photographs and graphs illustrating the civic news it publishes.

Come Right Up, published by the District II Commission on Public Relations and Publications of the **New York State Community Service Council,** Miss Dorothy Stock, chairman, describes the development of **Community Youth Councils** throughout the state. These councils, composed of young people between the ages of 18 and 30, have as their aim training for civic leadership. The pamphlet sets forth various instances in which councils have brought about local civic activities—plans for much needed recreation facilities, a series of forums, a radio series. It is attractively printed and illustrated in two colors.

Program for Action, a six-page publication of the **Georgia League of Women Voters,** leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader as to where the league stands on these pronouncements: (1) Democratic government is founded on constitutional safeguards of certain inalienable rights of the people; (2) democratic government must be understandable by the people and accountable to the people if it is to endure; (3) democratic government must be efficient in order to cope with a streamlined, industrial age; (4) democratic government must assume new responsibilities to meet modern social demands. Under each declaration are the specific actions which the league considers necessary to meet the pronouncement. The list covers its program for May 1946–May 1948.

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Boston Opens Campaign

According to Chairman George F. Oakes, the opening of headquarters for **The Plan E for Boston Committee** is the start of a "second citizens' revolution in Boston." "This citizens' uprising is no overnight awakening," said Mr. Oakes. "It is the result of 40 years of political filth which came from a broken down horse-and-buggy administration." A bill to secure Plan E for Boston—council-manager plan with P. R. for council and school board—is now before the legislature. Mr. Oakes explained that the bill does not force anything down the voters' throats. "By it," he said, "we would be allowed to go out and get the 20,000 signatures on a petition to place it on the referendum for 1948."

"Headquarters have been set up for a full-time political campaign and will carry on the fight this year, next year and in years to come—as long as the citizens want it to function," said Chairman Oakes. It is the plan of the committee, once a new charter has been secured, to continue the fight for good government by backing its own slate of candidates for council and the school committee.

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Who's Who

The **Sacramento Chamber of Commerce** has recently issued *The Key to Sacramento*, a directory of city, county, state and federal officials within the city as well as a list of civic organizations, newspapers, radio stations, churches, schools, etc.

Names of members of their legislatures are published by *The Oregon Voter,* C. C. Chapman, editor, and the **Nevada Taxpayers Association** in its *Nevada Tax Review,* Dryden Kuser and Harry S. Allen, editors.

Greater Cleveland, edited by Robert D. Fleischer and published by the **Cleveland Citizens League,** issued a "Directory of Public Officials" covering those for the city, Cuyahoga County and the state. For the General Assembly only members from the county are listed.

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Strictly Personal

J. Horace McFarland, secretary of the Municipal League of Harrisburg since 1901, has resigned his position after 45 years of service. He is succeeded by **Ralph Evans,** an attorney, who represented the organization at the recent meeting of the National Association of Civic Secretaries in Philadelphia.

The 1947 civic fund campaign of the Minneapolis Civic Council to raise $350,000 is headed by **George M. Jensen** as general chairman and **Gerald L. Moore** as general co-chairman, according to an announcement by President Paul W. Loudon. The Civic Council conducts an annual drive for funds to finance the work of seven affiliated civic agencies in the city.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Congressional Elections Show Need of P. R.

Two Systems Compared in New York City Votes

THE election of congressmen from 25 single-member districts in New York City in 1946 provides an enlightening comparison with the choosing of approximately the same number of city councilmen by elections conducted in each of the five boroughs separately by proportional representation. The size of the city council and the apportionment of its members among the boroughs depends upon the size of the vote cast. A council of 23 members was elected in 1945. Comparison on a borough basis, except for combination of Richmond and Manhattan because Richmond has too small a population to have a congressional district all to itself, is readily permitted by district boundaries.

Minorities Shut Out

In Brooklyn a mere 58 per cent of the voters elected all nine congressmen for the Democrats. In Queens the same percentage elected all four congressmen for the Republicans. In each case a minority of more than two-fifths went without representation.

In contrast to this every one of the five P. R. elections for the council of New York City has given representation to the minority in each of the four large boroughs which elect more than one member.

In Queens in 1946 a shift of only 8 per cent of the congressional votes changed 75 per cent of the congressional representation. In the 1944 election the Republicans cast a bare majority of the votes (50.04 per cent) but elected only one of the four congressmen.

In Brooklyn also there was a fairly substantial gain in the 1946 Republican vote at the expense of the Democrats, who dropped from 63 per cent to 58 per cent of the total (even crediting them with minority party votes for their candidates amounting to about one-third of their total), but the election system failed to give this change any effect whatever.

Under P. R. the representation has always corresponded closely to the size of the votes and therefore a change in the vote has had only its corresponding effect on the make-up of the council. The table of councilmen elected in 1943 and 1945, in the January 1946 issue of this department, shows that in only one case did any party gain or lose more than one seat in any borough in the latest P. R. election.[1]

Minority Rule

In the Bronx in 1946 the Democrats elected three congressmen out of four with only 39 per cent of the votes, every one of the three being elected by less than half of those who voted in his district. The time before the Democrats had elected all four Bronx congressmen with a bare majority of the total votes, 54 per cent. The other place this year went to the Republicans with 32 per cent of the total—approximately their share—and 29 per cent who voted American Labor and Liberal elected no one.

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[1] The Democrats jumped from one out of three to three out of five in the Bronx by including on their ticket a candidate of strong independent appeal.

In the one Bronx election under P. R. in which the Democrats failed to poll a majority of the votes, that of 1943, they elected one councilman out of three, the other two places going to the two largest sections of the opposition; and in 1945, with a Democratic majority winning three places out of five, the two largest sections of the opposition both won representation again.[2]

Only in Manhattan and Richmond did the congressional results in 1946 chance to approximate the division of the popular vote. Fifty-five per cent of the voters in the combined boroughs voted for Democratic and American Labor candidates. They elected three Democrats and one American Labor candidate out of a total of seven endorsed by the Democrats. The A. L. P. vote was approximately one-quarter of the combined Democratic and A. L. P. total. The other three places went to the Republican 45 per cent minority,[3] as they should have.

That this outcome was only a matter of chance, however, is shown by the fact that those who voted for and elected the four successful Democratic and A. L. P. candidates were only 30 per cent of the total. The other 25 per cent in their 55 per cent total of the vote was cast in districts carried by the Republicans and had no effect on the result. This 25 per cent could have been cast for the Republicans, bringing the Republican total up to 70 per cent without giving the Republicans more than three members out of seven.

Election of Radicals

The 1946 New York City congressional elections should go far toward dispelling a widely held illusion that P. R. plays improperly into the hands of radicals, based largely on the election of two Communists and one or two other left-wing radicals to the last two New York councils. In spite of the Republican tide Congressmen Vito Marcantonio and A. Clayton Powell, who had captured all three primaries in 1944 in their respective districts, were re-elected in upper Manhattan with Democratic and American Labor party nominations. These two congressmen are generally regarded as at least as far to the left as Councilmen Benjamin Davis and Eugene P. Connolly, the Communist and American Labor minority councilmen from the same borough.

In Brooklyn, which has the other Communist councilman, a former enrolled Communist on the American Labor party ticket, ardently supported by the Communist *Daily Worker,* won the nominations of all three parties in one of the state assembly districts and the American Labor party voters also used their trading powers to elect one of their members to the state senate with Republican backing.

When a radical is elected under the plurality plan he excludes all the conservatives in his district from any real representation. Those who fought bitterly against Marcantonio, first in the primaries and then in the final election, are supposed to be represented by him in Congress. Under P. R. there is no such exclusion. To quote the New York Citizens Union *News* for December, "P. R. does give fair treatment to radicals as well as others, but under P. R. radical councilmen represent only those who wanted them, while the other citizens in their districts have councilmen of their own."

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[2] Both times the Republication section was the smallest in the P. R. elections and many Republican votes helped to elect the Liberal ("right-wing" Labor) member by transfer. Apparently many who voted for Republican congressmen voted Liberal as first choice for council.

[3] One of the successful Republicans was supported by the Liberal party, whose votes are included in this total.

Minority Exclusion in Other States

The situation in Queens and Brooklyn at the recent congressional election, in which one party took all the representation of the entire borough with but a moderate majority of the vote, was not exceptional in the nation. Thus, although Democratic voters cast a substantial percentage of the vote in Connecticut (43 per cent), Delaware (45 per cent), Idaho (49 per cent), Iowa (42 per cent), Kansas (46 per cent), Maine (36 per cent), Nebraska (37 per cent), Nevada (43 per cent), North Dakota (31 per cent), Oregon (32 per cent), South Dakota (36 per cent) and Wisconsin (38 per cent), they did not elect a single one of the 49 representatives from those states. Likewise, the substantial Republican vote in Arizona (40 per cent), North Carolina (38 per cent) and Rhode Island (46 per cent) failed to elect any of the sixteen representatives from those three states.[4]

The fact that the Connecticut Democrats, for example, failed to obtain a proportionate share of the representation of their state is not properly made up for by the fact that North Carolina Democrats obtained much more than a proportionate share of the representation allotted to their state; for none of the North Carolina representatives are in any way responsible to Connecticut Democrats—indeed, they are not even responsible to any national party discipline, as the representatives of some states farther south have made amply evident in the last few years.

New York Vacancy Elections

Under the New York State constitution a vacancy appointment in an elective office can last only until the end of the year in which it is made. Accordingly two Democratic vacancies in the P.R.–elected New York City council, one in Manhattan and one in Queens, were filled first by council appointment of other Democrats as provided in the city charter and then by ordinary borough-wide plurality vote in the November 5 election.

Both places were captured by the Republicans. This changes the Manhattan delegation to one Democrat (instead of two), two Republicans (instead of one), one American Labor party member elected with Democratic endorsement and one Communist. It changes the Queens delegation to two Democrats (instead of three) and two Republicans (instead of one). It reduces the Democratic majority in the whole council to one—twelve Democrats to eleven representatives of other parties. In Manhattan the Republican victory was largely attributable to the fact that the Democratic and American Labor parties, which cast a majority of the votes between them, failed to agree on a candidate acceptable to both.

While this change undoubtedly reflects the trend in the last election, it is only because the vacating members both belonged to the council majority that a majority election did no injustice. If a non-Republican minority member had vacated his seat, the constituents of the vacating member would have been left without their proper minority representation.

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[4] Except in the case of North Carolina, as to which the total vote for candidates for representative was readily available, the percentages given here refer to the vote for statewide offices at the 1946 election. The percentage vote for candidates for the House of Representatives is not likely to differ substantially from the percentages given.

Yonkers and Long Beach, New York, avoid this danger by filling vacancies on their councils by recounts of the P. R. ballots cast at the last election to determine the next choice of the particular voters whom the vacancy has left unrepresented.[5] In effect the voters at each P. R. election choose not only councilmen but alternates to step into their places if needed. This procedure, being an election, does not violate the constitutional requirements as to vacancy appointments and makes it possible to fill each vacancy fairly for the balance of the unexpired term.

A Vote on P. R. in Northern Ireland

A motion to restore proportional representation in the six counties of Northern Ireland, part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, was voted down without a record vote in the parliament of the six counties at Stormont, reported the *Irish World* (New York) on February 1. Proportional representation was originally provided for the government of the six counties as part of the British act which partitioned Ireland in 1920 and was intended to overcome some of the objections to partition by assuring fair representation to the minorities in each section. The Unionist majority, however, soon voted proportional representation out except for indirect elections of the upper house, considerably reducing the representation of the opposition in the Northern Ireland Parliament. The *Irish World* charges that the gerrymander device has recently been used to give the government a majority of representatives in counties in which it generally fails to obtain a majority of the popular vote.

South Australia Houses Divide on P. R.

After obtaining the necessary constitutional majority in the House of Assembly of South Australia, a measure providing for the introduction of proportional representation for the election of the South Australian parliament was defeated by a fourteen to five vote in the relatively unrepresentative Legislative Council. The vote in the House of Assembly, which is more representative of popular opinion, was twenty to seventeen in favor of the bill. That vote cut across party lines and was achieved in spite of the opposition of the Prime Minister. The leader of the opposition took a prominent part in the debates in favor of the bill.

P. R. Endorsed by Toledo Group

The Municipal League of Toledo on January 17 submitted a statement supporting the present P. R. council and city manager form of government in that city to the City Government Study Committee. Although Toledo voters have rejected a variety of proposals to change their form of government over the past few years, consideration is still being given to such proposals, some six plans other than the present plan being now before the committee. A plan submitted by the Toledo Central Labor Union proposes to substitute a council of seven elected by districts for the present council of nine elected by proportional representation.

The statement of the Municipal League declares proportional representation to be the "most fair and direct representation of citizens as a whole as experienced in Toledo and other cities," and cites voting records.

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[5] See the REVIEW, September 1945, page 434.

Fulton County Gets Manager Plan

Counties in Tennessee, Virginia Seek Charters

A BILL providing the manager plan for Fulton County (Atlanta), Georgia, was signed on February 22 after quick passage through both legislative houses. The Atlanta League of Women Voters and other civic groups have been working actively for such legislation over a period of years. The bill was drafted by a committee appointed by the county commissioners following a two-to-one vote in favor of a manager charter at the June 4, 1946, primary election.

Provisions of the act include:

1. Appointment of a manager by the county commissioners by majority vote for an indefinite term;
2. Removal of the manager only after notice and public hearing;
3. The manager must be between 30 and 65 years of age, of proven executive ability, not related to any of the commissioners, and not a holder of elective office within the preceding year;
4. The manager has supervision over all county employees except the county attorney, auditor and clerk of commission;
5. The manager is given authority to hire and fire subject only to civil service regulations;
6. He has authority over purchasing, budgeting and other executive matters;
7. He must abstain from all political activity.

Virginia Counties

Several more Virginia counties are actively considering adoption of the manager plan. Chesterfield County, which was authorized to employ an executive secretary by an act of 1938, recently entertained a motion to adopt the manager plan, but the motion did not receive the necessary second in the Board of Supervisors.

The 1938 act, applicable only to Chesterfield County, was amended by the state legislature in 1947 to include Giles County.

A recent popular election in Augusta County resulted in rejection of the manager plan with a very small percentage of the electorate voting.

McMinn County Bill

A bill providing the manager form of government for McMinn County, Tennessee, has been introduced into both houses of the state legislature by Senator J. P. Cartwright and Representative John L. Peck, both of McMinn.

The proposed legislation is sponsored by the Good Government League and numerous other civic groups and leading citizens. It names the members of the first council under the manager plan which, in turn, will choose the first county manager who need not be a resident of the county. It is reported that no political party affiliations were considered in the selection of these first council members, who are endorsed by the Good Government League. They will serve until the election of August 1948 when council members will be elected at the polls.

The bill will take effect immediately on passage. Under its terms "council shall have complete and direct authority over all functions, activities, personnel, procedure, finances and services of county government not clearly and specifically delegated to other elected county officials by the constitution." Council also is given power to contract with municipalities in the county for consolidation of services and functions.

Petitions in St. Louis County

Adoption of a home rule charter by University City, Missouri, by a substantial majority on February 4 (see page 147) is expected to stimulate the movement for home rule in St. Louis County which includes University City. Petitions have been circulated calling for a board of fourteen freeholders to draft a charter for the county. The County Charter Organization Committee is conducting a campaign with assistance from the County Chamber of Commerce.

Seattle League Presses County Home Rule Measures

Among the reforms for King County and other Washington counties advocated by the Municipal League of Seattle are these:

1. A county home rule constitutional amendment. The league has drafted a constitutional amendment, now before the legislature, which would give Washington counties charter-making powers. The bill has been approved by the Senate Constitutional Reform and Elections Committee. A similar bill died in committee in 1945.
2. Establishment of the office of King County budget director to assist the county commissioners in preparation of the annual budget and to evaluate requests for emergency funds.
3. Immediate cessation of "emergency" appropriations in King County. During 1946 the league intervened in several instances to forestall such action.

City-County Consolidation Continues Progress

Recent developments in city-county consolidation include:

1. Miami, Florida, commissioners passed a resolution requesting complete consolidation with Dade County;
2. Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia, are considering consolidation of police, utilities and public works services;
3. Ogden and Weber County, Utah, are considering consolidation;
4. A similar measure is being considered by Jefferson County and Birmingham, Alabama;
5. Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky, have formed a single sewer district;
6. The Milwaukee city council is considering several consolidation proposals with Milwaukee County;
7. Crow Wing County, Minnesota, is cooperating in the building of a city-county airport;
8. Ector County and the city of Odessa, Texas, have agreed to cooperate in the purchase of machinery for highway and sanitary construction;
9. The Florida Non-Partisan League of Women Voters at Winter Park has begun a study of the possibilities of city-county consolidation, as well as the advantages of the manager plan for Orange County.

Texas Considers County Consolidation

At its recent annual convention the County Judges and Commissioners Association of Texas heard its keynote speaker, a past president of the group, advocate that the 254 counties of Texas be reduced to 86. County Judge Gilbert Smith warned: "A strong, efficient county government represents our only hope of counteracting the steady trend toward federal centralization. Today, the goose quill, the wagon and team and the spinning wheel have no place in the modern scheme of our state economy, but we still cling traditionally to an outmoded, obsolete form of county government that is just as effective in weaving the fabrics of government as the Smithsonian Institute heirloom is in weaving nylon hose."

Central Purchasing Shows Savings

The purchasing department of Pierce County (Tacoma), Washington, has saved the county thousands of dollars since its establishment in 1935, it is reported. The purchasing agent declares that department heads are thoroughly "sold" on the plan which permits them to extend their budgeted funds further than otherwise would be possible. Some of the economies involve metered postage, centralized mimeographing, competitive bids on printing, standardization of letterheads, and use of accounting machines for several simultaneous operations.

Washington State Grand Jury Investigates

The King County (Seattle), Washington, grand jury has been called into session for the first time in ten years. This group of seventeen citizens chosen by lot has been charged with the duty of investigating suspected violations of law by county officials and employees and waste of county funds. An investigational staff has been appointed to assist it.

Wisconsin Committee Favors Partial Reform

The Wisconsin Legislative Interim Committee on County Government recently has taken the following action:

1. It rejected, by a six to five vote, a proposed constitutional amendment permitting optional forms of county government—the five members favoring the proposal may file a minority report;
2. It rejected, also by a six to five vote, a plan to reduce the size of county boards;
3. It favored, by a ten to one vote, recodification of county laws to clarify county jurisdiction;
4. It favored, by an eight to two vote, appointment of county finance officers;
5. It favored, by a six to four vote, a limited degree of centralized purchasing;
6. A proposal to abolish county administrative boards was rejected nine to one;
7. Coordination of all welfare activities was favored nine to zero;
8. The proposal to place county traffic officers in the sheriff's office subject to the merit system was rejected eight to two;
9. Abolition of the fee system as a means of compensation was recommended by a vote of nine to zero.

Henry County Council Sponsors Programs

Current activities of the Henry County, Indiana, Council on Intergovernmental Relations include:

1. Sponsorship of a joint local-state-federal veterans service office;
2. Encouragement of joint city-county planning, specifically at this time in regard to the development of a World War II Memorial Parkway;
3. Emphasis on courses in local government which has resulted in the drafting of a bill requiring such a course in colleges and schools;
4. Development of a comprehensive law on community planning;
5. Assistance in the formation of planning commissions by appearances of its members before community discussion meetings, state meetings held jointly by county commissioners, highway superintendents and surveyors, and state meetings of township trustees.

Wisconsin County Reports Success of New Penal Law

Outagamie County, Wisconsin, reports the success of a recent penal statute which allows prisoners to earn wages while serving their sentences. The system permits the prisoners to work outside during the day, spending their nights in jail. In his recent annual report, the sheriff stated that in the first ten months of 1946, 23 prisoners, most of them sentenced for non-support, earned a total of more than $7,000. He pointed out that this operation of the law resulted in savings in relief payments which otherwise would have to be made and also served to rehabilitate the prisoners.

Veterans Service Officers Organize

The County Veterans Service Officers Association of Wisconsin has been organized and is holding periodic meetings and training institutes to study veterans' problems.

Michigan Local Government Institute Meets

The second biennial conference designed to give newly elected county officers the practical details of operating their offices was held on the Michigan State College campus, December 19-21, 1946. The sponsoring agencies were the Michigan Institute of Local Government, whose chairman is Hon. D. Hale Brake, state treasurer; the Institute of Short Courses, directed by Ralph Tenny; the Michigan State Police, Sergeant Robert Murray in charge of police training; and the Department of Public Administration of Michigan State College. In attendance were newly elected sheriffs, clerks, treasurers, registers of deeds, prosecuting attorneys and drain commissioners.

Practical instruction was given by members of the state police and federal agencies and by men and women who have had extensive experience in their respective offices. Speakers on the luncheon and dinner programs were Hon. Kim Sigler, then governor-elect of Michigan; Hon. Theodore G. Driscoll, commissioner of administration of Minnesota; Hon. Vernon Brown, lieutenant governor of Michigan; John A. Perkins, budget director of Michigan; Brigadier General O. J. Cleary, Michigan State Troops; Hon. D. Hale Brake, state treasurer; and Professor William H. Combs, head of the Department of Public Administration, Michigan State College. Clarence J. Paddock, treasurer of Eaton County, Michigan, was general chairman of the conference.

William H. Combs
Michigan State College

State Associations of County Commissioners Meet

Associations of county commissioners recently have held annual meetings in Ohio, Oregon, West Virginia, South Dakota and Texas.

Kansas County Commissioners Favor Retirement, Airports

Among resolutions adopted by the Kansas County Commissioners Association are:

1. That the association favor a retirement plan for county employees; and

2. That it recommend legislative measures enabling counties to establish CAA approved airports or join with cities or adjoining counties to establish such airports.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New York Argues Airport Management

Two Proposals Before City Fathers Bring No Decision

TWO proposals by independent agencies to take over management and financing of New York City's large airports, LaGuardia and Idlewild Fields, have been before city officials but despite their consideration the city's airport problem is not much farther on the road to solution.

Financing of Idlewild poses a particularly difficult problem for the city, for if this large new field—partly constructed but not yet operable—is financed with city general obligation bonds it will consume a large part of the city's unused borrowing margin urgently needed for governmental rather than public service enterprise purposes. LaGuardia also requires the expenditure of additional funds—the precise amount is a matter of debate—to raise sinking runways and shore up or replace the administration building.

In August 1946 Mayor William O'Dwyer asked the Port of New York Authority, which operates the Holland Tunnel, George Washington Bridge, a large terminal and various other transportation facilities, to survey the city's airports and make proposals for their acquisition by the Port Authority. At the same time studies were being made by the New York City Airport Authority, established by the 1946 state legislature but apparently moribund during much of its existence.

Late in December the Port Authority submitted its proposals. Briefly, it offered to lease the two fields for a period of 99 years, finance the rehabilitation of LaGuardia and the completion of Idlewild with proceeds of $191,000,000 of its own bonds, and pay to the city a net rental of half the annual net income, which it estimated would run to at least $70,000,000 and probably would exceed the city's $91,000,000 investment.

The proposal offered a plan of runway and terminal layout involving minimum movement of passengers and a loading procedure designed to permit full use of loading gates, and embraced a comprehensive group of service buildings, including a hotel, to derive the maximum in revenues from concessions catering to passengers and from shops, etc., serving the airlines. The Port Authority proposed to retire its airport bonds in 30 years, to permit accumulation of reserve funds for the modernization and rebuilding inevitable over the century less a year for which the lease was to run.

The Port Authority's offer was coolly received by the Mayor and Board of Estimate, who declined comment pending "study" of the proposals and the Airport Authority's report.

The Airport Authority presented its report early in January. It offered to finance Idlewild's completion and the repair of LaGuardia with an issue of $80,000,000 of 40-year bonds, giving the city the right to recapture control of the fields at any time the city chose to redeem outstanding bonds and with the facilities to revert to the city in any event at the end of 40 years. The layout was much curtailed compared with the original plans for Idlewild, and although it estimated accumulation of surpluses from operations of some $67,700,000 which would be for the "benefit" of the city—a factor given much publicity—it was apparent that this surplus would have to provide for expansion of the fields as well as for replacement reserves and modernization during the 40-year period.

A remarkable feature of the Airport Authority's report was that it not only proposed a program entailing less than half the borrowing contemplated by the Port Authority and superficially offering the city a far greater "benefit" but it also devoted much space to direct criticism of the Port Authority program and of the Port Authority itself. Officials of the Port Authority—whose twenty-year record of management of its facilities has justifiably given it a reputation for engineering, managerial and financial capacity placing the enterprise among the top half-dozen governmental proprietary enterprises in the nation—immediately issued a rebuttal statement and demanded an open hearing.

Port Authority Supported

The majority of civic organizations and the newspapers shortly lined up in support of the Port Authority's program, as details of the two plans became more widely known. The Port Authority catalogued a number of outlays which it claimed the Airport Authority had priced too low, and fiscal experts pointed out that the Airport Authority's proposal to use 40-year bonds for such improvement was banking too much on lack of further development in airport layouts.

It was evident also that either the Port Authority was estimating revenues ridiculously low or the Airport Authority was estimating them on a visionary basis, since the latter estimated more revenue per passenger while actually providing fewer money-making facilities than did the former.

More important, it was apparent that where the Port Authority's program provided an outstanding development with every prospect of realizing its financial expectations, the Airport Authority's program could not be expected to meet the potentialities for air traffic and would at the same time turn back to the city at the end of 40 years a plant, without accumulated reserves, which might conceivably have to be completely repaired and modernized.

The public hearing lasted most of a full day with a night session, and was inconclusive so far as an immediate decision of the Board of Estimate was concerned. The public, however, seemed pretty well convinced that most of the criticisms of the Airport Authority held water, and that the larger program of its competitor gave more promise of providing New York with adequate air transport facilities.

A considerable part of the debate centered on the alleged inability of either authority to secure a satisfactory interest rate on its bonds, which necessarily would be secured by revenues only and lack the security of a general obligation of the city. The Airport Authority made much of its supposed ability to meet the 2.5 per cent rate which the Port Authority expressed confidence of securing, and introduced a letter from a large investment banking firm purporting to guarantee financing at that rate. On public reading the letter proved to be prudently "hedged"—prices for municipal bonds at present are such that 2.5 per cent for 40-year bonds would be excellent even for a seasoned enterprise—and when a representative of the firm was placed on the witness stand he showed further prudence by making an offer of 2.5 per cent contingent not only on the market but also on substantiation of the Airport Authority revenue and cost estimates by the banker's own consultants.

In retrospect, the choice between the two proposals posed the most important city problem yet to be presented to the O'Dwyer administration, not even excluding the city's perennial budget difficulties and the transit deficit. Already many of the air lines have placed their major maintenance shops in inland cities, and other Atlantic ports are making strong bids for international as well as for east coast terminal business.

The Port Authority program was a well conceived plan to maintain New York's present leading position, with service to the city as well as to the airlines and passengers, national and international. The city's handling of the problem was reminiscent of the bungling days of Tammany, however, and the situation remains confused.

Tennessee Adopts Sales Tax

One of the first major tax measures to be adopted by a 1947 legislature was a 2 per cent sales tax enacted by the Tennessee legislature on January 27. The tax had been urged by Governor McCord and will become effective June 1, 1947.

The tax is estimated to produce from $25,000,000 to $45,000,000. Under the terms of the law the first $20,000,000 will be allocated in fixed amounts: $14,000,000 to the state for school aid, $2,500,000 to municipalities on the basis of population, $2,000,000 for welfare, $1,000,000 for state buildings and maintenance, and $500,000 for administrative collection expense.

Receipts over $20,000,000 will be divided, 80 per cent to the counties, 12.5 per cent to cities, and 7.5 per cent to the state building and maintenance fund. The county share will be earmarked for schools and welfare and will be distributed on the basis of the formula used for gas tax allocations at present. The city share will be on a per capita basis.

Michigan May Repeal Sales Tax Amendment

Governor Sigler of Michigan on February 11 recommended to the legislature repeal of the sales tax amendment adopted November 5, 1946,[1] and the legislature with practically unanimous action voted to submit the question to the voters at the April 7 election. The amendment had earmarked one cent of the state's three-cent sales tax for aid to the local units.

W. P. Lovett,
Executive Secretary
Detroit Citizens League

Taxes and Manholes —No Sewer

Since 1913 official maps of the town of Harrison, in suburban Westchester County, New York, have shown a 752-foot sewer on Nelson Avenue and Condit Street, and abutting property owners have been taxed for it ever since. In mid-January plumbing contractors for a house-building veteran dug down to connect with the sewer, dug some more, and finally precipitated an investigation which disclosed that the sewer had never been installed. The 1931 contractor had built manholes but they connected with nothing.

Premature subdivision and improvement appears to have been at least one reason for the fraud going undetected so long. No houses occupy the abutting lots, although nearby streets have residential developments and real sewers. Officials estimate the town fathers must now spend $2,000 to build the sewer, but at last reports were still in the dark as to who had been entrusted with its construction originally and what could be done with the culprit if he were apprehended. The taxpayers are sadder and perhaps wiser.

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[1] See the Review, January 1947, page 54.

High Costs Delay Public Works Improvements

An increasing number of cities are postponing major public works projects because of inflated construction costs and the drain of higher wages on available funds. Of seventeen cities surveyed recently by the International City Managers' Association to determine effects of rising prices on municipal operating costs, nearly all are curtailing construction of capital improvements because of 100 per cent increases in building costs.

A typical example of public works curtailment is found in Muskegon, Michigan. Work on the city's new sewage disposal plant addition has been suspended because at current prices it would cost $900,000 for construction planned last year to cost $500,000. Bartlesville, Oklahoma, may have to ration water next summer because costs of constructing a new pumping station have become prohibitive.

Bids Rejected

A similar report comes from Grand Junction, Colorado, where bids have been rejected on much needed waterworks because of inflated construction costs. Berkeley, California, recently adopted a policy of rejecting bids out of line with normal price levels on virtually all but "emergency" projects. Austin, Texas, is postponing construction of new municipal buildings for which plans had been completed.

The same dilemma prevails in other cities. In Long Beach, California, construction of new fire stations and libraries is being postponed. High Point, North Carolina, also is curtailing public works construction. Other cities postponing work on planned capital improvements include Ashtabula, Ohio; Newton, Kansas; Roanoke, Virginia; and West Palm Beach, Florida.

State Studies Local Revenues

A preliminary study of local revenue sources in Tennessee by the State Planning Commission was issued late in December. It outlined sources of income now legally available to municipalities in that state and indicated where additional legislation may be necessary if use is to be made of some of the taxes and charges recently imposed elsewhere. The commission urged that interested agencies in the state collaborate later in a more comprehensive study.

The study points out the present variation in importance of the property tax from city to city, and such unsatisfactory features of property taxation as faulty assessment and inefficient administration and the inadequacy of property taxes to meet present demands without the imposition of additional charges. New revenues, it concludes, must not overlap state and federal taxation, must not be regressive, and must place the burden more equitably on the basis of benefit derived and ability to pay.

Tax Receipts

Included in the study is a tabulation of receipts in eighteen selected Tennessee municipalities, showing a wide variation in dependence on property taxes. The proportion of total receipts derived from property taxes varies from just under 21 per cent in two cities to nearly 82 per cent in one. Eight in all derived less than half their revenues from property taxes, and six derived more than two-thirds.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

Latin America Maps Housing and Planning

Central Governments Take Initiative in Local Units

TO THOSE who have a knowledge of local government in the United States any examination of developments in local government in Latin American countries seems to be overshadowed by the traditional centralization of government in those nations. To a much greater extent than in this country current problems of Latin American local governments are inextricably bound up with possible action or inaction of central authorities.

Housing and Planning

The new "Housing and Planning" series of the Division of Labor and Social Information of the Pan American Union, edited by Francis Violich, emphasizes the dearth of local government activity in these fields in Latin America. Central governments, without particular reference to local units, are administering vast housing and planning projects while in many cases localities apparently have no powers to engage in these fields.

Together with the lack of interest in local government which is frequently discussed, these facts support the old maxim that if citizen interest in local government institutions is desired or desirable local governments need to be given a group of powers which are important.

Central direction and administration of housing is carried on in Panama and Peru and for the most part in Venezuela. A recent proposal in Cuba involved a central housing program primarily. The municipal government of Caracas, Venezuela, however, is active in the housing field.

Planning, traditionally a more local function than housing in Latin America, has been recently undertaken anew by several communities. Cardenas, Cuba, and Quito and Manta, Ecuador, for example, have put forth new city plans.

New Ecuador Law

A new municipal government law in Ecuador has been passed, according to the Pan American Commission for Intermunicipal Cooperation, to improve standards of municipal administration, establish new approaches to problems of housing and city planning, and incorporate the principle of international exchange into municipal activities.

The law permits municipalities in different parts of the country to form associations—either temporary or permanent — for their mutual benefit. Rules for these organizations are to be established by the Association of Municipalities of Ecuador which is made up of all cities in the country. The association is made responsible for organizing permanent commissions in each city on the following subjects: water and light, supplies, education and sports, hygiene and health, social service, public works and urbanization, finance, etc. Existing commissions will be reorganized in order to unify municipal action throughout the republic.

The association is empowered to join with similar organizations in other countries and to become a member of international municipal bodies.

Local city planning will be aided by the section of the law which provides that a technical body is to operate in each provincial capital and prepare urbanization plans for the cantons (the territorial boundary of a municipality). These bodies are to be maintained and financed by the municipalities of each province but regulated by the Association of Municipalities. Local boards will be appointed with personnel drawn from municipal offices and from the fields of commerce, industry, agriculture, labor, the press, etc., for the purpose of advising and consulting with the technical bodies. A national technical body is to be established to coordinate municipal urbanization plans. The Minister of Municipal Affairs is to be responsible for organizing the Association of Municipalities.

Brazilian Cities Organize

The Brazilian Association of Municipalities was formally inaugurated on March 15, 1946.

Traffic Problems

Transit difficulties in Montevideo, Uruguay, have been the occasion for a complete new traffic ordinance and a study of methods of urban transportation in five Latin American cities. The study is reported in the November 1946 *Boletin* of the Pan American Commission on International Cooperation.

John A. Fairlie Dies in South

Dr. John A. Fairlie, who retired in 1941 as head of the Political Science Department at the University of Illinois, died January 23 in an Atlanta hospital at the age of 74. He had been an active member of the National Municipal League for many years, serving on numerous committees and contributing major leadership in the development of accepted standards in public administration. Committees on which he served most recently were those which brought out the most recent revisions of the *Model City Charter* and the *Model State Constitution.*

Born in Glasgow, Scotland, Dr. Fairlie was brought to this country by his parents as a boy and was educated at Harvard and Columbia Universities. He taught successively at the Universities of Michigan and Illinois and, as visiting professor after his retirement, at Ohio State University in 1942-43.

He was a member of the Michigan Constitutional Convention in 1907-08, managing editor of the *American Political Science Review* from 1916 to 1925, president of the American Political Science Association in 1929, and author of numerous works on public administration.

Harold D. Smith Dead at 48

Harold D. Smith, who had been director of the United States Bureau of the Budget 1939-46, died January 23 at his home in Arlington, Virginia, at the age of 48, only a few months after assuming his new duties as vice president of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development.

Both before and after going to the federal government, Mr. Smith was prominently identified with the League. Most recently he was a member of the Committee on a Model City Charter which brought out the 1941 revision.

Educated in engineering and public administration at the Universities of Kansas and Michigan, Mr. Smith was with the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, the League of Kansas Municipalities, director of the Michigan Municipal League, director of the Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan, and director of the budget for the state of Michigan before going to Washington.

Books in Review

City and Regional Planning Papers. By Alfred Bettman. Edited by Arthur C. Comey with a foreword by John Lord O'Brian. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1946. xix, 294 pp.

Alfred Bettman, a number of whose writings on planning are here assembled, died just a year previous to preparation of Mr. Comey's preface to this volume in January 1946. "His passing," says Mr. Comey, "has left city planning bereft of able leadership."

The volume is divided into four parts. Part I is comprised of a selection of 24 of Mr. Bettman's most cogent papers, with a footnote to each title indicating the year in which it appeared. Part II is made up of two of his most important law briefs—"one pegged down the constitutionality of zoning in the leading Supreme Court case; the other did the same for public housing." Part III consists of Mr. Bettman's most important contributions to model drafts for statutes since his contribution to *Model Laws for Planning Cities, Counties and States,* a publication by Mr. Bettman and others which appeared as Volume VII of the Harvard City Planning Studies (the present volume is XIII). Part IV is a bibliography of Mr. Bettman's published writings on planning and housing, prepared by Miss Katherine McNamara, librarian of the Harvard Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning.

This collection of Mr. Bettman's papers covers the principal controversial planning issues down to the present time. Issues are dealt with one by one but fit together as a composite statement, thus bearing out the author's own insistence that park planning, major street planning, even zoning, were not in themselves city planning but only became so when integrated with one another in a comprehensive or master plan.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Airports

An Airport Program for the Philadelphia-Camden Metropolitan Area. Philadelphia 7, City Planning Commission, 1946. 98 pp. Illus.

Development of Newark Airport and Seaport. New York 11. The Port of New York Authority, 1946. 43 pp. Illus.

Terminal Airport Financing and Management. By Lynn L. Bollinger, Alan Passen and Robert E. McElfresh. Boston, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1946. xiv, 385 pp. $4.25.

Building Codes

Building Code Suggestions for Veterans Emergency Housing Program. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, 1946. 7 pp.

Directories

Directory of State Agencies in Nashville. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1946. 6 pp.

State Manual Containing Official List of Officers, Boards, Commissions and County Officers. Dover, Delaware, Secretary of State, 1947. 62 pp.

Education

Our Children. Annual Report of the Profession to the Public. By Willard E. Givens. Washington 6, D. C., National Education Association of the United States, 1946. 16 pp.

Elections

Elections Calendar for 1947. By Richard C. Spencer and Anna A. Meck. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 6 pp.

Highways

Proposed System of Trafficways. City of Detroit Master Plan. Detroit, City Plan Commission, 1946. 24 pp. Maps. Illus.

Housing

Chicago Emergency Housing Code. Chicago, City Council, 1946. 26 pp.

Housing. E. R. Latty, special editor. Durham, North Carolina, *Law and Contemporary Problems,* Winter 1947. 208 pp. $1.

Reference and Source Material on Housing and Housing Needs; Economic and Social Costs of Good and Bad Housing; Who Pays for Public Housing. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, 1946. 30 pp.

International Affairs

The Big 4 in Germany—The Treatment of Germany as an Economic Unit. By David L. Glickman. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1947. viii, 79 pp. 50 cents.

Land Subdivision

Land Subdivision Guidance and Regulation in New Jersey and a Model Draft of Platting Rules and Regulations. Trenton, New Jersey State Department of Economic Development, Division of Planning and Engineering, 1946. 20 pp.

Legislatures

Current Ideas in State Legislatures 1944-45. A Review of Laws Enacted During the Biennium. Compiled by the Staff of the State Law Section, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1947. 98 pp. 20 cents.

Our State Legislatures. Report of the Committee on Legislative Processes and Procedures.[1] Chicago, The Council of State Governments, 1946. 29 pp.

Planning

Comprehensive Plan City of Wichita, Kansas. Wichita, City Planning Commission, 1946. Variously paged. Illus. $2.

On Our Way. The Rye Development Program. Rye, New York, The Mayor, 1946. 31 pp. Illus.

Status of Applications by Tennessee Counties and Communities for FWA Advance Planning Funds. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1947. 16 pp.

Tennessee Is Making Plans. A Progress Report. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1947. 15 pp.

Public Libraries

Interim Report of the Survey of Public Libraries in New York State. Albany, Division of Research, Department of Education, 1946. 21 pp.

Public Works

1946 Public Works Congress Reports. Papers and Panel Discussions Presented at the 52nd Annual Meeting, September 1946. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1947. 151 pp. $2.

Seventh Annual Report, Federal Works Agency 1946. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1946. v, 157 pp. 30 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Balances in State General, Highway and Postwar-Reserve Funds in 1946 (Preliminary). By N. B. Gerry. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 7 pp.

City Tax Legislation in 1946. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* November 1946. 10 pp. 25 cents.

Seventh Biennial Report to the Governor of the State of Oklahoma. Period July 1, 1944, to June 30, 1946. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1946. 286 pp.

State Income Taxes. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1946. 28 pp.

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[1] For a discussion of this report see the REVIEW, February 1947, page 93.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Time for Concerted Action

IS YOUR community coming apart at the seams? Do you wonder how it is going to whip such complex problems as juvenile delinquency, housing, community planning, the financing of needed public works and higher personnel costs, pollution of air or water, planning for continuous prosperity and full employment? Are these and other problems complicated by a multiplicity of governmental units in an area which is naturally a single community, by a plethora of special purpose organizations each promoting specific objectives and by the lack of one over-all agency through which all citizens can work together for the welfare and future of the community as a whole?

Then your community is like thousands of others in the United States in 1947.

Is there an answer? There is—at least the beginning of an answer. It has been tested, off and on, for a generation or more in many communities. It has usually been known as the citizens council, sometimes community council.

In essence the citizens council plan is simple. It begins by bringing together the persons who can enlist the cooperation of all whose help and understanding are needed for the solution of the problems at hand. It should therefore be composed of the natural leaders or spokemen of a fair cross-section of the community. It should include among others persons who are virtually representative of civic, economic, educational, religious and other organized groups. But no member should be bound to speak and act merely as a delegate. This is important because first and foremost the council should be a thinking machine, a community brain able to develop a higher understanding of community problems than that likely to be attained by any less comprehensive organization. Common understanding is not a mathematical combination of the pre-existing understandings of separate groups and individuals. It is a new creation possible only through uninhibited thinking and discussion led by the most competent and trusted members of the community. So far as possible rank-and-file contribution to this thinking should be obtained through informed discussion in community and neighborhood forums, through the newspapers, on the radio.

Ordinarily the council does not engaged in field operations; that is, it does not itself undertake to plan the city, clear the air of smoke, operate recreation centers, or even conduct extensive research. When it discovers that any of these things needs to be done, it stimulates and, if necessary, helps existing agencies to do it. One important result is a saving of some of the civic energy that is wasted in most communities because a variety of groups plan and conduct their programs without adequate information and largely without reference to one another or to any carefully considered schedule of priorities. By bringing together the people who determine these programs the council strengthens older organizations and enables them to concentrate their forces so as to get maximum results for their efforts.

Citizens councils have played important parts in several national emergencies. During the depression many communities saved themselves from civic bankruptcy and breakdown of essential services through the operation of citizens councils, stimulated and guided by the National Municipal League, which served at the request of 57 national organizations as the National Federation of Citizens Councils.

The recent war afforded the most spectacular test of the citizens council technique in the local voluntary effort through which communities met problems arising from the war and played their part in the war itself. As an official publication pointed out: "We have proved again, as we did in 1918, that public and private agencies, labor and management, paid workers and volunteers can work together to solve any problem on the home front."

The problem is to transform the occasional emergency display of community cooperation into a permanent part of our democratic routine. It is true that most communities have what amounts to a citizens council on education in the P.T.A., a citizens council on welfare in a welfare federation, a council of citizens on business and industry in the Chamber of Commerce. These are all to the good, but their efforts do not necessarily result in balanced attention to all important community affairs. In time of crisis their efforts may even become competitive and mutually self-defeating. Then, if the crisis is compelling enough, they get together.

Actually, democracy is always in crisis, always in peril. It always needs to concentrate its best talents on the business of making it work, which is simply the business of making free communities so good that no one will be much attracted to somebody else's utopia.

It is relatively easy to work together for victory in war. War, in effect, compels cooperation. The need is as great in time of peace but it takes more imagination to see it and more maturity and self-discipline to merge minor differences.

One of the signs that our democracy may be coming of age is the number of communities that are consciously applying in peace lessons and discipline learned during the war. This accounts for many phases of the current civic revival including the reorganization of inefficient local governments, renewed interest in metropolitan coordination and growth in voluntary citizens organizations.

Every American who helped the war effort is needed somewhere in the organized effort for effective peace-time democracy. In most communities an over-all citizens council is needed to plan the operation and help every citizen find his most useful role. J.E.B.

Local Press as Civic Force

Most valuable contribution a newspaper can make to decent government is day-to-day getting of the story and telling it.

By OXIE REICHLER*

HELPFUL work by a local newspaper can encourage and expedite what Dr. C. A. Dykstra used to call "the golden rule of clean government."

Of course, one must accept two premises: First, that the local press can be influential and, second, that it is possible to awaken the millions of men and women whose civic habits are such that they are virtually walking in their sleep.

Some people still insist upon arguing that the local newspaper long since has lost its prestige and they prophesy its early doom. That has been a pastime for generations.

Just before his death H. G. Wells told a scientific meeting in London that he had "a profound conviction that the newspaper is dead as mutton and that it will never come back." It should not be necessary to say he was grossly mistaken. In fact, Mr. Wells himself can be quoted—at a time when he was not quite so old—to the effect that "the Roman Empire fell because there was no newspaper to apprise the people in the outlying territories of what was going on at the center."

If we agree that the local newspaper has influence and prestige, we can go forward to the second point —that it is possible to jolt the citizenry into a lively interest in the government of their home community.

Here is a less promising picture. A fellow-citizen of mine was asked, "What do you think of our city government?" His reply was, "I try not to!"

It has been a continuing effort of the *Herald Statesman,* of Yonkers, New York, to change that viewpoint. The *Herald Statesman* tries to make Yonkers a place where men and women no longer exclaim, "Why don't they do something about it!" They ask, "Why don't I do something about it?"

Young men and women have come home from the war determined to have a better community, and to do something personally to that end. The local newspaper can help them. Does it? Will it? An honest-to-goodness civic organization can assist them even more. Is there one? Does it care?

While war raged, people found they could not do without the local paper. They had to have it—for information about selective service, for civilian defense, for rationing, for news from the fronts about their loved ones and their friends, for all those cooperative community endeavors like Red Cross and salvage.

Readers have come to appreciate their local newspaper in a way they may not have done before, and both

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editors and readers will probably be groping for more inviting and more satisfying and community-building paths to travel than the highways of sex and crime.

The civic story should entice both editors and readers. It has been too long neglected, with incalculable damage to many localities—damage that will continue for generations.

The time is here when the local newspaper must make special effort to tell its readers every day what is going on in City Hall, what is going on in political party headquarters.

A Community Conscience

The local newspaper may be proud indeed if and when it is recognized as the community's civic conscience.

It may be prouder if it encourages at least a dozen or two dozen citizens to give of themselves in the public behalf that they too become acknowledged and accepted as "civic consciences," willing to speak out courageously against evil, to fight the worst the politicians can offer, to band together for the cause of decency and justice, and to demonstrate that in their community it is no longer true that "everybody's business is nobody's business."

Politics too often has been a special possession of party machines. From the pages of the local newspaper politics can spring forth into the hands and into the minds of men and women, of boys and girls, to become a living and intimate thing. Teachers can thus become informed. Schools can begin to teach politics, instead of what is now called civics.

It is hardly a new idea. Aristotle was talking about it three hundred years Before Christ. Aristotle said: "All who have meditated upon the art of government have been convinced that the fate of empires depends upon the education of youth."

The newspaper can provide this information better even than the teacher in school, better than the political club. It can tell and keep retelling how political party controls are set up, how the district leader and the ward leader are chosen, and what powers they have. Our students may get to know the names of these behind-the-scenes functionaries in all parties and become familiar with their importance in local government. They may be led to discover and understand the roots of politics in their own block.

If our young people have access to this information, they are sure to tell Pop and Mom. In that way a social conscience is born—in the individual and in the family.

In that way it would no longer be fashionable or proper to ask an average citizen, "Why does a nice person like you want to get mixed up in dirty politics?" Because, obviously, if more "nice people" were mixed up in politics, politics would not be dirty!

The local newspaper best serves its community if it assumes the role each day of telling readers simply and clearly what is happening in the government and in political life, confident that if citizens learn a lot about their own problems at home they will be better versed in fundamental democracy and better able to appreciate the rights and wrongs of government in the county, state, nation and world.

What implements are needed for such a journalistic service? Primarily, the need is for competent men and women assigned to city hall—reporters at least as alert and qualified to write informatively and entertainingly as are those assigned to sports and police.

Their task should be to keep the spotlight on public officials and public acts in such a way that all are interestingly described and that corruption and inefficiency are adequately uncovered.

Letters to the Editor

Such reporting should be sufficiently stimulating to readers that they follow through by writing to the editor, for publication, letters freighted with recommendations that might be helpful to officials. The *Herald Statesman* is proud of the hundreds of letters from readers, all published with full name and address of the writer and carefully checked as to authorship.

Objective reporting of the civic scene is important but impartiality is not enough. The local newspaper ought to take sides whenever the situation requires.

Not only must a newspaper side with what it regards as right but it must do so vigorously. I remember the utter amazement with which I discovered how a large city, rocking with judicial scandals, was getting no editorial guidance from any of its local newspapers—the editors had agreed among themselves to refrain from such discussion of that subject!

Besides news and editorials, the local newspaper can be effective as a civic force in a great variety of ways.

Prior to election day most editors were prodding their readers to register and vote. But the Rutland, Vermont, *Herald* for years has been awarding silver loving cups to the towns that make the best showing in percentage of eligible voters who cast their ballots.

Many a local newspaper can adapt at home the ambitious techniques of such a forum as the New York *Herald-Tribune* sponsors annually. At our paper's suggestion the Young Men's Chamber of Commerce in Yonkers sponsored a School for Civic Service. This was a series of lectures by the principal local government officials on the city and its operation. The project won state and national acclaim and the civic school is being reproduced in many American cities.

Yonkers is a community of nearly 150,000 people, lying directly to the north of New York City along the Hudson. Its citizens live in comparative luxury and afford luxurious public services. For instance, it is one of the few larger communities where the city goes into the cellar to collect ashes and garbage, neatly but expensively returning the receptacles to the basement.

Over a dozen years ago, when matters went from bad to worse, it was evident many things needed changing. Public debts were soaring astronomically; city employees were suffering deep pay cuts and then went unpaid for months. Schools had to shut down awhile. The relief burden was crushing. Taxes were among the highest in the nation. Merchants were not being paid for the goods they sold the city.

Much of the governing was accomplished in executive session with the press barred. Scandal followed scandal in wasteful purchasing and political deals.

Rarely if ever has local government been so much reported in a local newspaper as the *Herald Statesman* provided during those years. It was by no means unusual to carry eighteen or twenty thousand words in a report of a common council session—fairly brief news stories, breezy items that rated the position some of them got on page one, and good single and double-column heads inside the paper.

Whatever else might have been said of the report, there was no doubt that all interested people had information about their government available. There was ample evidence that the reports were carefully read. Many good citizens compiled scrap books that later became weapons against malefactors.

When it was found few persons knew just how many people worked for the city and who they were, the paper compiled a master city payroll and published it, fully alphabetized, in 75 daily installments. When good government finally was achieved, this list of about 3,500 public employees was pared by about 1,000.

By day-to-day publication sufficient information was provided on which to base reforms in purchasing, in pensions and in the civil service practice.

At one time the *Herald Statesman* published every day an itemized list of all city purchases. It caused an uproar that echoed in grand jury rooms.

For many years it has been publishing a daily financial statement of the city, and we know how carefully it is perused by the inquiries received when it is omitted.

For years the paper carried on an editorial campaign against closed sessions. At last the common council yielded, admitting our reporter to its committee of the whole—and we have been reporting those sessions ever since.

Only a short time ago the Board of Education, which had done most of its business behind locked doors, swung them open at the editorial demand of the newspaper, which now reports all its sessions too. In this field vast improvement is possible—under prodding from the local newspaper—in hundreds of American communities where the principal public business is hidden from the gaze of the people who foot the bills.

Manager–P. R. Charter

Inevitably a struggle developed for a form of government in Yonkers that might make for more efficiency and promote honest dealing. In 1938, after several previous rejections, the city adopted a council-manager charter and also the proportional representation method of electing the common council—the method used in New York City, Cincinnati, Toledo and some other municipalities.

The charter alone could not afford the relief we craved. We had to learn how to nominate and elect men and women of highest qualification and of absolute integrity. Not till November 1945 did the citizens truly make the grade with a full majority of such people. The result was that the clutch of the political machine finally was broken, and the city has had over a year of reasonably good and independent municipal operation. All pay cuts have been restored for city employees; many have had their first raises in a generation. The public debt has been reduced nearly 50 per cent.

The local newspaper can serve the people well in explaining so complex a thing as a new charter with features as unfamiliar as proportional representation.

This was done by printing simple questions and answers in large, readable type. These daily installments were received so hungrily that we found not only an upsurge in public knowledge but also in our newspaper circulation. When that series was concluded, the questions and answers were reprinted in tabloid form and 25,000 copies were distributed to the schools. These are still being used as civics textbooks.

The printed financial report of the last administration under the mayor-aldermen form listed in bold type that the year had ended with a net actual deficit of $275,000. But one of the *Herald Statesman* reporters—a shrewd and observing young man with a mathematical mind—recomputed the figures in the book and showed that the net actual deficit for that year was not $275,000 but nearly five million dollars. That was the initial disclosure of such an ominous fact.

Then the reporter found that a million and a half dollars in merchants' claims had been left unpaid although the money had been raised. There was more of the same. All that money has since been repaid.

The ways in which the local newspaper can serve as alarm clock, as town crier, as public adviser, are still far from explored. They are so varied that almost any local newspaper can decide to find new forms of service and find them easily.

'Forums in Print'

For instance, there was a time when officials clamped down on press participation in framing the city's annual budget. Our paper decided readers were entitled to discuss the budget despite official secrecy and undertook a "Public Budget Forum in Print." It was successful.

When there was too much hush-hush about transit reform, the paper sponsored a "Public Transit Forum in Print," which worked out so well it won compliments even from the head of a traction corporation with which the paper had been obliged to fight (expensively) in the courts.

When it was suspected that too many taxpayers were being given unwarranted reductions in their assessed valuations, the paper printed long lists every day showing every protesting taxpayer and how he fared before the review board.

When it was found that defaulting taxpayers were "getting away with murder"—that they were letting their tax bills lapse year after year and then found it easy to settle up for a pittance, while all the rest of the prompt-paying taxpayers footed their own bills and those of the de-

(Continued on page 236)

Civic Education via the Radio

Forums, news coverage and documentary programs among techniques which help to strengthen democracy on the air.

By ROBERT B. HUDSON*

NOT SO many months ago in upper New York State there occurred a most unusual phenomenon. A city was called upon to account for its collective stewardship not to some outside authority but to its own citizens. The city government of Syracuse and its several branches charged with the performance of municipal services, together with responsible citizen groups concerned semi-officially with the well-being of the city, suddenly found themselves arraigned before the bar of public opinion. Syracuse was indeed on trial!

But this was no spotlight powered by the traditional reform movement designed to "throw the rascals out." So far as this trial was concerned Syracuse had no rascals. This was a positive approach to local government: what are our current practices; what are our immediate and long range plans? This was a constructive, practical exercise in civic education by radio.

Visualize, if you will, the studio picture: a judge on a raised dais, the witness chair just below and to his right, a counsel table in front for opposing attorneys, the jury on the judge's left, and a studio audience numbering 50 to 75 persons. That was the picture in the Radio Workshop of Syracuse University for "Syracuse on Trial," a program broadcast by station WFBL.

The results were excellent, the program had a top rating in terms of audience in the city of Syracuse. During the seventeen weeks it was on the air, it used five mayors, sixteen judges, five manufacturers, two bankers, two architects, four farmers, one councilman, two engineers, three clergymen, two United States Army officials, thirty-four lawyers, two realtors, three commissioners, two planners, six retail merchants, two supervisors and three educators. In all, over four hundred individuals including the jury actively participated. The citizen of Syracuse was at once defendant, prosecutor and judge.

Municipal practices put on trial included postwar aviation plans, the city's park system, housing, taxes, the educational system, sanitation, agricultural center, recreational facilities for teen-age groups, etc.

The story of "Syracuse on Trial" is only one of the many which illustrate the distinctive way in which radio broadcasting can implement broad programs of civic education. Before citing these examples of radio projects in civic education, let us examine briefly the media of mass communication and their relationship to government in a democracy.

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*Mr. Hudson is director of education of the Columbia Broadcasting Company. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League at Philadelphia.

The Greeks may not have had a word for this, but they did have an effective group of words for getting their idea of democracy across. The Greeks said that "a democracy is effective only as far as a man's voice can be heard." They practiced democracy that way, at least the free half of the population did, and so long as the citizen's voice could be heard, their city-states flourished.

But the city-state was so constituted as to render its development into a large state or nation difficult. Even Rome did not fully succeed in adapting her municipal institutions to the administration of an empire. The Greek cities sought to solve the problem by confederation. The reason for their failure is well illustrated by the case of the Bocotian cities, which in trying to extend the institutions of direct democracy outside the city-state rendered the central authority almost powerless. We would observe today that their lines of democratic communication were over-extended.

The great Roman Empire also suffered for lack of adequate communications. Transplanted Roman-style democracy throughout the known world withered and died on the vine, and even at home the citizen's voice was too faint to prevent corruption and graft and a general prostitution of civic virtue.

If he had had ingenuity enough to invent the printing press or could have speeded up the arrival of Marconi by nineteen centuries, the good citizen might have rallied the Romans and "thrown the rascals out." He might have created enough unity among ordinary men to forestall the war lords. But without these media at his disposal there was little that the Roman citizen could do in making democracy work for a far-flung empire.

Not until the time of Oliver Cromwell did we have a demonstration of effective democracy extending beyond the boundaries of a city-state—beyond the carrying range of a citizen's voice. But this did not happen until after the invention of the printing press. Print made it possible for a man to be an active, participating citizen of a large state.

Mass Communication Aids

The point is simply this: democracy on the scale which we practice it is impossible without the mass media of communication—in print, radio and film. The role of newspapers and magazines in reporting and reflecting the will of the people throughout the history of this republic is too extensive and too well known to recount here; the effectiveness of radio in communicating ideas, news and opinion instantly and reliably is commonplace knowledge; and the importance of films in shaping attitudes and behavior patterns can hardly be overestimated.

These three media of mass communication along with modern transportation make possible such democracy as we have in America. Together they are responsible for the term, "the shrinking globe"; without them the "one world" concept is unthinkable.

This briefly argued thesis, that the mass media of communication make democracy possible in large geographic areas, does not in any sense preclude their usefulness in small unit democracy. Indeed quite the opposite is true: these media are never more effective than when skillfully exploited locally.

This is said in full recognition of the trend toward centralization in print, radio and film. Hollywood and films may be an exception, but certainly there are many instances where newspapers and radio stations are turning in a skillful local level job; and wherever it is effective emphasis is on the word *skillful.*

Communities Lag

It may be, of course, that local governmental units have not kept pace with mass communications. Maybe local government outside the major cities is still in the horse-and-buggy days! An old uncle of mine down in the mountains of Virginia once explained to me how Virginia counties were laid out. He said that county boundaries were drawn so that at no point in the county would you be more than twelve and a half miles from the county seat. Thus a man could ride a horse to the county seat, transact his business and return home the same day. That horseback standard ignores advances in communications and transportation, and we are deluding ourselves when we assume that democracy is being served by the mere retention of outmoded institutions.

Radio does not observe state lines much less municipal boundaries, and it is this characteristic which tends to baffle local government people and local station people alike in planning municipal programs. There is no easy solution to the problem; however, station managers in sizable cities would seldom turn down a skillfully prepared local government program where the objective was civic education. Programs treating problems of satellite towns and counties would have to be broad enough to permit general application.

It is just possible, too, that horseback standards are being applied functionally as well as geographically in some local governmental institutions. In such instances the spotlight of public attention is shunned like the plague. These instances are balanced by the many progressive local governments which are making intelligent use of the mass media of communications to keep their citizens informed of practices and needs.

This is good civic education. But most civic education appears to be effected by non-officials—by citizens' groups. "Syracuse on Trial" was the product of Syracuse University, the Bar Association, Station WFBL, and other groups. Down in Cincinnati, station WCPO and the Hamilton County Good Government League combined to produce a town meeting type show on civic issues.

Out in the San Luis and San Juan Valleys in Colorado the Extension Division of the University of Colorado and the Rocky Mountain Radio Council produced and broadcast a series of programs on state problems, including tax policy, pensions, grazing laws, etc. Listening groups were organized in more than a score of centers in those valleys and following each broadcast the problem was discussed at the grass roots level.

Also in the Rocky Mountain area the principal educational institutions and agencies in Colorado and Wyoming pooled their resources for education by radio in the Rocky Mountain Radio Council. This organization is staffed by professional radio people, thus bringing to local educational broadcasting in general and local civic educational broadcasting in particular the skills requisite to effective radio programming. This council has developed many series of programs which contribute directly to local civic education.

Radio in Local Activity

Recently in Augusta, Georgia, the press, radio and films all contributed to the successful foray of Colonel Effingham's raiders[1]. Out in St. Joseph, Missouri, the radio helped the Citizens' Good Government Association to get out the vote. The several Citizens Conferences on Government Management convened in Estes Park, Colorado, were reported fully by radio to the citizens of the region.

In Philadelphia Station WCAU is in the middle of an aggressive program of civic education. Only last summer it informed its citizens about the sorry status of their water supply so effectively that corrective measures have been taken. This station has now accepted the challenge of George Sessions Perry, who wrote in the *Saturday Evening Post* that "Philadelphia wears a cutaway coat and dirty underwear," to do a series of major dramatic programs reporting to Philadelphians the conditions which exist. Station WCAU has the full support of many business organizations and civic groups.

Up in Boston Station WEEI on its own initiative developed a weekly labor-management forum, a program in which representatives of both labor and management sit down together and discuss their problems with the people of New England. This kind of civic education for the people, and incidentally for the participants, may be a factor of some importance in the generally amicable labor relationships which have existed in that area during this critical year.

An outstanding project in civic education by radio was carried in Worcester, Massachusetts, under the leadership of Station WTAG. The story of "Worcester and the World" is well known to many people. Local radio is at its best in promoting this sort of civic education project where it enlists the cooperation of all the principal business enterprises and citizen groups in the community.

"Youth Takes a Stand," a program on Station WTOP, Washington, D. C., brings the youth in Washington to the microphones to express their views on many municipal and national issues, including the issue of right of franchise for Washingtonians.

Out in St. Louis, Missouri, Station KMOX broadcasts on Sunday evenings a program called "St. Louis

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[1] See "Colonel Effington Whips Machine," the REVIEW, June 1946, page 310.

Speaks." This program, supported by St. Louis civic leaders, sheds light on municipal and state issues. Only recently the National School Broadcast Conference, meeting in Chicago, gave its annual award for a station-built educational program to Station KIZ in Denver for its dramatic civic education program "Traffiquiz," developed in cooperation with the Denver schools and the Denver police department.

These are but a few examples of the hundreds of good civic educational programs now on the air on most of the thousand radio stations in the United States.

Radio and Public Relations

Municipal officials and municipal governments per se have seldom availed themselves of radio as an instrument of civic education except at the behest of a radio station or of some citizens group in the community. This reluctance on the part of municipalities to tell their story on the air may stem from a lack of knowledge of radio program techniques or some unfortunate experience with an occasional straight talk which turned out to be factual but not arresting.

The progressive municipal government should study its public relations problems as carefully as it studies its sanitation problems. The term public relations is used here in the broad sense of civic education, of keeping citizens informed about municipal affairs. Municipal governments have access to microphones all over America and they encounter enthusiastic cooperation in most radio stations.

It behooves municipal authorities to awake to the potentialities of radio as an instrument of civic education and to train personnel to use the medium effectively. The acquisition of necessary radio skills may be a project in which the National Municipal League can assume leadership.

While the public affairs programs broadcast by the four coast-to-coast networks obviously cannot deal with local municipal problems they can and do deal with regional, national and international problems which inexorably affect municipalities.

But in the broader area of civic education, network broadcasting has achieved real stature. More than a score of CBS programs bring each week to the people of this country a cross-section of the best thinking on all aspects of public affairs. Six forum programs each week, plus worldwide news coverage, plus effective documentary programming of crucial issues, only hint at the extent of this civic educational service. The very considerable work which CBS has done in this field during the last twenty years is being amplified many times over. It is its belief that civic education is the most crucial task facing America today, and it dedicates its facilities willingly to the end that democracy's voice may be heard throughout the land.

What Is There to Coordinate?

The people of Henry County, Indiana, demonstrate healthy reluctance to stay with tradition when it ceases to work.

By **CLIFFORD F. PAYNE***

THE Henry County Council on Intergovernment Relations was formally launched on June 1, 1944, with its expenses guaranteed for three years by the Spelman Fund. The county was one of three in the country, a fourth and fifth have since been added, selected to utilize local talent to study ways and means of not only preserving but strengthening local government and stemming the trend toward greater centralization, particularly at the national level.

The council was made up of a present and past state legislator, two bankers—one has a background of twelve years as collector of taxes in Indiana, the other was a town school board member for twelve years, the Democratic and Republican county chairmen—both attorneys, a township trustee who was president of the County Board of Education, one county official, the county judge and two merchants, one of whom is chairman of the County Veterans Advisory Committee and the other a member of the County Memorial Park Board. All these men were chosen to represent the interests of the 40,000 people of Henry County and in a larger sense the people of all 3,050 counties of the United States.

The council was given free hand in its studies but was assured by the committee at the national level, headed by the late Harold D. Smith, director of the Bureau of the Budget, that it would be given complete cooperation by any federal agency if its plans called for any revision on a test basis of the normal functions of such agency in the county.

To assure the same cooperation at the state level, Governor Gates named the Indiana Commission on Interstate Cooperation, which is composed of state representatives, senators and executive officials including the governor himself. But in spite of the imposing array of governmental talent on the national and state committees, the actual task of making the study, and the translation of the study into action, was left entirely to the Henry County committee.

The council discovered that it had to back up before it could start forward. It had to allay local suspicion regarding its motives. It had to show the homefolks that it had nothing to sell, was not a self-perpetuating bureau, was not a governmental agency, was not a politically-sponsored group.

The next big step was a fact-finding and attitude-analyzing expedition.

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*Mr. Payne is chairman of the Henry County Council on Intergovernmental Relations at New Castle, Indiana. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League at Philadelphia.

At the outset there was a tendency both within the council and throughout the community to lay all blame for real or fancied governmental ills at the door of the federal government. As the study proceeded there emerged a realization that it wasn't quite that simple—that we have an amazingly confusing governmental machine which might have been the joint creation of scores of Rube Goldbergs. It has scads of independently operating engines, some pulling opposite, others manned but hardly operating, still others operating entirely outside the main machine.

What's Wrong with the County

The council found:

1. That group demand for special services is the chief cause of complex government, though people identified with the groups fail to think of themselves as sponsors of the complexity;
2. That 327 governmental units serve Henry County—110 local, 111 state, 106 federal, with little planned coordination;
3. In Indiana there are 92 counties, 1,013 townships, 1,013 school townships, 102 civil cities, 178 school cities and towns, 433 towns; a total of 2,831 not including many other units such as library, drainage, sanitation, aviation, etc.;
4. That there is a correlation between centralized control of business and centralized government;
5. That much of the "home rule" talk is just talk;
6. That frustration in an attempt to understand our changing social and economic structure is at the root of most complaints;
7. That local governments have lost prestige because they fail to work as a team, partly because officials fail to realize they were elected to improve government rather than to maintain the status quo. Besides jealousy of their jobs and prerogalives by local officials, another reason for failure to develop local government teamwork is group interest which "fences off" activities;
8. That local government is financially embarrassed, attempting to operate on the outmoded, unfair, inadequate property tax;
9. That there is no over-all check on what services the public gets, how well they are performed, whether they are actually needed, or whether they could be adjusted to fit the local situation;
10. That active citizen interest in governmental affairs does exist but it finds no focal point for effective expression in even such a seemingly homogeneous area as Henry County;
11. That many advisory and technical services are available to local government from federal and state agencies that are not used;
12. That local, state and federal efforts overlap; furthermore there is overlapping inside each of them;
13. That the chief points of intergovernmental friction are: excessive regulations and red tape, insistence upon uniformity when flexibility to fit local needs is desirable, lack of knowledge of local needs and conditions by state and federal administrators, multiplici-

ty of agencies performing the same or similar services to the confusion, irritation and expense of the general public, plus the irritation and senseless rivalry of administrators, feeling of inferiority on the part of local officials because of state and federal back-seat driving, newness or change of a service which has not been sold to the public, failure of the merit system to emphasize local personnel acceptability.

With this store of assorted findings, the Council on Intergovernmental Relations has come forward with its eleven-point, two-pronged proposal to raise the stature of local government and mesh the gears—local, state, federal—better.

Program for Action

Its recommendations for raising the stature of local government come under five headings:

1. Grant local units more authority over their own affairs, including the power to levy other taxes than those on property;

2. Provide consultatory and advisory services, conferences and short courses for local government officials through the state universities and state agencies;

3. Develop revenue sharing and cooperative administrative arrangements between the three "sizes" of government as a substitute for centralization, distribute state store license revenue back to cities, distribute revenue from alcoholic beverage fees back to cities and towns which bear the burden of enforcement, examine the possibility of income taxes as a means of replacing or partially replacing property tax for school costs, provide incentive for saving by allowing unused highway funds to revert to county, state or federal treasuries;

4. Free county commissioners from legislative duties by transfer of all county ordinance-making to the county council, so that commissioners become clearly adminisitative and the council clearly legislative;

5. Revise property tax system by state technical assistance to local communities in making assessments, periodic or continuous reassessment program, more individual responsibility to simplify the assessment process, consolidating and simplifying state and local licensing and tax collection, more checks and penalties on property tax payment, shorten time between assessment and collection, install scientific assessment system and modern accounting procedure.

In order that the gears of local, state and federal government may be better meshed, the intergovernmental council asks that a somewhat new approach to American government be used—the principle of *only one level of government.*

It conceives one-stop government service centers, set up according to function: one agriculture office, one welfare office, one tax collection office. Whether the administration be shared by different units or be handled by one unit, all services of a kind should be rendered by a single agency within the community.

In this process more governmental control and operation should be left to the local units, especially in those instances in which government provides a direct service to the "customer," reserving to state and federal governments the task of supplying technical and scientific services to local units.

As a part of the philosophy of this process, the council suggests that, in cooperative intergovernmental programs, the further removed the administration from the point of service, the fewer and simpler should be the controls exerted.

To implement this one-level principle it proposes a local coordinating committee in each community, with district and state administrative councils which could advise and consult with state and national administrators as to problems and needed changes.

Coordinate Activities

It proposes that the County Planning Commission be agreed upon by local, state and federal governments as the body to become the teamwork organizer for all the public services—local, state and federal—in the county.

The County Planning Commission would represent the citizens of the county in planning county needs, and in recommending what public services are needed, who should supply these services, and how they can best be dovetailed.

The Planning Commission is conceived as a body which would be eyes and ears for local, state and federal government, and the spokesman for the citizen who receives the service and pays the bill.

It could reconcile many group interests within the community and dissipate some of the pressure for state and national legislation which makes a doubtful contribution to the general welfare.

The commission already covers a large governmental sphere through land-use planning; it could enlarge its scope to cover the council's proposal without any changes in the state laws under which it now operates; it is set up on a bipartisan basis; and the city has representation on the commission through membership of a City Plan Commission member.

Is it not, our community study committee asks, the long-missing key through which the people of a community may dissipate chaos and distance between them and their local, state and federal governments, and secure one-level government, ordered, efficient and responsive.

This plan should work not only in New Castle, Henry County, Indiana, but anywhere in the United States because it represents the essence of good government—the exercise of good citizenship, the charging of good leaders with responsibility, the carrying through of cooperative effort, and the resting of final judgment with the people who are to be served.

The council's eleventh recommendation is considered basic to all the others and to any real expectation of improving government locally, statewise, nationally and internationally. It is based on the premise that good government starts in the schools. It proposes that our schools and colleges teach a new and vigorous course in government, emphasizing first the practical study—and the importance—of local government.

This would require a wholesale rescaling of our civics courses and texts, and revision of teacher training curricula to emphasize local government, which is largely ignored or played down in present curricula and texts. It is usually covered last, and sketchily, if at all. We believe that more good people will aspire to local public office if they learn correctly that it takes a good man or woman to do the really important local job. And by drawing better officials into local government, better qualified persons will be graduated into state, federal and international government.

Need for Coordination

Getting into specific fields of action and pointing out progress and possibilities for coordination, there are 45 tax and fee collection agencies in the state government and five different collection offices in our community. Two members of our intergovernmental study committee are members of the State Tax Study Commission which is considering a proposal for submission to the next session of the legislature for consolidation of these collection offices functioning at the state level. This should make it natural and relatively easy to effect some consolidation at the local level.

In Indiana, May and November are the peak periods when local tax collectors are busiest. There has grown a feeling that at off-periods the collection machinery could be effectively used to issue automobile licenses at the treasurer's office. This would make good sense to the taxpayer though it has opposition because of a fear that it would eliminate a political job or so.

Another field in which there is action toward strengthening local government while simplifying service to the customer is that of veterans service. The community had ready for action, even before state enabling legislation was adopted, a coordinated program for providing right-at-home service for returning veterans as a local public service. This office, headed by a World War II veteran, has kept and extended the county-wide citizen advisory committee which sponsored its development and aided in sponsoring and pushing through the state enabling act. This office coordinates the efforts of the many voluntary groups and the various local, state and federal agencies in serving veterans and their families.

A few months ago the Veterans Administration announced plans to open an office in Henry County—too little consideration was given to the need for such office. The local veterans office covered a large part of the work of the Veterans Administration, plus doing many things of a personal nature that the VA could not do or was not authorized to do. There was a feeling that here was a federal agency coming into a community—not asking if its services were needed—duplicating in many respects what was already being done locally. Our council has proposed (on a try-out basis) that a joint arrangement be worked out between local, state and federal governments to prevent duplication and give the veterans the advantage of Veterans Administration services and at the same time give them the personal service that the local offices offer and *not take away local responsibility.*

A third example of opportunity for meshing the gears better is in the agricultural service in which there is competition even among some of the existing agencies. Some of this competition is not so aggravated in Indiana as in other states. It appears that Indiana has avoided much competition between the educational and agricultural services by having a coordinated administration at the state level which carries into the community pretty well. This particular competition finds, in some cases, 4-H clubs sponsored by the Extension Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture competing with the Future Farmers of America, sponsored by the Vocational Agricultural organization, also within the USDA.

Highways and Conservation

A fourth field of action is that of highways which finds the State Highway Commission, the Henry County Highway Department, and the cities and towns of Henry County already having their efforts coordinated through the joint City-County Planning Commission work.

Still another field is that of conservation, erosion and flood control, etc. The planning commissions sponsored a meeting in which it was found that there is much that could and should be done by local units, with much good federal and state help available which is not being used. This conference showed several of the nine federal, state and local agencies opportunities for doing their jobs better and eliminating overlapping. Here, too, the County Planning Commission is serving as the coordinating agency.

The list, of course, includes many other areas of action—health and sanitation, employment, law enforcement, welfare, school, recreation. There is a big job ahead. The Henry County Council on Intergovernmental Relations feels it has put under way the first step in equipping the county to do it. It will be worth all the effort it will require because local government is the training ground for responsible local, state, federal and international government.

New British Towns for Old

Nationwide program is designed to curb growth of large cities and to develop new communities of 30,000 - 60,000.

By F. J. OSBORN*

AS A result of ideas developed during and since the war there has been a radical change in Britain's policy of town development. It has been decided to limit the expansion of large cities, to build a number of entirely new industrial towns, and to foster the expansion of small country towns. At the same time the sprawl of industry and housing in rural areas will be stopped. Large agricultural reservations will be maintained around and between the old and new towns, separating them from each other and giving them local character and cohesion.

Britain is the most urbanized nation in the world. Four-fifths of its families live in cities and towns. But the British, though now in the main an urban people, retain a deep attachment to the country-side. They spend their holidays in open places, by the sea, in the mountains, or in the more beautiful parts of the country. They are devoted to open-air games and sports. Many belong to cycling and rambling clubs, and on weekends hundreds of thousands leave the cities for the country. They want therefore to be near the country, though their work and social habits make them wish to live in towns. The great majority would like, if they could, to live where they can have the advantages of town and country together.

Garden Cities of Tomorrow

This was the idea that in 1898 led a famous Londoner, Ebenezer Howard, to write his book, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow,* which inspired the international garden-cities movement. His idea was misunderstood and was confused with the movement for open suburbs, from which it differed considerably. What Howard proposed was that the growth of large cities should be stopped. Instead, new self-contained towns of limited size should be built, each a center of manufacturing industry where people would work as well as live. They were to be limited in size, completely planned, and surrounded by wide stretches of farm lands. The land for each was to be owned by a single public or cooperative organization so that planning and development could be regulated.

Two new towns were actually built on this principle: Letchworth, started in 1904, and Welwyn, in 1920, both in agricultural areas in Hertfordshire, a little to the north of the London region. Both have been successfully established as manufacturing centers and are today vigorous and flourishing small towns.

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Britain has now decided to adopt this principle as one of the basic points in its future urban development program. Modern industrial methods, and the evolution of electrical power and transport, make practicable many types of industry and trade in towns of 30,000 to 60,000 inhabitants. Towns of that size can also be provided with efficient power and lighting services, water and drainage, education, and the health and cultural facilities a town population requires. Towns limited in size can have a high standard of social cohesion and consciousness, while their people can be within walking or cycling distance of their work and of the open country. At the same time they can be built at a density low enough to enable families to have good houses with private gardens and ample public open space for parks and games.

New Towns Bill

Legislation has been passed for the practical operation of this bold new policy; the New Towns Bill has passed through all its stages in the House of Commons and will soon become law.

In addition to these new powers, under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1944 local authorities were already able to buy war-damaged and obsolete areas. These they can replan as a whole, rebuilding the houses themselves and controlling other building within them as permanent owners of the land. Some very fine schemes have already been prepared for this rebuilding, and in the next few years much reconstruction will be done.

When rebuilding these formerly overcrowded areas many residents and industrial concerns will be displaced. The density must be reduced, in some cases by a third or a half. Provision must therefore be made elsewhere for the displaced industry and population. The New Towns Bill gives the necessary powers.

The New Towns Committee of which Lord Reith is chairman, and of which I am a member, has evolved the type of body that should build the towns, and its three reports deal with their planning, development, services and social life. Parliament has now agreed to create a new type of public corporation appointed and financed by the government, each having full responsibility for one town. Each corporation will own the site and prepare its plan. The construction of roads, sewers and other public services, as well as a substantial amount of the actual building, will be performed by the corporation. It will control the remainder of the building as landowner, granting leases to individuals and business firms.

The first of the new towns is planned for Stevenage, in Hertfordshire, 30 miles from London. Here some of the people displaced by the rebuilding of the north London boroughs will be able to settle. Moving there will not be compulsory; people will have a free choice. It is certain that a sufficient number will be attracted by the advanced living and working conditions the new towns will offer. Already the industries needed are assured by the applications of firms and government establishments which desire to go there. The new regional plan for Greater London provides for ten new towns and there are sites for many more in the plans for other regions.

It will take fifteen to twenty years to build the new towns up to their intended populations of 30,000 to 60,000. At first priority must be given to the building of houses and factories and the most essential public buildings. The plans, however, provide for such a range of facilities and amenities as will make these towns among the best equipped in the world.

Full attention will be given to education, health, open-air games, meeting places and such cultural activities as the theatre, music and art, in which the British people are taking a tremendous interest. Local self-government is also being remembered. Each town will be a separate unit for this purpose; the elected council will undertake many of the services and cooperate closely with the government corporation in the work of building the town and creating its community life.

Illustrating Britain's Policy

The New Towns Committee will shortly produce its third and final report as a guide to the corporations. In it they recommend the provision of shops and factories by the towns themselves for renting to traders and industrial firms. This will give opportunities for all types and sizes of businesses to establish themselves. The whole scheme is an interesting illustration of the British policy of promoting industrial and business efficiency and enriching opportunities for family and social life under public planning and guidance.

The new towns policy is coupled with the planning of the whole country so as to preserve for agriculture and national recreation vast areas of the countryside which were in danger of being spoiled by uncontrolled development. Canalizing the vast building program towards new towns and country towns, rightly placed in relation to agricultural areas, will preserve good farm lands and bring amenities nearer to the rural population.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

States Seek to Outlaw Public Employee Strikes

New York and Delaware Bills Provide Drastic Penalties

CLOSELY following the end of the strike of Buffalo school teachers during the last week in February which closed the schools to 70,000 children, legislation was advanced in Albany to outlaw strikes of public employees, state or local. A bill had been introduced in the legislature on February 13 by Senator William F. Condon and Assemblyman John F. Wadlin, making striking governmental employees subject to penalties for misconduct and neglect of duty. On March 5 it was announced that, in deference to strong views of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, more drastic penalties would be included. The main text of the original bill is as follows:

> Any person holding a position by appointment or employment in the State of New York, or in the several cities, counties, towns or villages thereof, or in any other political or civil division of the state or of a municipality, or in the public school service, or in any public or special district, or in the service of any authority, commission or board, or in any other branch of the public service, shall be guilty of misconduct and neglect of duty if he fails to report for duty or otherwise absents himself from his position or abstains in whole or in part from the full, faithful and proper performance of the duties of his position for the purpose of inducing, influencing or coercing a change in the conditions, or compensation, or the rights, privileges or obligations of such position and shall be subject to the discipline and procedure provided by law for misconduct or neglect of duty in the position held by such person; provided further, however, that upon a determination that such person has been guilty of the misconduct and neglect of duty specified in this subdivision, unless such person is dismissed from the service or removed from office, then, in addition to any other punishment which may be imposed upon him and notwithstanding any other provision of law, the compensation of such person must be reduced to the minimum salary applicable to the position in which he is retained and notwithstanding any other provision of law, his compensation shall not be increased for a period of not less than three years following such determination of guilt.

Amendments adopted provide that a striking employee would forfeit his job and civil service rights; he could be reemployed at his former pay but would be barred from increases for three years and be on probation for five years. The amended bill passed the Senate by a vote of 35 to 16 and the Assembly by 92 to 54.

The bill was opposed by organized labor, including teachers. The American Civil Liberties Union declared its terms should be limited to such critically essential functions as policemen or firemen. Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York City attacked it as "substituting automatic discharge and other disabilities, practically at the whim of the superior officer," for the "present orderly procedure" of the civil service law.

On March 4 the Delaware House of Representatives approved a bill to prohibit strikes by state or local employees, with penalties of fines up to $500, imprisonment up to one year, or both. It also would prohibit membership in any organization professing to have a right to strike against government.

Other efforts to meet the governmental strike menace seek to provide machinery for public labor disputes. A bill passed by the Minnesota Senate would provide that if public employees and administrative officials cannot reach an agreement on a labor dispute, either side may call in the state labor conciliator, who could require attendance of all interested parties at hearings and joint conferences and, failing a solution, could refer the matter to the governor. The latter would have discretion to appoint a fact-finding commission of three members.

Strike Discussion

A symposium on "How Can Strikes by Municipal Employees Be Avoided?" was presented in *The American City* for February; participants were H. Eliot Kaplan, executive secretary of the National Civil Service League; Arnold Zander, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., of Detroit, and City Manager George N. Schoonmaker of Toledo. All advocated peaceful channels of settlement to avoid strikes.

Mr. Kaplan urged that public administrators recognize the importance of establishing modern procedures in dealing with their employees, saying that the initiative must come from the top management in government unless public officials are to be subjected to the pressures of labor organizations. Emphasizing the basic distinctions in employment by government and by private business he asserted: "If we are to deny to public employees rights granted workers in private industry, such as the right to strike, to demand work contracts, the closed or union shop and exclusive bargaining, it is manifestly the responsibility of government to provide adequate machinery for handling employee grievances . . . Employee organizations must subordinate their desire for improving conditions for their members to the interests of the people as a whole. The public, through its representatives, must do its part in providing the conditions which preserve the public interest."

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Raleigh, North Carolina, voted on March 18 in favor of the council-manager plan, 4269 to 3041. The plan is effective July 1.

Charleston, Missouri, adopted the council-manager plan on March 18 by a large majority, the unofficial count being 582 to 236. The proposal was backed by civic clubs including the Lions, Optimist and Commercial Clubs.

Colby, Kansas, in a special election on March 12 overwhelmingly adopted the manager plan, 70.46 per cent voting yes.

The town of **Orono, Maine,** recently voted at a special town meeting to adopt the manager plan.

Limestone, Maine, voted at a special town meeting, 40 to 27, to retain the manager plan.

The town of **Bennington, Vermont,** at a recent election voted against the manager plan by the slim margin of 705 to 701, and the village of the same name also abandoned the manager plan, 985 to 952. Both have shared a manager since 1942.

The town of **Conway, New Hampshire,** which adopted the manager plan last year by a margin of nine votes, reaffirmed the plan on March 11 by a vote of 854 to 224.

A committee has been organized in **Fitchburg, Massachusetts,** to secure a vote on the manager plan at the city election next fall.

A Plan E Charter Organization has been functioning for some time in

Medford, Massachusetts, in order to acquaint the citizens with the council-manager plan. The movement is aided by the expectation of a substantially increased tax rate.

At an election on March 3 in **Saugus, Massachusetts,** a town manager proposal, backed by Speaker Frederick B. Willis of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, received a vote of 3,540 to 240 but nevertheless failed of adoption because the enabling law required that at least half of the registered voters should vote on the question. A total vote of 3,853 was required, as against 3,780 actual votes. There were 1,478 ballots that were not marked as to this question, there being eight questions on the ballot in all. Opponents of the town manager plan had urged voters not to vote on it.

The **Connecticut** legislature has unanimously approved the **Hartford** council-manager charter previously approved at a local referendum (see the REVIEW, January 1947, page 32).

The **Georgia** Senate has adopted a bill enabling **Camilla** to adopt the city manager plan. Bills have also been introduced in the legislature to provide similar action in **Dalton** and **Valdosta.** Under the proposal for Dalton, which was drawn up by a citizen's committee appointed by the mayor and council, the council-appointed manager would have charge of all departments except the schools and public utilities. The mayor and council would, however, appoint the city clerk, city attorney, tax assessors and board of registrars, as well as the water, light and sinking fund commission.

The **Georgia** legislature has passed a bill providing the council-manager plan for **Augusta.** The city will vote on the measure May 7.

The **Tennessee** legislature has passed a special act giving the manager plan to **McMinn County.**

In **Adrian, Michigan,** the Junior Chamber of Commerce is urging the council-manager plan in place of the present charter drafted in 1914, and is attempting to enlist the support of service clubs.

At the annual meeting of the **Hillsdale, Michigan,** Chamber of Commerce, strong sentiment for the manager plan was shown after former Mayor Richard J. Schmidt urged the need of a full-time professional manager to administer the city's services.

Ashland, Wisconsin, will vote on a manager proposal at the April election.

A manager type of administration has been set up in **Marksville, Louisiana,** by the mayor and board of aldermen, elected in mid-1946, who are serving without pay, turning their salaries over to the municipality to pay the manager and three police officers. The new mayor and aldermen are World War II veterans. They have announced that the town is now debt-free for the first time in many years.

Trenton, Missouri, voters defeated a council-manager proposal by a vote of 1,400 to 664 at an election held March 4.

In **Columbia, Missouri,** at a special election on February 11 a council-manager proposal was defeated, 3,000 to 2,453.

A petition for a manager plan election has been filed in **Chillicothe, Missouri.** Subject to check, it contained more than the required number of signatures.

Hannibal, Missouri, will vote on the manager plan March 31. More than the statutory requirements as to signatures were obtained on petitions calling for the referendum.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Great Bend, Kansas,** has been conducting a full-fledged campaign to bring about a favorable popular vote on the council-manager plan in April. A project director has been in charge, aided by committees on research, publicity, contacts and speakers.

Petitions have been circulated by a citizens' committee in **Pittsburg, Kansas,** to obtain a popular referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan, to supersede the present commission government. If a change is approved it will become effective two years hence.

A popular vote on the manager plan is to be taken at the city election in **Erie, Kansas,** on April 7, as a result of a petition circulated earlier in the year.

A movement to obtain council-manager government for **Leavenworth, Kansas,** is reported to have been abandoned, at least for the present, following an opinion by the state attorney-general that adoption of the plan would entail the abolition of the water works board. Chairman Robert L. Collard of the Civic Improvement League announced that it was not the desire of the league to interfere with the board so long as it is composed of exceptional citizens as at present. Petitions for a manager plan election had been circulated and the 2,893 signatures obtained were undergoing the process of being checked.

The citizens' movement to establish the council-manager plan in **Kansas City, Kansas,** suffered a setback on March 4 when a proposal for its adoption was defeated at a special election. The unofficial count was 17,966 to 10,005.

Russell, Kansas, will vote on a council-manager proposal at the April election. The manager plan has been urged by the Chamber of Commerce.

The election in **Gainesville, Texas,** last November, in which abandonment of the manager plan was voted 666 to 543, has been declared illegal.

An election of freeholders to draft a new charter for **Anadarko, Oklahoma,** was scheduled for April 1. A council-manager charter is expected to result.

Reno, Nevada, will vote on a council-manager proposal at the city election in May.

A council-manager charter will be voted on in **Eureka, California,** at the municipal election on June 16.

El Centro, California, will vote on May 6 on adoption of the council-manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Woodland, California,** has overwhelmingly approved a council-manager plan proposal to be placed before the voters at the April city election.

The House of Representatives in the state of **Washington** has adopted a bill to permit second, third and fourth class towns to operate under council-manager government.

Merging Chicago and Park District Proposed

A bill has been introduced in the Illinois House of Representatives to consolidate the Chicago Park District with the city of Chicago. Such action was urged by resolution of the city council on December 30, 1946. The present park district was formed in 1933 by consolidation of many independent park systems. It now constitutes one of many overlapping local governmental agencies in Cook County.

Not only could large economies result from consolidation, but better city-wide services would be made possible, as pointed out by a committee of the Chicago City Club. Thus the 1,108 policemen employed by the district would no longer be restricted to the limited services they now render. The district has supervision and control over 110 miles of city streets, many not in the actual park system; these could be brought under a city-wide system of control and planning.

Georgians Protest Assaults on Voting Rights

Although the so-called "white primary" bill has passed the Georgia legislature and has been signed by Herman Talmadge—whose right to do so as governor has been denied by the State Supreme Court—the action was accompanied by courageous opposing votes of 62 representatives and fifteen senators and by vigorous protests from citizens and civic bodies. The measure was described as follows by the Georgia League of Women Voters:

"This drastic and highly controversial bill seeks to remove the primary, our only real election in Georgia, from the reach of the United States Supreme Court. To do this it repeals all laws safeguarding democratic procedures in the primary, including the 'secret ballot' law. It repeals your guarantees of the right to vote. It makes possible a statewide political machine with control in the hands of one man, the governor."

After stressing the courage of the legislators who spoke and voted against the bill, despite racial tensions in the state, the league's publication, *Georgia Voter*, goes on to describe the last of the four days of public hearings:

"On Thursday, final day of the hearings, the senate chamber was literally jammed with people, drawn from every corner of the state. A seemingly endless procession of speakers crowded to the microphone to protest the bill's passage. Speakers ranged all the way from ardent eighteen-year-old students and youthful veterans to the aged, yet eloquent, widow of a confederate general. The crowd was orderly even when the applause lengthened into cheers. An almost tangible spirit of earnest, intense sincerity permeated every corner of the big room. Packed against a wall in the gallery, one suddenly knew that this was democracy, democracy on the march. And that no matter what the final vote on the white primary bill might be, democracy could not be permanently stifled in Georgia."

The league lists and opposes several other bills that would undermine the rights of citizens to free and fair registration and elections. One of these would substitute biennial for permanent registration and revive the poll tax as a "registration fee." This would be written into the constitution by a proposed amendment. Another amendment would apply to general elections the county unit system which now, in the primary, points the rural minority to dominate the state's government. As to another bill (S.B. 51) the league says:

"This outrageous bill would set up the county board of registrars as sovereign bodies. If anyone should protest an act of the registrars, and say he intended to demand his rights by due process of law, he could be convicted of a felony. This would put the finishing touch on disfranchising Georgia citizens."

High Court Dismisses Illinois Districting Suit

On March 10 the U. S. Supreme Court dismissed the appeal of Kenneth W. Colegrove, et al, from the adverse lower court decision in a suit to invalidate the legislative districts in Illinois, unchanged since 1901 (see the REVIEW March 1947, page 152). The dismissal was "for want of a substantial federal question." Justices Black, Douglas and Murphy were recorded as of the opinion "that probable jurisdiction should be noted."

Minneapolis Charter Body Follows Strong-Mayor Plan

Public hearings on proposed charter provisions have been held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and a 65-member Citizens' Charter Committee has been collaborating with the official Charter Commission in the preparation of a revised document.

As against the present system of diffused duties and responsibilities the proposed charter scheme would largely concentrate the city government in the city council and an elected mayor with large powers as the executive head. The municipal court system and the board of education are left without organic changes. According to a rough draft promulgated by the citizens' committee the provisions as to the council, mayor and various functions would be about as follows:

The council is declared to be the legislative body of the city. From 1947 to 1949 it will have 26 members, two from each ward. In 1949 the voters will elect one alderman from each ward and six at large for terms of four years, or nineteen in all. Salaries are increased and are higher for the at-large members because they will have extra work and responsibility and higher election costs. The council as a whole will pass all ordinances and resolutions, budgets, tax levies, appropriations and bond issues.

The aldermen-at-large, with the mayor, will be the finance committee and the licensing committee of the council, and the board of health for emergency purposes.

The mayor will be the executive and administrative head of the city. His term will be four years and his salary substantially increased. In legislative matters the mayor (a) may attend and speak but not vote in council meetings; (b) may propose ordinances and resolutions; (c) may veto acts of the council subject to being overruled by two-thirds vote; (4) may veto or cut appropriation items without being overruled by council.

He will be responsible for law enforcement, will appoint and remove all heads of departments and members of boards, and will prepare and submit to the council an administrative code, the annual budget, bond issue proposals, etc.

In appointing the city attorney, city clerk, supervisor of pensions and chief planning officer he must get council approval.

In appointing the heads of the departments of civil service, city planning, public welfare, libraries, and parks, the mayor must appoint a person from a list of three selected by an advisory board or commission for the department.

The numerous special tax levies and levy limits in the old charter are wiped out. A new and slightly higher limit is set for all purposes under the mayor and council and a separate one for all purposes under the board of education.

Bond issuing procedures are centered in the mayor and council; the debt limit is not changed; and the general laws on bond issues are applied to Minneapolis. The actual operation of the city's personnel system will be centered in a director of personnel while the Civil Service Commission, increased to five members, becomes more the watch dog of the system. Existing civil service and pension rights remain.

Inter-American Municipal Historical Congress

New Orleans, Louisiana, will be the seat of the Second Inter-American Municipal Historical Congress, which convenes on April 14—Day of the Americas—as determined last May at the second continental assembly of the Inter-American Institute of Institutional and Municipal History at Guatemala City. Besides presentation of papers and discussion as to municipal historical subjects, including urbanization, there will be a historical exhibit. All municipalities are invited to be members of the congress.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Public Education in the Spotlight

Teachers' Salaries and Other Problems Considered

"TEACHER salaries are probably the most talked-about and publicized issue in the city today," states the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director, in a recent issue of *Bureau Notes.* The truth of this statement is borne out in reports from research groups in other cities. The Detroit bureau cites figures and graphs to prove that Detroit teachers have not fared worse than others in salary increases, and that they are not now underpaid.

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce,** Carl R. Dortch, director, in *It IS Your Business,* finds that "most people think in terms of $1,700 or $1,800 as the average annual salary for our teachers—when such a figure actually represents a statewide average." Statistical information showing that a higher average exists for Indianapolis teachers "does not mean, or imply, that teachers now are being paid enough, or too much," however.

"The Facts on Teachers' Salaries in Schenectady" are presented in *Research Brevities* of the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research,** George L. Nichols, managing director. Salaries paid to teachers compare favorably with those of other professions, are above the average in upstate New York, and are 46 per cent above those paid in Schenectady in 1929. In view of these and other considerations, including the economic value of tenure, state aid which provided $300 more to all New York state teachers "would advance the teachers out of proportion to advances given to other public employees."

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director, in a recent news letter discusses the two-fold request of Providence teachers for a single salary schedule and a state subsidy for a uniform increase of $600 per teacher.

While "there would appear to be justification for the view that salary increases are due," the problem of "how the increases are to be financed" is discussed by the bureau in a special report, *Opportunities for School Department Savings.* The report concludes that a great part of the money necessary can be raised from economies within the department.

The **California Taxpayers Association,** N. Bradford Trenham, general manager, aroused by the nation-wide program by radio, magazines and newspapers to convince the American people that teachers are "ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed," asks in its monthly *Tax Digest,* "But what about California? What about your town?" Two hundred sixty-four large elementary school districts and 164 large high school districts were sent questionnaires concerning salary scales, teacher shortages and remedies for meeting the shortages. The answers obtained are summarized.

The **Taxpayers Association of New Mexico,** Rupert F. Asplund, director, has published a report on the "Distribution of Classroom Teachers' Salaries in New Mexico, 1946-47" in its monthly *New Mexico Tax Bulletin.* Municipal salary scales are distinguished from rural scales.

The problem of increased teacher salaries and the effect of that increase on the general tax structure is set forth in *You and Your Government,* the monthly bulletin of the **Arkansas Public Expenditure Council,** Sam Hays, executive director. Governor Laney's committee on education presented a program for raising teachers' salaries to an average of $1,200 this year and $1,500 next year. This, together with other requested expenditures, should be financed by a special liquor sales tax and by changing the allotment of general revenues.

The **Institute for Public Service,** William H. Allen, director, in a bulletin entitled " 'Genteel Poverty' of USA Teachers, 1947," berates "mispublicity" by educational organizations and leaders which aids in "de-recruiting" potential teachers by falsifying figures and "withholding high spots of pay, prestige and conditions of teaching." "Last year's miseducating for education will for decades penalize the teaching profession."

The Proposed State Teachers Retirement Plan, prepared by a nonpartisan advisory committee and presented to the 1947 Washington legislature, is outlined by the **Municipal League of Seattle,** John C. Bollens, research director. Teachers would receive $125 to $150 in monthly retirement allowances after 30 years' service in place of the present $50 per month.

School Buildings, Transportation

A recent survey of the *Pressing Need for Adequate King County School Building Program,* undertaken by the county schools subcommittee of the Seattle league, reveals the acute shortage of certain physical facilities.

"The Proposed Building Program for the St. Louis Public Schools" is considered in *Mind Your Business,* bulletin of the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis,** Charlton F. Chute, director. The need for a program of "modernization, replacement and expansion" is indicated.

A Guide Relating to School Transportation in Wisconsin was prepared by the **University of Wisconsin Extension Division, Department of Debating and Public Discussion,** Leslie E. Brown, director, in order to aid individuals and groups in making their decisions concerning a proposal to authorize "the legislature to provide for the transportation of children to and from any parochial or private school." Facts on existing transportation policies in Wisconsin and in other states and court decisions on transportation of private school pupils are assembled.

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** Paul N. Reynolds, executive director, in an issue of its *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* entitled "Transportation—High School Pupils," concludes that lack of uniformity is the main impression gained from an analysis of the facts about transportation in Wisconsin.

Proposed legislation raising school tax ceilings would halt "progress toward coordination" between the common council and the school board, according to a bulletin of the **Citizens Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee,** Norman Gill, director. The common council is now authorized to levy taxes on behalf of the schools in excess of current school tax ceilings. This helps to coordinate the budgets of the school board and common council. Proposed legislation raising two of the three tax ceilings which the board of school directors may levy for operating purposes would allow the school board to function independently from the common council.

The **Municipal Research Bureau of the Akron Chamber of Commerce** has issued a report on the *Akron School District Tax Request for 1947* which includes a summary of estimated costs and taxes, an analysis of the budget, and the budget itself.

Two recent *Bulletins* of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director, deal with the problems of an increased school budget. A proposed new formula for distributing state aid based on assessed valuation would work to the disadvantage of San Francisco with its high assessment ratio and its large amount of downtown business property. One suggestion to meet this problem is that the unified city-county school district be divided so as to concentrate the high-value downtown property in a separate district with relatively few children.

"Any system of state aid for education must meet two major objectives," states the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director, in an issue of *News and Views—Your State and Local Government* entitled "State Aid for Education." One is equitable distribution of state funds; the second is that "adequate educational opportunities are made available to all children in the state." The present system, "based upon a foundation program of $100 per pupil," is not equitable because of differences in ratio of assessed to true value of real estate.

A second report by the same bureau, entitled *Educational Standards,* deals with the second objective stated above. "Dollars alone do not guarantee the product." Minimum standards of school and school district size must be established if "the high standard of educational opportunity demanded in Connecticut is to be met."

State and Local Fiscal Problems

"Has the time come to reduce the dependence of local government on federal and state revenue sources and to return to a more definite fiscal responsibility at the local level?" asks John F. Sly, director, **Princeton Surveys,** in an article entitled "Tax Supplements for Municipalities" in *The Tax Review* issued by the **Tax Foundation.** For the past 50 years "more money for local services" has been gathered by central financing and "the proceeds redistributed . . . with very rough approximations of local 'need.'" The centrally assessed tax "with supplements for local purposes" is suggested as a remedy, for it "bears promise of simplicity, fairness and local adequacy, in addition to a stronger fiscal responsibility so important to local self-government."

"The 1947-48 budget can be balanced without any additional state aid and without any increase in the current real estate tax rate," asserts Henry J. Amy, executive director of the **Citizens Budget Commission of New York City,** in a recent release. Receipts from the general fund, underestimated by the comptroller, plus the present $2.70 real estate tax rate will balance the budget, even allowing for increases in city expenses and temporary debt service, according to the release.

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce** decries proposed "legislation to increase horizontally the gross income tax," in *It IS Your Business.* Instead of providing a "greater distribution of state funds to local units," Marion County would be paying "more to get back less."

The "new fiscal policy of large sums of state aids has changed the entire picture of local finance and forced a revision and expansion of the entire state tax system," explains the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research,** Harold L. Henderson, executive director, in *State Governmental Research Bulletin No. 18,* entitled "Problems of State Aids in Minnesota." This 44-page bulletin is a comprehensive report of facts and findings covering the effect of aid payments on local financing, liabilities and problems created by grants-in-aid, reasons for state aids, federal aid in Minnesota, etc.

The **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director, in its *P. E. L. Newsletter* entitled "City Revenue Sources, the Statewide Pattern and Its Application to Allegheny County," analyzes the "differences in the use the cities make of the revenue powers given them by the Commonwealth." It is hoped that from such an analysis and from a realization of the economies that must be practiced, cities will learn to make the best use of their income sources.

Unified State Tax Administration (77 pages), has been issued by the **Governmental Research Department, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce,** Howard Friend, research director. The report reviews the uncoordinated tax collection process in Indiana; the functioning of integrated revenue departments in other states with special attention to New York, Oklahoma, Utah, Kentucky, Kansas, Colorado and Michigan; and urges the establishment of an integrated revenue collection department in Indiana.

"A review of the 1946 Tax Year" in the *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* issued by the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** indicates that, contrary to expectation, tax receipts exceeded those of the record year of 1945. While there were decreases in collection of corporation income taxes, unemployment compensation taxes, etc., increases in liquor, tobacco, individual income and property taxes offset the difference. Such a high tax yield helps to continue the trend in reduction of local public debts.

"Among the sources of tax revenue left to the states which do not introduce an element of competition among taxing units the general sales tax is the largest and most dependable," concludes a brief survey of "State General Sales Taxes" in a recent number of *Your State and Local Government,* issued by the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council.**

Economy in Government

In another issue, the council discusses "Basic Considerations to Economy in State Government." Among the obstacles to economy noted by the report are "the extreme decentralization of administration," the composition of the legislature which "tends to magnify local interests and pressure at the expense of the state as a whole," pressure from special interests, a budget process in need of strengthening, and weaknesses in the constitutional position of the governor.

"What Can the State Afford Over the Next Several Years?" is the query carried in a report from **Citizens Research, Inc., Columbus, Ohio,** Virgil H. Dassel, director of research.

Your Tax Dollar, issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy,** calls attention to two "Important Matters of State Fiscal Policy and Practice," namely: "providing the state with a real budgetary system and its related fiscal procedures and accounting methods" and "improving the basis of sharing state-collected revenues with the local governments."

The questionable value of certain constitutional debt limitations and expenditure controls in the state government are developed in the light of Oklahoma experience in a 27-page study entitled *Post Appropriation Budgetary Control in Oklahoma* by Joseph C. Pray, associate professor of government, University of Oklahoma, published by the author (50 cents). More than half the study is devoted to the budget-balancing amendment of 1941.

Missouri's Growing Old Age Assistance Program—and a Suggested Improvement is the subject of a sixteen-page report by the **Missouri Public**

Expenditure Survey, Edward Staples, executive director. The report points out that only three states have a larger percentage of their total population receiving old age assistance than Missouri and suggests consideration of a number of methods used in other states to control the growth of the assistance rolls. The adoption of a lien and recovery provision in the law is considered the most attractive immediate possibility for Missouri.

The *Colorado Taxpayer,* publication of the **Colorado Public Expenditure Council,** Fred Bennion, executive director, informs its readers that "State Expenditure Requests Exceed Revenue." Requests for general fund appropriations, the estimated general fund revenue for 1945-1947 and the vanishing state surplus in the general fund are itemized.

The *Montana Taxpayer,* organ of the **Montana Taxpayers Association,** R. A. Neill, executive director, follows suit with the report, *State Budget Requests Show Huge Increase.* These requests are 38 per cent higher than those granted two years ago and "exceed the estimated general fund revenue by more than $5,000,000 for the biennium."

With "Minneapolis taxes near peak" and the costs of state government rising because of increased operating expenses, the veterans bonus "specter" and greater school aids demanded, Minneapolis taxpayers are urged in *The Taxpayer,* issued by the **Minneapolis Taxpayers Association,** George Bestrom, manager, to tell their legislators that "they cannot and will not stand an increase in the property tax."

Debt Reduction

The "16th Consecutive Year of Debt Reduction" headlines a recent news letter of the **Woonsocket (Rhode Island) Taxpayers Association,** Joseph A. Kelly, executive director. The "new low debt per capita" reduces the bonded indebtedness of Woonsocket to the lowest in the state, although it is still higher than the average for all cities of the country in the same population class. Since 1931 this debt reduction has resulted in a saving of 31 per cent of the city's tax levy.

"Taxpayers will have little relief from the heavy burden of paying for obligations, some of which were incurred as far back as 1918, until after 1957," prophesies the **Waterbury (Connecticut) Taxpayers Association,** Raymond P. Botch, managing director, in *City of Waterbury Trend of Bonded Debt and Interest Requirements from 1918 to 1946.* The association recommends smoothing out bond retirements to avoid drastic fluctuations from year to year, and future capital improvement financing on a pay-as-you-go basis.

Although the city's debt has been reduced each year, effecting savings on principal and interest, "operation expenses have been going up," so that the expenditure has been the same, notes the **Springfield (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association,** Edward Jones, executive director, in *Here Is the Story! Springfield's Finances in Color.*

Buffalo's past practices in reducing bonded debt are outlined in *Just A Moment* of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** George O. Sipprell, manager. Poor fiscal policies until the middle thirties have left a large annual debt service requirement, but following the pay-as-you-go plan adopted over ten years ago will bring 1950 bond maturities to "approximately half what they are today."

The Buffalo bureau continues its analysis of the city's fiscal affairs in a bulletin entitled *Assessed Valuations.* Statistics show that, while property is assessed at 100 per cent of true value, total real property valuations have dropped 7.5 per cent in the last ten years.

"The general property tax is an institution of long standing . . . and its administration in most jurisdictions has been bad," states E. H. Plank in *A Comparison of the Assessed and "Sales" Value of Property in Bernalillo County,* published by the **Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico.** Assessment and valuation techniques "must be revolutionized if scientific results are to be achieved."

Occupation and Amusement Fees and Taxes in Oregon Cities provide 5.8 per cent of the general revenues of all cities, according to the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Oregon,** Herman Kehrli, executive secretary, in a recent information bulletin. The flat rate business and occupational tax schedule is being gradually displaced by "a schedule of rates that varies according to some measure of the volume of business," which will provide a more equitable and less regressive type of tax.

A set of tables compiled by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** William C. Beyer, director, in a recent number of *Citizens' Business,* "Philadelphia's Rank in Operating Expenditures," indicates that among seven large comparable American cities, Philadelphia's per capita expenditures for general government rank low.

"The elimination of large general fund surpluses, due mainly to unexpectedly large demands as the result of the November election . ... signals the end of huge wartime surpluses," states the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** in a recent bulletin. This shortage "may forecast higher taxes next year."

Controlling Expenditures

"HB 337 is a dangerous bill" warns the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce** in *It IS Your Business.* This bill provides that the city council may increase as well as reduce budget items and "further provides that the city council shall not *reduce* any item without the consent of the mayor." This would be equivalent to declaring that "Congress could not touch the federal budget without presidential consent."

Possible decreases in the county budget were offset by increases of other items, reports the **Jasper County (Missouri) Tax Economy Association,** Gerald N. Hardy, executive secretary, in the *Jasper County Taxpayer.* Under present state law, "a large portion of the county's expenditures is fixed by statutes and another quite large portion is established by the circuit court judges" thus violating the principle that "a governmental body which spends money should also be responsible for levying and providing for other revenues to finance these expenditures."

"Providence continues to be faced with a situation wherein the existing revenue structure will not yield sufficient income to finance the present expenditure program" comments the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** in a report entitled *Financial Data, City of Providence, Rhode Island, 1937-1946.* Charts are included which trace the fluctuations in tax rate, tax collections, indebtedness, revenues and expenditures for the past nine years.

Lewistown, Pennsylvania, adopted a new method of securing insurance protection last summer, reports the **Pennsylvania Government Administration Service** in a supplement to the *Borough Bulletin,* by taking out a blanket liability policy and offering the policy for competitive bids. In this way, a "31 per cent reduction in annual insurance charges was achieved."

Citizens, Officials Unite for Better Cities

Organize for Planning on Metropolitan Basis

ONE OF the most hopeful developments in recent years has been the emergence of metropolitan area citizens' planning or development councils," says an editorial appearing several months ago in this REVIEW.[1] "This method is so logical that it is strange it failed to come forward earlier." As the editorial comments, such organization may cover more than one county or, as in the Kansas City area, more than one state. Many of them have memberships representative of both officials and laymen. All are seeking to approach the problems of their cities and the metropolitan areas surrounding them in a constructive manner, seeking to do away with urban decay and making plans for avoiding it in the future.

Two-state Group

The **Citizens Regional Planning Council** for the Kansas City, Missouri,[2] metropolitan area covers five counties in two states and numerous municipalities. William M. Symon is executive director. In his annual report, *Guiding the Growth of the Metropolitan Area* (20 pages), Delos C. Johns, general chairman of the Board of Governors, comments that "community leaders seem to be of the unanimous opinion that worthwhile community projects are seldom adopted unless there has been community or area-wide citizen participation in the discussion and studies preceding the submission of the projects to the voters."

Mr. Johns cites four things which must be done by way of education for citizen participation: (1) An active functioning citizen group must be formed in every community to consider strictly local planning and community development problems; (2) membership without financial obligation must be obtained for these groups from every neighborhood, from every type of organization and from every walk of life; (3) members of each community group must be divided into as many committees as may be needed and such committees should have unlimited and unrestricted membership; (4) arrangements must be made for combining similar committees in each community group into regional committees for consideration of problems of the whole area. Five cities—Kansas City, North Kansas City, Independence and Excelsior Springs, Missouri, and Kansas City, Kansas, have taken these steps. The report lists the work of these local groups in detail.

The regional council has nearly 4000 members, many of whom serve on two or more committees. A regional membership of ten thousand is anticipated.

According to the report, neither the individual councils nor the regional council "operate on the basis that their task is to seek new methods of spending public money." Their principal concern is to compile "a list of all those things that need to be done if this area is to be properly safeguarded for the future, and to keep such a compilation alive and up to date through constant study of changing facts and conditions." It is concerned also with the type of planning which will eliminate unnecessary expenditures and cut down the costs of government rather than increase them if progress can be made on that basis.

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[1] See "Consider the WHOLE City," October 1946.

[2] See also "The Disappearing Boundaries," by William M. Symon, The REVIEW May 1946.

San Francisco Area

Feeling the need of an informal analysis of public housing in San Francisco as a guide in the formation of its postwar policy, the **San Francisco Planning and Housing Association**, Hervey Parke Clark, president, decided to do something about it. The result is *San Francisco Public Housing —A Citizen Survey* (30 pages) which reviews some five years of public housing.

The study was made from the viewpoint of the lay citizen and covers five permanent projects. Major sources of information were the records and personnel of the Housing Authority. Reports on social aspects, finances, architectures, human attitudes "were written by busy men and women who took time off to find out for themselves how public housing was going and set down the facts as they found them."

The **San Francisco Bay Area Council**, Frank E. Marsh, executive vice president, is "devoted to the economic and civic development of the nine counties bordering on San Francisco Bay." Like the Kansas City area organization, its work is accomplished through its committees which "are named to fulfill specific functions or which serve continuously in certain fields." Communities are represented "by civic leaders including representatives of the nine county boards of supervisors, mayors, and presidents of chambers of commerce."

The council "coordinates and unifies the efforts of public and private agencies toward successful completion of Bay Area projects; serves as a clearing house for area-wide information, suggestions for improvement and community problems; analyzes and screens suggestions with a view toward development of those designed to further the economic, industrial, social, commercial, civic or cultural growth of the Bay Area; marshals the weight of public opinion in support of specific projects and programs of Bay Area importance; and affords a medium through which the combined influence of nine counties is presented in manufacturing, foreign trade, transportation, agricultural, legislative, educational and other programs."

Queen City Plans

Recent issues of *Planning and Development News,* organ of the **Citizens Planning Association for the Development of the Cincinnati Area,** Walton R. L. Taylor, executive secretary, discuss "Cincinnati's Master Plan for Airports" and "The Cincinnati Riverfront Redevelopment Plan." In his report to the membership President Neil McElroy, vice president and general manager of Proctor and Gamble Company, cited some of the association's activities—"sponsorship of a series of eleven fifteen-minute radio programs on planning in Cincinnati; distribution of a booklet on the master plan, *What's on the Slate for Greater Cincinnati?,* to 20,000 school children; financing and mailing 4,000 copies of the Planning Commission's brochure on the riverfront redevelopment plan; and construction of an exhibition for visual presentation of the riverfront redevelopment plan." During 1946, reported Mr. McElroy, the group's speakers bureau presented programs on the master plan to 45 audiences numbering 3,000 persons. Its news letter is distributed to over 7,000 representative Cincinnatians.

Allegheny Conference

Community Development is a report by the **Allegheny (Pittsburgh) Conference on Community Development,** Park H. Martin, executive director, covering "Outstanding Events in Conference Program or Directly Related Thereto Since Annual Dinner of September 11, 1945." Matters covered include announcement by Governor Martin of the $57,000,000 improvement program in Allegheny County, public improvements, smoke abatement, research projects. Listed are conference publications. The organization's policy is "to deal with community problems through existing agencies. However, when no agency exists to deal with a particular problem, or when the agency best fitted is not in a position to do so, the conference then assumes responsibility for finding a means of working out the problem."

Cleveland Milestones

Milestones is an attractive two-color brochure published by the **Metropolitan Cleveland Development Council,** S. Burns Weston, executive director. A recent issue reports to members on what other large metropolitan areas—Pittsburgh, Louisville, Detroit and Cincinnati—are doing to solve urban problems.

Louisville Gets Results

Such problems as smoke abatement, parking and the fast growth of Louisville are discussed by the **Louisville Area Development Association,** Kenneth P. Vinsel, executive director, in its monthly *Planning for the Louisville Area.* The association continues its periodic publication of *Plans in Action,* giving highlights from reports of committees. Like other redevelopment groups, the committee method is used to advantage. Problems investigated include education, finance and taxation, health, housing, parks and recreation, public buildings, sewers and drainage, smoke abatement, streets and highways, transportation and welfare. Many of these subjects are subdivided with a committee studying only one angle of a problem. There is an over-all chairman as well as a chairman for each subgroup.

Toledo Efforts

"Toledo's future is what we make it," says the **Toledo Regional Planning Association,** Gladys Morris, secretary. Membership is open to all individuals and groups interested in a better Toledo. Its monthly *News Letter* carriers notices of the association's meetings, many of which are round-table discussions, and news on planning both in Toledo and elsewhere. A special legislative meeting discussed "Progress of Our Planning Bills in the State Legislature."

The association's third annual meeting in January was addressed by Stephen C. Noland, editor of the Indianapolis *News* and chairman of the **Indiana Economic Council,** on "The Citizen's Role in Planning."

Recently the association sent a card to each of its members asking them to mark on a prepared list those committees on which they would like to serve.

Toward a Master Plan (116 pages, illustrated), a "preliminary sketch for a master plan of the city of Toledo and the metropolitan area," has been issued by the **Metropolitan Planning Committee of the Toledo Chamber of Commerce,** Frank Sohn, chairman. "The planning program that has been developed in this report," comments the committee, "would, if carried out, give Toledo the opportunity of becoming one of America's most beautiful cities." It was discussed by Chairman Sohn and the chairmen of subcommittees on March 18 at a meeting of the Toledo Regional Planning Association.

Indianapolis Has a Plan

Our City and How It Proposes to Pay for Its Seven-Year Plan of Improvements (45 pages) has been published by the **Indianapolis Postwar Planning Committee,** James W. Carr, secretary. Attractively printed on slick paper, it shows in pictures some of the definite needs for "Our City Improvements." Thirty-three reports from fourteen citizens' committees were consulted in preparing the pamphlet. Budget figures are presented for a seven-year $25,000,000 program, together with a suggested schedule of priorities. Number one priority among the city's needs is an adequate sewerage system, next is the redevelopment of blighted areas, and so on. Last but not least, the committee considers the financial aspects of the plan.

'Daddy' of Them All

One of the oldest—perhaps the oldest—citizens regional planning group is the **Regional Plan Association,** Frederick P. Clark, planning director, "a research and planning agency supported by voluntary membership to promote the coordinated development of the New York—New Jersey—Connecticut Metropolitan Region." The association's conference, held in New York City late in 1946, was called "to present for active discussion the three most pressing development problems—housing, parking and support of planning—confronting the communities of the metropolitan region." Officials of many of the 550 municipalities of the New York region attended, a number of them as speakers and discussion leaders.

A recently organized New York group, formerly known as the Metroplanalysts, has now become the **New York Metropolitan Committee for Planning.** Its first project is compilation and distribution of information on significant research projects on planning in the New York region. Arline Engel of the National Housing Authority is in charge of the project.

New England Communities

The **New England Council,** Dudley Harmon, executive vice president, has issued a thought-provoking leaflet on *Who is They?* "Our basic objective," points out William D. Mann, secretary of the council's Community Development Committee, "is to develop 'community developers' out of the local sidewalk critics who think some mysterious THEY ought to get things done." The eight-page primer, with plenty of illustrations and little reading matter, suggests that "they" is you and your neighbors.

A Neighborhood Plan

Organized by public-spirited citizens, the **Chicago South Side Planning Board,** Robert E. Garrigan, executive director, has as its objective the rehabilitation of the rundown areas in the central south side of Chicago. Long-range plans cover the development of new housing to replace slum dwellings, a new traffic pattern to facilitate the flow of traffic, health and welfare facilities, a planned industrial area set apart from residential zones, more effective police protection and improved city services. Widespread interest in the board's program is reported in the board's *News,* the first issue of which appeared in December.

The **Citizens Conference on Planning** organized by the **American Planning and Civic Association,** Miss Harlean James, executive secretary, will meet in Milwaukee April 28-30 with headquarters at Hotel Pfister.

"Citizens' Organizations for Planning in Small Cities," by Miriam Strong, community planner with the Tennessee Valley Authority, appearing in *Planning and Civic Comment,* July 1946, deals with some "exploratory thinking which has grown out of experiences with planning problems in small communities in the Tennessee Valley."

Legislative Action Watched by Civic Groups

The **Massachusetts Civic League,** Miriam Butler, executive secretary, devotes two issues of its monthly *Lens* to its 1947 legislative program and asks members to write their senators and representatives urging action as recommended by the league.

"Bret Able—Legislator" is the name of a series of cartoon strips published in the *Pulliam Albany Letter* by **Governmental Research, Inc.,** (New York State), Abbett Pulliam, executive vice president. The cartoon features a young inexperienced legislator of high ideals who tries to get to the heart of things—especially the budget—to determine what's what, but finds himself up against a stone wall in the shape of the politicians as well as a few state officials.

The **Iowa Taxpayers Association,** Joe L. Long, executive secretary, has presented to state legislators a copy of its *Legislative Handbook* (28 pages, $2.50) containing information on Iowa expenditures and taxes and listing the income taxes of all states.

In its "Legislative Synopsis" the **Civic Federation of Chicago,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, is reporting to members on legislative bills of interest to members.

The **Nevada Taxpayers Association,** Dryden Kuser, director, is sending all its members copies of the *Daily History and Daily File* of the Assembly and the Senate in lieu of the association's former *Legislative Bulletin.*

A *Legislative Bulletin* listing all bills introduced in the House and Senate is being sent to its members by the **Indiana Taxpayers Association,** Walter T. Horn, executive secretary.

Indiana state senators and representatives were guests of individual **Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce** (C. E. Whitehall, president) members at its biennial legislative dinner. Purpose of the dinner was to "extend a hearty welcome to the legislators from other communities of Indiana, to help them establish friendships with Indianapolis business people and build good will between Indianapolis and the rest of the state."

The *Articulate Voter* of the **Minnesota League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Irvine McQuarrie, president, has published "Our Legislative Program," a list of bills which the group supports as well as those to which the league is opposed. "Be sure your own legislators . . . know your views on the state legislative items supported by the league," suggests Ivy Hildebrand, legislative chairman.

A "Civic Conference on State Legislation," held in New York City, was attended by representatives of numerous civic groups including the **Citizens Union of New York City,** the **Public Education Association, New York City League of Women Voters, New York State Charities Aid Association, Civil Service Reform Association** and the **New York City Citizens Housing Council.**

"Legislative News from Springfield," by Helen C. Foreman, legislative chairman of the **Illinois League of Women Voters,** is published in *The Illinois Voter.*

"Your Right to Vote is Threatened by Bills Now in Legislature," headlines the **Georgia League of Women**

Voters, Mrs. Leonard Haas, president, in its monthly *Georgia Voter.* Specifically, the league mentions the white primary bill; the biennial registration bill which forces the voter to re-register every other year, revives the poll tax, and invests in the registrars the determination of who shall vote in the general election; and other equally undemocratic legislation.[1]

Bills introduced into the Ohio legislature to provide a research division for the legislature, lower the voting age to 18, and provide a commission to study state finances are discussed in the **Cleveland Citizen League's** *Greater Cleveland.*

The **Benton Harbor, Michigan, Chamber of Commerce** is holding a Saturday luncheon meeting each week during the legislative session so that members may keep abreast of the progress of proposed legislation. The chamber maintains a complete file of all bills introduced.

A plan to rush through the Florida legislature a bill to abolish all reference in Florida law to party primaries is causing concern to the **Florida Voter's League,** Edwin L. Clarke, secretary. The organization has sent a card to its members asking them to state their position on this and other proposed legislation so that the league's executive board may act accordingly.

The **League of Women Voters of Wisconsin,** Mrs. William A. Norris, president, lists its 1947 legislative program as follows:

1. Statutory and constitutional changes for improvement of county government;
2. Increased and more equitable state aids for education, reorganization of school districts;
3. Revision and codification of public welfare laws; control of juvenile delinquency; increased appropriations for state department of public welfare;
4. Reapportionment of the state's legislative districts on the basis of the 1940 census.

Aids for the Voter

Over a hundred thousand copies of the **Detroit Citizens League's** report on candidates for the February primary were distributed throughout the city, reports William P. Lovett, executive secretary. The report appeared in *Civic Searchlight,* monthly publication of the league, which makes recommendations on candidates, listing them as "preferred," "qualified," etc.

The **Citizens Association of Chicago,** Edward M. Martin, executive secretary, issued a *Report and Recommendations Concerning Aldermanic Candidates in the Election February 25, 1947.*

The **New York City League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Walter Neale, president, has published its 1947 edition of *They Represent You in Washington, Albany, New York City,* which contains "Information on Who Represents You, What Committees They Serve on, Where You Reach Them, How You Address Them." Maps of the five boroughs within the city show congressional as well as state senate and assembly districts—no excuse for failing to let your representative at any level of government know how you feel on important issues.

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Annual Reports

Annual reports covering activities for 1946 have been received from the **Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League,** the **Citizens Union of the City of New York,** the **Civic Federation of Chicago,** the **Central Atlanta Improvement Association,** and the **Seattle Municipal League.** All these groups have a wide sphere of activity in local affairs.

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[1] See also page 206, this issue.

Proportional Representation • • *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Boston Campaign Waxes Hot

Other Massachusetts Cities Turning to P. R.-Manager

WHILE Mayor Curley awaits the outcome of the appeal from his conviction for fraudulent use of the mails, the effort to get the manager plan with P. R. for Boston[1] has assumed impressive proportions.

An influential "Plan E for Boston Committee," headed by George F. Oakes, has opened headquarters at 101 Tremont Street, with Liberty 1948 as its telephone number and also its slogan. The committee includes among its vice-chairmen Jacob J. Kaplan, president of the Boston Bar Association, Joseph K. Collins, former assistant attorney general, and Mrs. Andrew J. Peters, wife of the former mayor of Boston.

A bill which adapts the usual manager and P. R. provisions of "Plan E" to the special governmental arrangements of Boston, and would permit a vote on the plan's adoption this fall if requested by petition of 20,000 Boston voters (House Bill No. 364), was introduced in January by Representative Henry L. Shattuck of Boston, member of the council of the National Municipal League, on petition of Mr. Collins and other leaders of the Plan E committee. A similar bill was introduced last year by Speaker Frederick B. Willis which passed the House of Representatives but was defeated in the Senate.

This year's bill, which is also supported by Speaker Willis, has been made the subject of two-day public hearings both by the legislature's Committee on Cities and by the recently-appointed Boston charter commission. At one of these Mr. Hallett of this department, at the request of the Municipal Research Bureau, gave testimony on P. R. and answered questions from the charter commission for some three hours.

Other Cities Consider Plan E

Meanwhile a substantial movement for the standard Plan E provisions for the manager plan with P. R. is getting under way in Somerville, a city of 100,000 population next door to Cambridge, the pioneer P.R.-manager city in the state. The Plan E for Somerville Committee is headed by a group of young veterans, including five public school teachers. The chairman, Wallace E. Sinclair, is a former Navy communications officer and chairman of the local chapter of the American Veterans Committee. One of the other leaders is John C. Kelly, army veteran and junior high school teacher, who is commander of a local post of the American Legion.

Other Massachusetts cities considering putting Plan E adoptions on the ballot this fall include Fitchburg, Salem, Medford and Newton.

Saugus Approves but Loses

This year's Massachusetts legislature passed a special act sponsored by Speaker Frederick B. Willis for his home town of Saugus. Massachusetts towns, unlike cities, do not yet have the right to adopt P. R. and the town managers hitherto authorized have had very limited powers. Speaker Willis' bill, subject to approval of the town's voters, would have provided for a town manager in charge of the whole administration and chosen by a council of five elected by P. R. The manager would have appointed all the other administrative officers, including the currently elective tax collector and tree warden. In one respect the bill varied from standard practice: the manager would have been under contract for five years, removable only on serious charges.

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[1] See the REVIEW, *February* 1947, page 90.

The bill set up a very unusual and difficult hurdle in requiring not only a majority vote for adoption but participation in the election by a majority of the town's registered voters. The election was held on February 24 and resulted in a vote of 3,540 for adoption and 240 against, but the total vote for and against was 313 short of the required majority of registered voters. Opponents had naturally campaigned for abstentions rather than negative votes, but even if all the 1,478 ballots that were blank on this issue (there were seven other questions on the ballot) are considered the votes of opponents, there was still a two-to-one vote in favor of the plan.

The Saugus election was being watched with much interest in other towns. Last year a bill to make Plan E available for all towns by petition and popular vote was defeated in the Senate.

P. R. Bills in the New York Legislature

A constitutional amendment providing for a one-house legislature elected by proportional representation was introduced in the recently adjourned New York legislature by Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh, chairman of the Senate Committee on Cities. The amendment was a revival of one introduced in the 1938 constitutional convention by Charles Poletti, later lieutenant governor and briefly governor of the state, and similar in its application of P. R. to an amendment introduced at that time for the State Senate by Edward Corsi, now state industrial commissioner. Senator Desmond's proposal called for districts based on the five boroughs in New York City and on State Supreme Court districts elsewhere, with a separate district for the part of the second judicial district outside New York City—Nassau and Suffolk Counties. The number elected from each district would be determined by a fixed quota of 60,000 applied in the same way that the quota of 75,000 is applied to the five boroughs in the P. R. elections of the New York City council. The bill was introduced for future consideration and no attempt was made to rally support for it at this session.

Another bill involving P. R. was introduced by Assemblyman Joseph Carlino of Long Beach. The Carlino bill, backed by the Citizens Unions of New York City and Long Beach, would have removed from the city home rule law a restriction requiring city charter commissions to submit P. R. as a separate question if it is included in their proposals. This restriction does not prevent adoptions of P. R. but forces those who wish to combine it in a single question with the manager plan or other changes, as is often desirable, to use the petition method of submission instead of a charter commission. The petition method was used successfully in Yonkers and Long Beach.

P. R. Proposed for Baltimore

The Citizens League of Baltimore is conducting a campaign for 10,000 signatures to a petition for a referendum at the May election on a proposal to provide proportional representation for the city council. The campaign has the endorsement of the Better Baltimore Committee and cooperating civic organizations, reports the *Baltimore Sun.* The proposal would establish a city council of twelve members elected at large by P. R.

"What we have in the way of a city council is something less than we ought to have," declared Dr. C. L. Winslow, president of the Citizens League, who said the present council "is unrepresentative from a geographical standpoint and maintains a one-party system to which we object in such countries as Germany and Russia." The proposed plan "will correct this unrepresentation," he said, and open the way for "higher capacity men and women" to seek election to the council.

Forum Magazine Publishes P. R. Articles

A series of three articles reviewing the general subject of proportional representation, by the editors of this department, is appearing in the magazine *Forum.* The first two appeared in January and February and the third is expected to appear in April.

The first, "How Democratic Are Our Democratic Systems?", explains the shortcomings of other methods of representation in democratic government and shows how proportional representation is intended to provide a remedy for some of those difficulties. Both the Hare system, best known to the English-speaking world, and the list system, used in various forms in continental Europe, are described.

The second article is entitled "Proportional Representation Works!" and covers a review of experience with proportional representation in this country and abroad up to the present time. The third discusses some of the principal arguments which arise when the introduction of proportional representation becomes the subject of a political contest.

P. R. Figures in Berlin Impasse

Insistence of Major General Alexander Kotikov, Soviet representative in the Allied Kommandatura in Berlin, upon disproportionate representation of certain groups produced a grave impasse which appeared to block the election of new officials of the so-called Free German Trade Union to replace officials whose terms were about to expire, according to dispatches published in the *New York Times* on February 1 and 2. American, British and French representatives in the Kammandatura sought to establish a compromise proposal in which delegates at large forming a major part of the central committee of the union would be elected by proportional representation.

This dispute was the occasion of the Soviet member taking the unprecedented step of carrying his quarrel before the German public by printing in a Russian-controlled German paper a statement personally denouncing three United States officials and ascribing the entire United States attitude to the American Federation of Labor. Major General Frank A. Keating, U. S. representative on the Kommandatura, assailed General Kotikov's action as contrary to an Allied Control Council law and stated that the charges published in the German press were unfounded and false. The gravity of this dispute indicates the importance of the choice of electoral machinery; both sides appreciated that this choice would greatly influence and probably settle the over-all election result.

Bremen Seeks Use of P. R.

The recent organization of the Bremen area as a *Land* (state) in the

(Continued on page 226)

County Home Rule Passes Washington Legislature

Popular Referendum on Act Scheduled for 1948

THE Washington state legislature has passed the proposed constitutional amendment providing home rule for counties. It will be submitted to the electorate in 1948 for final adoption. When introduced the amendment applied only to counties of 100,000 and more population — King (Seattle), Pierce, and Spokane Counties—but it was amended in committee in the Senate to apply to all counties throughout the state.

Another proposed constitutional amendment which has passed both houses would separate Seattle and King County and establish a city-county government for the Seattle area. This too will appear on the 1948 ballot.

The Seattle Municipal News, published by the Municipal League of Seattle, comments that the home rule proposal offers "opportunity for King County to establish one of the most modern county governments in the United States."

Listed as some of the major improvements which can be incorporated in a new county charter by an elected charter commission are: county manager, county mayor or county commission form of government, nonpartisan elections, civil service, appointment of some officials now elected, segregation of scattered county services into a few departments with responsible heads, adoption of strong budget procedure, etc.

The organization has been conducting a series of forums on the needs of the county with the idea that prompt study of the legislature's action should be initiated.

McMinn County Granted Manager Plan

The bill providing the manager plan of government for McMinn County, Tennessee, described in this department last month (page 169), has now become law. The act named the members of the first council to choose the first manager and took effect immediately.

Counties Interested in Manager Plan

Additional counties and townships are making progress toward adoption of the manager plan. Recent developments include:

1. At the recent general election Florida adopted a constitutional amendment permitting Orange County (Orlando) to reorganize its government. A Citizens Steering Committee has been appointed and major consideration is being given to the adoption of the manager plan.

2. A citizen group in Chesterfield County, Virginia, is initiating a series of mass meetings to explain the county manager form of government.

The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia has prepared several leaflets for the use of citizen groups in Virginia interested in securing adoption of the manager plan for their home counties. The leaflets are entitled, *What Would a Manager Government Mean for Your County?* and *County Manager Quiz*.

3. A bill has been introduced in the Michigan state legislature permitting townships to vote on the question of incorporating as chartered municipal corporations. The governing board of

an incorporated township would be empowered to appoint a township superintendent who would have powers comparable to those of a county manager.

Governmental Proposals for Small Missouri Counties

Legislation recently introduced in the General Assembly of Missouri provides three forms of government for small counties—the so-called county clerk form, the commission form and the consolidated office form. "These simple forms of government should prove a boon to many fourth class counties," says *Your Tax Money*, published by the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, "which are not sufficiently wealthy to support the large structure of the prevailing form."

In another of its publications, its third annual compilation of rural county budgets, the Survey stressed the need for making simpler, less expensive forms of government available to counties of low assessed valuation.

Home of Mighty Atom Fears Perils of Firecracker

Anderson County, Tennessee, home of the Oak Ridge atom bomb project, has enacted a local law making it illegal to manufacture, sell or use firecrackers in the county.

New Hampshire Studies County Government

The New Hampshire Interim Committee on County Government, appointed by the governor a year and a half ago, recently recommended several major changes in county functions and procedures. They included:

1. The committee's study of state, county, city and town relief agencies revealed "bewildering complications due to the overlapping, conflicting and sometimes competitive activities of uncoordinated agencies and considerable duplication of effort and cost of administration. . . . Members of a single family may need from one to eight of the services now rendered and under the present plan may have to go from one agency to another to get the assistance for which they are eligible. This situation reacts unfavorably on applicants, adds materially to the cost of administration, and reduces the efficiency of administration. . . . It is obvious that little uniformity can be expected in the relief services for which the separate counties, cities and towns (townships) are independently responsible." It recommended integration of all welfare activities and clear allocation of such activities to the several levels of government.

2. It was discovered that sheriffs and deputies were paid ten cents a mile for use of their cars and twenty cents a mile when transporting prisoners. The committee recommended that the prevailing rate of five cents a mile should apply to them also.

3. It recommended that sheriffs and their deputies be compensated by annual salary rather than on a fee basis.

4. It proposed that towns and cities, after paying their normal share of fixed charges on county institutions, should contribute to meet other costs in direct proportion to the extent to which they use such institutions.

5. It criticized the antiquated methods of preserving records and suggested that microfilm or similar processes be considered.

6. During the course of its study the committee issued an 85-page county officials handbook consisting of constitutional and statutory provisions relating to county officials and their duties.

7. It recommended further study of the question of extension, consolidation and elimination of county insti-

tutions by the appointment of a second interim committee.

Texas Counties Face Legal Difficulties

The attorney general of Texas, in an official ruling, has held that legislation providing centralized purchasing in counties with populations between 100,000 and 150,000 persons is unconstitutional because it violates the provision prohibiting the legislature from passing any local or special law regulating the affairs of counties. On the other hand, a district court has ruled that the use of automatic voting machines by Dallas, Bexar and Gregg Counties is constitutional.

Texas County Association Backs Employee Aid

Among the resolutions adopted by the recent annual convention of the County Judges and Commissioners Association of Texas were the following:

1. That a plan, optional with the counties, be adopted by state legislation providing workmen's compensation and public liability for county employees to protect them in case of injury or death;
2. That any county, upon referendum, be permitted to establish a library; and
3. That a law be enacted forbidding the legislature from levying any obligation upon a county without providing the additional revenue to pay for it.

Wisconsin Bill Seeks Repeal of County Uniformity

A proposed constitutional amendment before the Wisconsin legislature would remove the requirement of uniformity for Wisconsin county government. It would permit the legislature to set up optional systems of county government and provides that such systems be adopted by popular initiative and vote.

Other county bills would abolish the fee system for elective officials, provide for the coordination of county fiscal duties, welfare activities, and centralized purchasing under single officials, and the appointment of a committee to study, revise and codify all county government laws. They have been introduced by the Joint Interim Committee to Study County Government appointed by action of the 1945 Wisconsin legislature.[1]

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 223)

United States zone of Germany is expected to result in its adoption of a system of proportional representation such as those used in the other states of the American Zone. Heretofore the improvised hybrid system of the British zone has been in force, with the result that one party—Socialist Democratic—has 51 out of 80 seats in the local parliament though it cast only 47 per cent of the popular vote. The American occupation forces will let the people of the area have any democratic form of election they wish, and the Social Democrats, though they stand to lose by the change, have already declared for P. R. The other parties are expected to agree.

The other states in the U. S. zone use a list system of proportional representation based on that used in Germany from 1919 to 1933. In Wuerttemberg-Baden certain modifications along the lines of the Swiss system have been introduced, in order to permit some expression of preference in favor of individual candidates in addition to voting for a party list.

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[1] See the REVIEW, July 1946, page 376.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Local Payrolls Going Up

Some Cities Adjusting Wages to U. S. Cost-of-living Index

STRIKES and threatened strikes by public school teachers in several score American communities since last autumn, with higher pay the central issue in each case, focus attention on one of the major features of local government today—rising payrolls.

The problem is not confined to the schools. Indeed, the wave of teachers' strikes during the winter may be an indication that the local school districts have been generally slower than city governments to make salary and wage adjustments in recent years.

In any event, the period since the end of the war has seen strikes or threatened strikes by local public employees in nearly every classification, including firemen and policemen, garbage disposal workers, transit system workers, and water works employees. In some cases the strike talk has been part of an effort to secure for one group of public employees raises previously granted to others; in other cases strikes or threats by individual groups have led to general increases.

In general, wage and salary increases for local government employees began fairly early in the war, and in some instances represented merely the final restoration to predepression levels of pay schedules slashed during the early 1930's. In city governments the cost-of-living bonus found early acceptance as an expedient to meet war-inflated living costs. Some of these bonuses were additions of a flat sum to the monthly or hourly rate of each employee, in others a percentage increase was applied. Frequently the percentage increase was limited to the first one, two or three thousand dollars of annual salary, and in a few cases a sliding scale was used, with higher-bracket employees receiving proportionally smaller increases.

A considerable number of cities followed the example of St. Paul, Minnesota, which since 1922 has adjusted pay rates to the movement of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index. Most of these schemes disregard minor fluctuations in the index, make the adjustment annually, and apply to all employees a dollar increment derived from the use of a base rate generally between $100 and $150 per month. Among the larger cities adopting the cost of living index method are Milwaukee, Portland, Oregon, San Diego, Columbus (for a time) and Duluth. In some cases state indexes are used.

In addition to the temporary bonuses to offset inflated prices, numerous localities have undertaken a complete revision of their payroll scales and job classifications. San Diego, for example, had used the index method more or less regularly since 1933 in fixing annual salary schedules, but in 1943 began a reclassification of positions and restudy of pay rates which led to increased rates of about 10 per cent. Salary levels in that city are now 55 per cent to 60 per cent above 1940.

Some increases have been forced by state action. At the general election last November California voters enacted a constitutional amendment considerably increasing state aid for schools and providing a minimum salary for teachers in the public school system of $2,400 per annum. This "floor" under teachers salaries undoubtedly has been in the minds of teachers groups in many communities where strikes or strike talk has been evident during the winter, and is clearly reflected in the recommendation of a New York State committee of inquiry which recommended to Governor Dewey a minimum of $2,500 in New York City schools and of $2,000 in the smaller communities.

Michigan Sells Bonus Bonds, Faces Deficit

First of the large issues of state soldiers' bonus bonds was marketed early in March, when the state of Michigan sold $200,000,000 of the $270,000,000 bonus bonds authorized by its voters at the November 1946 election. The bonds were set up as serials due in one to eighteen years and were sold as 1½'s at a premium making the net interest cost approximately 1.47 per cent. The state had been without any direct bonded debt since 1944.

The sale attracted wide attention, for it was the largest issue of state or municipal bonds ever to be offered. Less attention was centered on the state's proposed budget for 1947-48, which revealed that the so-called sales tax amendment adopted last November—which provided for distribution of the state sales tax to the cities and counties on a new and generous basis—leaves the state without sufficient revenue to balance its own budget. The governor's budget showed an anticipated deficit of $83,000,000.

Repeal of the sales tax amendment is being submitted to the voters in April, and other proposals under discussion include a reallocation of existing revenues between state and local governments, and readjustment of responsibility for the financing of some functions, either to decrease state aid subject to legislative control or decrease state expenditures. Return to a state ad valorem property tax has also been considered.

Oregon Legislates Sales, Income Tax Provisions

Early in the Oregon legislative session, Representative Hill introduced a sales tax bill which provided an overall limit of 40 mills on property taxes, and a $5,000 increase in the present exemption under the state income tax. The House Assessment and Taxation Committee, however, has prepared a substitute program which has been introduced as two bills. One would impose a 3 per cent sales tax with foods and certain other necessities exempted, and would provide that 1/6 of the proceeds be distributed to school districts, 1/6 to counties, and 1/6 to cities. The 40-mill limit has been omitted since the committee was unable to find formula for its operation.

A companion measure would increase personal exemption under the income tax from $750 to $1,500 for single persons, and from $1,500 to $2,500 for married couples. The most authoritative estimate maintains that the sales tax would yield $20,000,000 per year and that the proposed exemption would reduce the tax revenue about $7,000,000—a net gain to the state of only about $3,000,000 after allocations to local units.

The bill provides for a referendum by the people in November 1947. The sales tax on previous occasions has been disapproved by Oregon voters four times. The highest favorable vote at previous elections was 30 per cent.

HERMAN KEHRLI
University of Oregon

Would Prohibit Local Income Taxes

Municipal income taxes, which have been an outstanding boon to the municipal coffers of Philadelphia and Toledo, and have been studied increasingly by other cities, would be prohibited to Wisconsin cities under a bill (No. 3s) passed by the legislature and thought likely to be signed by the new governor.

Milwaukee, Madison and other Wisconsin cities have had city income taxes under consideration in recent months.

Under attack also is St. Louis' city income tax, enacted last summer at a rate of ½ of 1 per cent on individual and corporate income, which has been held unconstitutional by the Circuit Court. It is reported that the city will appeal.

MFOA to Meet in New York City

The annual conference of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada will be held in New York City May 26-29.

New York City's Budget Problem

The prospective New York City budget for 1947-48 has been estimated at $800,000,000 to $819,000,000 by official and unofficial sources. The same sources in the very next breath state that the city's budget will press the one billion mark. Both figures are reasonably accurate.

In discussions dealing with the budget, different segments are treated and discussed as "budgets." Thus we have a "tax levy budget," an "expense budget" and a "total budget."

Most taxpayer interest centers in the tax levy budget. This is nothing more than a segment of the city's budget, made up of several parts. The tax levy itself is the amount of taxes levied on real property for its share of the cost of city government. This is made up of the levy for debt service for which unlimited taxes can be collected and the levy for operations limited to 2 per cent of the average assessed valuations for five years. The other item making up the tax levy budget is the general fund. This by no means fits the generally accepted definition accorded the term in the field of municipal finance. It is rather a catch-all made up of water charges, state-allocation of $6.75 per capita which has replaced the former state-collected, locally-shared taxes, the city's own local tax program made up of the sales, pari-mutuel and gross business taxes etc., and miscellaneous and sundry departmental receipts. In addition, the general fund receives the cash carryover, if any, of the general fund of the preceding fiscal year.

The current budget cannot expend any more of the general fund revenues than the amount estimated as the general fund revenues by the city comptroller. All over the estimated amount is earmarked as the cash carryover of the general fund of the ensuing fiscal period. Though there may be a general fund surplus, as has been the case in recent years, the budget can also have a deficit which must be financed by deficiency borrowing. Thus in 1945-46, while the general fund had a surplus of about $36,000,000 which was the cash carryover for the general fund estimated for 1946-47, the budget operations showed temporary borrowings to the extent of $5,000,000 to cover deficiencies. This deficiency is redeemable from appropriations in the current budget.

These components, the tax levy on real estate for debt service and operations and the general fund, make up what is known as the tax levy budget and represents the $800,000,000 to $819,000,000, the figure so prominently featured in news stories.

The expense budget, as defined in the city charter, includes in addition to the tax levy budget, the bulk of the supplementary revenues required by law to be earmarked into separate funds for specific purposes. This takes in such funds as state aid and federal aid for education, welfare, etc.

The city does not have a representative over-all budget. This is so because certain revenues are credited directly to some of the pension funds and only the direct net city contribution appears in the budget. Likewise certain services rendered by the city to independent agencies, capital budget, and special, trust and assessment funds are reimbursable and are not reflected in the expense budget but are reported by the city comptroller in his annual report.

The expense budget for 1947-48 is now being prepared. General fund revenues are estimated by the city comptroller for 1947-48 to be about $335,500,000. The sum required for debt service has been put at $160,000,000 to $168,500,000 by the city comptroller. The maximum that could be levied within the 2 per cent limit for operations will run from $320,000,000 to $321,000,000.[1] Last year the margin was under $320,000,000.

A limited rate levy of $320,000,000 plus $168,500,000 for debt service would tend to indicate a tax rate of approximately $2.95 as compared to the present basic rate of $2.70. (At the $2.70 rate the margin below the maximum 2 per cent limit was more than $50,000,000.) This, coupled with the estimated general fund revenue of $335,500,000, would yield about $823,500,000 from the tax levy budget sources. Thus the city should be in a position to balance its tax levy budget. And this within the framework of present available resources.

The O'Dwyer administration, despite its apparent ability to balance its tax levy budget, has asked the state for added state-aid funds to the extent of $102,000,000. The city request included the following: state assumption of the cost of financing the city's four colleges, an increase in the per capita state allocation to $10, a revision of the state aid for welfare formula, and a return to the city of the taxes that the city pioneered and developed as part of its emergency tax program for the financing of emergency relief in the mid-thirties: the cigarette tax, utility tax, bank tax, etc. Aids of this proportion would permit the city to avoid the considerable increase in the tax rate.

The state has countered with a proposal to authorize the cities, including New York City, to levy additional local excises which would yield an estimated $24,300,000 for New York City and a total of about $111,000,000 for all local units in New York State. Among the "new" taxes proposed for New York City are a 3 per cent sales tax on meals costing above a dollar, taxes of five dollars and ten dollars respectively on passenger cars and trucks, and a 5 per cent admissions tax.

David Lazar
Brooklyn College, New York

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[1] The final assessed valuations for 1947-48 will not be ready until some time in May. On March 1, 1947, the tentative assessed valuations were put at $17,053,000,000 compared to the final figure of $15,908,000,000 for 1946-47. A $320,000,000 yield would mean a final assessed valuation of $16,323,000,000 for 1947-48. A $321,000,000 yield would mean an assessed valuation of $16,573,000,000.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

Britain Proposes New Planning Measures

Bill Would Require Official Sanction for All Building

IN DECEMBER the Labor government introduced into the British Parliament its Town and County Planning Bill 1947, provisions of which would deprive landowners of the right to build "unless the building is in accordance with proper planning requirements" and impose a "development charge to cover any resulting increase in land values."

Important features of the bill are these: (1) local authorities must survey their area and prepare a plan within three years, this plan to be submitted to the minister of town and country planning for approval; (2) local authorities will have wider powers to carry out development themselves since they will no longer be confined to development which private enterprise will not undertake.

No future development may take place without permission and this permission will be governed by community interests. When permission to develop is refused no compensation will be given except in a limited number of cases. When development is permitted any resulting increase in land value is to be collected in whole or in part by the state as a development charge which must be paid or secured before the development is carried out.

Three hundred million pounds would be made available to compensate hardship cases of owners where the market value of their land will be depreciated because of the cancellation of development rights. Upwards of 15 per cent of British land owners will be affected by the bill.

The *White Paper* accompanying the bill states that it will set up a planning system which will make practicable the reconstruction and redevelopment of old towns, preservation of green belts and provide for open spaces in overcrowded areas. This has not been possible previously because of the rigid planning system which gives too much power to local authorities and insufficient power to the national government and because of the inflated compensation payments to landlords by local authorities.

Under the bill county officials would for the first time be given direct planning functions so that planning will be coordinated over a wider area than at present. Where regional planning needs overlap county boundaries, counties and county boroughs will be able to join together in joint planning boards.[1]

Local Government Revision Studied in South Africa

A report by a member of the Action Committee of the United Municipal Executive, on the revision of local government in South Africa, suggests that the following points must be taken into consideration in order to make local government efficient: (1) Local government must remain democratic; (2) local authorities must have adequate powers; (3) local authorities must have adequate resources to carry out their functions; (4) services must be administered uniformly in the local area; (5) standards of established services must be reasonably uniform;

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[1] See *Municipal Review* (London,) January 1947, page 3; also *The American City*, February 1947, page 67.

and (6) the new local government structure must be elastic.

Principal defects of the local government system in the reporter's view are: (1) a high proportion of small authorities with inadequate population and financial resources to provide services required today; (2) public apathy toward local government; (3) inadequate methods of cooperation between municipalities; (4) repercussions upon the powers and duties of authorities produced by differences between rural and urban administration; (5) inadequate administrative boundaries; (6) overlapping and duplication of services between authorities; (7) inequality in standards of service; (8) undue influence of local vested interests; and (9) complexity of structure.

Central control has developed in the last few years to such an extent that local authorities for certain services have become little more than local agencies of administration for the central government. Local government has become patchy, illogical and complex and therefore more expensive than necessary. It fails to have fullest coordination between authorities and services and provides a wide variety in range and quality of these services.

Orange Free State Consolidation

A local government consolidation ordinance is being redrafted for consideration by the Orange Free State provincial council next year. An amendment to the present ordinance provides that the town councils may pay councillors annual allowances not exceeding 25 per cent of the allowance paid the mayor but does not compel a council to pay its members.

* * *

Harbor Boards Discuss Problems

A recent conference of the New Zealand Harbors Association discussed the problems which face local harbor boards. Financial difficulties have been encountered by the smaller boards because of diversion of shipping to larger ports. All boards are faced with the problem of depleted coastal shipping trade for which blame is put upon railroad competition. Government legislation has been suggested as an aid to solving the problem since New Zealand is a maritime country, dependent upon sea trade, and coastal shipping provides a way of training seamen.

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New Zealand Retirement Law

A National Provident Fund Amendment has been passed in New Zealand on the retirement of government employees. Chief provision is that retirement rights may be transferred from one local authority to another. Employees have the right to decide whether or not to contribute to the plan.

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Local Officials Unite

Recognizing that by working together they can provide better administration, the New Zealand Town Clerks Institute, the County Clerks Institute and the Electric Power Boards Secretaries Association have united to form the New Zealand Local Body Administrative Officers Association. Since at the present time no formal training is available for administrators, the institute's main objective is educational.

* * *

Greater Sydney Consolidation

The New South Wales government has proposed the substitution of eight municipalities for the present 61 municipalities and eight shires which make up the county of Cumberland, frequently referred to as Greater Sydney. The national government has indicated that it would defer introduction of a bill into Parliament until New South Wales has reached a unanimity of opinion on the proposal.

Books in Review

Our Fair City. Edited by Robert S, Allen. New York City, The Vanguard Press, 1947. viii, 387 pp. $3.50.

Here is a curious sort of new source book of American history and political science. It consists of candid close-ups of seventeen American cities—all the top-size ones and some of the smaller ones of special character or current interest like Memphis, Butte and Miami.

The story of each city is told by a local newspaperman who was evidently instructed by the compilers to dish up the dirt, don't worry about libel, give us the low-down, don't boost! So, in the manner of Sunday supplements, with overaccent on the dramatic and the unusual and underaccent on whatever sober, jog-trot wholesomeness may constitute the major volume of the facts, the writers have spiritedly washed and hung out the local linen to flap in the breeze.

Inevitably these vivid stories are suspect as colored by personal bias, political or economic, or by the editorial policy of the newspapers on which some of the authors serve. Few local characters are treated with complete respect—the cynicism of the hard-boiled reporter is a prevailing characteristic. Each local author seems anxious to prove that none of the local bigwigs fool him and, of course, each account is a story which no other individual in town would probably perceive or write in just the same way Local repercussions will be lively! Social facts are not in the realm of the exact sciences anyway!

My respect for the book grew as I read. Some of the individual stories are surely superficial, oversimplified, inexact; but taken together they constitute a telling mass of testimony as to the economic and political inwardness of our municipal scenes as of 1946 when they were written. The symposium gives us current America in the raw, a ghastly dash of truth, yet not too bad if we can remember that the masses who live wholesomely, pay their debts and taxes, help their neighbors, and die unsung, are left out of these pictures on the same principle that causes them to be left out of the daily news.

The publisher's blurb likens the book to Lincoln Steffens' *Shame of the Cities* of a generation ago—a hazardous comparison to invite, and unnecessary! This book has its own original merits—it did not exhume facts that are new to local newspaper readers and it did not call for any of Steffens' courage to sponsor it. Its value is rather photographic, showing good, bad and indifferent.

To the reformer it shows the folly of looking for a condition of repose anywhere! The American city is a tangle of squirming earthworms, never static, always fiercely active and full of successive tensions and stresses. American cities are factories, not graveyards, and their clangor and grime are inevitable elements of the noble discontent which is the mother of progress. The volume as a whole I rate as sound history although packed with disputable and unprovable detail.

Incidentally, the council-manager plan fares well in the accounts from the cities which have it. It is improperly slighted and inaccurately slurred in the Kansas City story but in the chapters on Miami and Cleveland the references are favorable and the Boston story includes the following terse bouquet for Cambridge next door:

"Present hopes for reform in Boston rest in a weakly led but possibly prophetic move to change the city charter to the proportional representation—city manager plan, which has proved so successful in adjoining Cambridge. Forced by corruption, extravagance and squalid conditions, Cambridge adopted its 'Plan E' charter four years ago, just as its last old-era mayor was going to jail. James M. Landis, in off moments between jobs in Washington and running the Harvard Law School, brain-powered the revolution. The tax rate was cut ten dollars per thousand in three years, the debt by six million, the budget by one and a half million, while city services became decently adequate and the pay of municipal employees was raised until they became among the highest paid in the state.

"It will be hard for even the inertia of Boston to resist this obvious recipe for sensible city management."

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Capital Gains Taxation. Panel discussion by Thomas N. Tarleau, chairman, Franklin Cole, Harold M. Groves, George O. May, Harry J. Rudick, Beardsley Ruml, Eustace Seligman, Lawrence H. Seltzer and Carl Shoup. New York City, Tax Institute, 1946. ix, 106 pp. $3.

Last October, in New York City, the Tax Institute sponsored the first of a projected series of round-table discussions on pertinent phases of tax policy. The occasion was something of an experiment, in that a small, representative body of expert participants was invited to take part under conditions which it was hoped would eliminate or minimize the haste, confusion and ineffectualness which have come to accompany so many "forum" sessions. That the experiment was highly successful is evident from this volume, which makes the text of the discussion generally available for the first time.

Capital gains taxation, although not perhaps of such widespread interest as some other taxation topics, was an admirable choice for the institute's experimental discussion, for it posed within a limited specialized field complex problems of both a theoretical and practical nature which touch widely scattered phases of the national economy. Further, the choice of participants was a particularly happy one, and the distinguished panel has managed to get into its record a discussion of the major principles in the field of capital gains taxation and a wealth of controversial detail. Layman and tax student alike will find the discussion both informative and stimulating.

The dialogue between the panel members is supplemented by a three and one-half page bibliography containing sixty-odd references to the literature on capital gains taxes, and there is a short but useful topical index. While the dialogues run more or less conversationally from the initial statements of the participants, it has been possible without undue forcing of the natural sequence to divide the text into chapters and sections, this feature giving rise to a rather comprehensive table of contents. All in all, the discussion and its manner of publication set a high standard for the panel procedure and offer real encouragement that the sometimes hackneyed round-table device may be restored to real usefulness.

WADE S. SMITH

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments.)

Agriculture

Dare Farmers Risk Abundance? An Agriculture Committee Report. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Committee, 1947. v, 53 pp. 25 cents.

Civil Service

Problems of Readjustment. Annual Report for 1946. New York 18, National Civil Service League, 1946. 12 pp.

Directories

Kansas Governmental Guide. I: Agencies Offering Services to State and Local Governments; II: Subject Index of Information and Services Available. Topeka, League of Kansas Municipalities, 1947. vi, 151 pp. $5.

Social Work Year Book 1947 (ninth edition). Edited by Russell H. Kurtz. Part I: An Authoritative Record of Organized Activities; Part II: A Directory of 539 National Agencies in Social Work and Related Fields. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1947. 714 pp. $3.50.

Highways

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LOCAL PRESS AS CIVIC FORCE

(Continued from page 188)

faulters too—the *Herald Statesman* began turning its searchlight upon the Compromise and Settlement Board's activities and reporting them in full.

The administration today is collecting 100 cents on the dollar on liens plus 100 per cent of the accrued interest. It's a refreshing improvement!

I refuse to accept the theory, so often advanced by exponents of political patronage, that reporting of civic scandal by the local newspaper is "bad publicity" for the town and therefore should be avoided.

No community is so fragile that it can be crushed by diagnosis and report of its civic ills. It is always healthy to give the people all the facts possible. They will find their way all right, without misfortune—except possibly misfortune for the malefactors.

But the voice of the local newspaper and of the local civic group must be clear. Too often it is whispered or blurry. A good newspaper always keeps trying to clear up the line, so readers can get the correct story—hear and see it in simple word and vivid picture. Then the public has a voice—a newspaper voice and a citizen voice. What a duet that makes!

The would-be political grafters—and they flourish in all political climates—are scared to death of the honest local newspaper and of these civic warriors who are good government's first line of defense.

It is the local newspaper's opportunity to rededicate itself each day—body, mind and spirit—"to the right that needs assistance, against the wrong that needs resistance, to the future in the distance, and the good that we may do."

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

The Chicago Election

THERE have been so many "explanations" of the recent Chicago mayoralty election that another one will do no harm.

It is claimed that the result was determined by international and national trends, by the rise and fall of the popularity of national political parties. But it seems more encouraging and logical to believe this local election was decided on the basis of local issues, as it should have been.

Now that all the face-saving "analyses" have been made, it might help to rehearse some of the basic facts.[1]

Last November the party that had been out for years scored a resounding victory in the congressional elections. Some of its leaders assumed they could win the April municipal election with "nobody." The leaders of that party promptly handpicked a man who was virtually unknown and had an unimpressive record.

The "ins" were frightened by their losses and their none too good reputation (not all of it deserved). They dumped the old boss-mayor and, much to everyone's surprise, nominated a distinguished civic leader noted for his vigorous opposition to the machine of his own party. He campaigned on purely local issues and won overwhelmingly.

Why? Large numbers of Chicago voters welcomed the opportunity to vote for a man who pledged good local government and whose record seemed to affirm that he meant what he said. Many others resented the action of their party leaders in choosing a candidate who was so undesirable that he was able to command the support of only one major newspaper of the city.

Political leaders will perform their functions more satisfactorily and successfully when they realize that municipal problems are important in themselves, too important to be kicked around for some hoped for state or national partisan advantage.

If they perversely remain blind to this opportunity for constructive leadership they will be told increasingly, in the hard language of lost elections, that the voters are tiring of that sort of thing. They might profit, too, by observing the growing tendency of voters to become "independent."

The people of many cities, including some big ones, long ago got over the idea that local elections should be on a partisan basis. Why should they be? Local government is simply a group of services we can render more satisfactorily, efficiently and economically on a community basis than on an individual family basis. Partisan politics should have nothing to do with these services. Who dares claim today that the partisan handling of a city has been wholesome?

Inside Stuff

Five months ago a group of prominent Chicagoans met for a heart-to-

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[1] See also March 1947 REVIEW, page 122.

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heart talk about the city's future. They were deeply disturbed because one party (the one with which most of them were at least nominally identified) had handpicked a candidate for mayor whom they considered a poorly qualified "nobody."

They feared the other party would pull the same stunt. What reason had they to believe otherwise?

"A good man should run independent," someone suggested, and his idea gained quick acceptance.

"Martin Kennelly would be ideal," another said. There was general agreement. Martin H. Kennelly was a distinguished unbossed civic leader and successful man of affairs. He didn't want to run for mayor but—well, wait and see how badly the other party did its choosing.

The other party, much to the surprise of the entire group, drafted Kennelly—the man who might have run as an independent as a sacrifice protest against bossism.

There's something about this Chicago situation that calls to mind a Gallup poll of some years ago which found that 88.6 per cent of all citizens genuinely want decent, nonpartisan, honest local government.

The chief reason they so often don't get what they want is that selfish partisanship prevents the candidacies which would enable them to get it.

A Challenge

Only a few weeks ago an exploding furnace wrecked a Chicago building and damaged many important buildings in the Loop. Next day it was revealed that the inspector who had declared the furnace safe a few days previously had been a "temporary" appointee for twelve years. In other words, he did not take a civil service test and was appointed for 60 days. Presumably he was reappointed every two months, a total of 72 times!

About ten years ago a roof-top water tank fell through a Chicago building, killing people on its way to the basement. A city "inspector" had looked at it a few days earlier. When asked why he had passed it he said he really didn't know anything about water tanks. How come he was an inspector then? Well, he knew his district leader.

If such things as these are indicative, it looks as if Mayor Kennelly has a job to do.

Eventually

The time will come when the people of Chicago and the other major cities will, by some means other than desperately turning up a white knight at rare intervals, declare their independence of machine politics. They will repudiate bossism. They will insist on nonpartisan, competent management and genuine representation of citizens on the basis of how they think, not where they sleep.

Thus far a cynical bipartisan alliance of Chicago and down-state politicians has been able to prevent Chicagoans from voting on the question of adopting a modern form of government.

But the force of the example of hundreds of other communities, some of them pretty big, will be felt more and more and will bolster the determination of the good citizens of the nation's second city to put off old ways.

Debt Free Idea Loses Allure

Milwaukee voters, after achieving long-sought goal, in advisory referendum favor issuing of improvement bonds.

By **NORMAN N. GILL and PAULA LYNAGH***

On April 1, 1947, the Milwaukee electorate, by a vote of 54,000 to 41,000, approved an advisory referendum question: "Shall the city issue bonds for a program of public improvements?"

It had taken twenty years to accumulate a debt amortization fund equal to the outstanding bonded indebtedness—in effect making the city debt free. Only a year after the goal had been achieved a movement was begun which led to the advisory referendum vote. At the end of 1943 the local press stated:

"From now on, unless a catastrophe should befall the city and require bond issues, there appears to be no reason why future city administrations should ever issue another general obligation bond. By sticking to a cash basis they will insure that the taxpayers receive $1 worth of improvements for every $1 spent, instead of only $1 worth for each $1.50 spent to pay interest and retire principal on bonds."

Milwaukee's experiment to eliminate the city's bonded debt by building up an amortization fund was launched in 1923. The original statute provided that all interest earned on street-paving installments, and at least one-third of the interest earned by the city from all other sources, "shall" be turned over to the debt amortization fund. The city's contributions, which could otherwise have been used as general revenue, totalled $5,594,000. The investments of the amortization fund have earned nearly half the fund's assets.

The debt amortization fund was designed to be a perpetual trust fund, the principal of which would never be spent. One-fourth of its interest earnings were to be added to the principal. The remaining three-fourths were to be applied to interest on any outstanding bonds and to assume new bond issues.

After the amortization fund had been in operation for ten years the net debt had increased by two-thirds, and the fund equalled only 8 per cent of the bonded indebtedness. During these ten years the city had issued almost all the bonds legally permissible. Debt charges for interest and principal on the bonded debt equalled the new bond issues. This was at a time when the city's area expanded 55 per cent, from 26 to 40 square miles.

The Common Council has adhered to a policy of issuing no bonds since 1932. It was largely this policy which enabled the city to become "debt free." In 1932 the net debt

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*Mr. Gill, director of the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee, was formerly Milwaukee's municipal reference librarian. He is author of the book, *Municipal Research Bureaus* (1944). Mrs. Lynagh, staff member of the bureau, was research director for the Joint Committee on Consolidation in Milwaukee County. She wrote the book, *Metropolitan Milwaukee* (1936).

amounted to $46,000,000. By the end of 1943 it was reduced to $11,000,000. Property tax levies and miscellaneous revenues paid the interest and principal on the $35,000,000 of retired bonds. The remaining $11,000,000 indebtedness will be retired by means of the debt amortization fund assets.

A 1939 amendment to the debt amortization fund law provided that when the fund's assets were substantially equal to the general obligation bonds of the city, the assets could be used to pay the debt charges in whole or in part as they became due. This repealed the perpetual trust fund feature.

The budget of 1944 was the first in which the debt amortization fund assets were used to pay the city's debt charges. The last bonds of the city will mature in 1951 (they are not callable), but moneys are on hand in the fund to pay all outstanding debt charges.

The "debt free city" refers to Common Council and school bonded indebtedness. The city of Milwaukee taxpayers' share of the county and metropolitan sewerage district debt is $8,500,000—less than $15 per capita.

In 1937 the Milwaukee Common Council began a permanent improvement fund to finance capital outlays on a pay-as-you-go basis. It was understood that, as the tax levy for debt charges decreased annually, the tax levy for the permanent improvement fund would be correspondingly increased. "Using the tax levy for debt purposes for 1936 as a base, after allowing for a reduction of $2 in the tax rate, it was determined that the permanent improvement levy should be a flat $3,800,000 each year." This policy has been adhered to and, as of December 31, 1946, a total of $24,595,000 has been appropriated for specific projects.

A comprehensive revision of the city's budget law was enacted by the 1943 legislature. The permanent improvement fund was made permanent by a provision empowering the council to levy taxes for the fund and to allow these moneys to be accumulated from year to year.

Six-Year Improvement Plan

A special committee, known as the Long Term Improvement Program Technical Committee, was created in 1941 with instructions to prepare "an improvement program for the city of Milwaukee of six years or more, to be submitted to the Common Council." The first report was for the period of 1944 to 1949 inclusive. The plan has been advanced annually so that it continually provides for a future six-year tentative program. The members of the committee are the deputy comptroller, planning director, city attorney, and commissioner of public works as chairman.

The committee submits its recommendations annually to the Board of Estimates, itemizing the specific projects to be financed by the $3,800,000 permanent improvement fund appropriations.

The law provides that the city's bonded indebtedness cannot exceed 5 per cent of the assessed valuation. Twenty per cent of this limitation is designated for school bonds, all of which must be approved by referendum.

A building construction tax not to exceed one mill a year, permissible for the succeeding five years, was approved at referendum in 1928 and in 1935. Then a permanent tax (not to exceed .6 mill) for school construction was enacted by the 1941 legislature.

Milwaukee began its policy of issuing no more bonds at the end of 1932. The city was experiencing a major tax strike and was in no position to increase taxes to finance permanent improvements on a pay-as-you-go basis. Consequently, the city's permanent improvement construction stopped abruptly—just as private construction stopped. During the war there could be no construction. Now the city must deal with a fifteen-year backlog of construction, maintenance and equipment projects demanding immediate attention.

Probably the combination of almost no permanent improvements for fifteen years, low interest rates on bond issues and the stirrings of postwar construction plans led to the decision to make the 1948 centennial of Wisconsin the goal for putting on a year-round celebration, with handsome new structures of a permanent character to be built. A war memorial was proposed to provide permanent cultural and artistic facilities.

Accordingly, a group of citizens was organized in 1944 as a Greater Milwaukee Committee to make the 1948 centennial the objective for accomplishment of a permanent public improvement program. In October 1945 this committee announced the creation of The 1948 Corporation. The newspaper headlines read: "City Leaders Launch Improvement Drive," "Group Plans Jolts for Debt Free Smugness Here." It was stated that, "Milwaukee has lost its 'drive,' that it is self-satisfied and complacent, that it has gotten off to a bad start in the race for postwar survival, both civic and industrial."

Plans for Centennial

The 1948 Corporation has a double-barrelled purpose: "To develop in Milwaukee County for 1948 a gigantic year-round celebration of the hundredth anniversary of Wisconsin and its great university; to inaugurate and accomplish a six-point program of civic betterment. The first aim is to be the incentive for the fulfillment of the second."

The six points in the program are: "A master metropolitan plan; an outdoor stadium; completion of the civic center including an indoor sports arena, a new museum, modernization of the library and parking areas; completion of the war memorial; north-south expressway from the major airport across Sixth Street; and a new and larger zoo."

The total program was to cost $31,000,000 (June 1946 estimates), two-thirds to be financed from Milwaukee city and county funds, one-fifth from private subscription for the war memorial, and the remainder from federal aid.

The Metropolitan Milwaukee War Memorial Inc. was organized in April 1945. A $5,000,000 building is planned, to be financed from private contributions, to provide art, drama, music, public discussion and social assembly facilities in commemoration of the men and women who served the country in war. The Milwaukee County board is considering a request to provide a site estimated to cost $1,500,000, and to maintain and operate the building.

Master Plan Provided

Milwaukee has had many individual plans but prior to 1947 a master plan had never been prepared. For example:

Schools: There has been a continuing five-year building program since 1916.

Sewerage System: A development plan adopted in 1935 will take care of Milwaukee's needs to 1980.

Playgrounds: A program adopted in 1924 has been maintained.

Major Highway Widenings: The County Board of Supervisors adopted by ordinance a plan of major highway widths in 1926 which was subsequently ratified by each town board.

Common Council Long-Term Permanent Improvement Program: The six-year public works improvement program started in 1943 is extended annually.

Master Plan: Board of Public Land Commissioners, 1947.

The Board of Public Land Commissioners—the council's planning department—was created in 1915, the County Regional Planning Department in 1925. Their combined budgets approximate $200,000 for 1947 as compared with $89,000 for 1943. Their staffs now have a working arrangement to prepare their studies and plans "on a county-wide and cooperative basis."

As of January 1, 1947, Milwaukee city, county, schools and sewerage district have five permanent improvement programs which have received some form of official approval. The programs, based on June 1946 estimates, are as follows:

Common Council's Technical Committee	$117,000,000
Board of School Directors	8,000,000
Master plan of Board of Public Land Commissioners — largely public buildings and thoroughfares	72,000,000
County Board's Highway Committee Ten-Year Program — largely airports, parks and hospitals	49,000,000
Metropolitan Sewerage Commission	6,000,000
Total	252,000,000
Total *Unduplicated* Projects	$216,000,000

The State Highway Commission of Wisconsin and the U. S. Public Roads Administration submitted jointly an origin-destination traffic survey of the Milwaukee metropolitan area in December 1946. North-south and east-west expressways were recommended, estimated to cost $45,000,000, 28 per cent to be financed from local funds, 42 per cent from federal aid and 30 per cent from state aid. No official action has been taken thus far.

Milwaukee's debt margin for future bond issues is $43,000,000, as of January 1, 1947, for city and school purposes. The county board can issue $71,000,000 of bonds for general county purposes. Each bond issue must designate the project to be financed. Almost all city of Milwaukee bond issues must be submitted to the electorate for approval. County bonds do not require a referendum.

The net appropriations made available during the five years from 1943 to 1947 inclusive, $28,000,000, together with the present pay-as-you-go policies, should make available in the next ten years for city-county-schools about $95,000,000 or half the $200,000,000 over-all permanent improvement program.

These figures include only the costs financed from general taxation, that is, exclusive of special assessments, public utility revenues (water sales), gifts, etc.

The 1948 Corporation and the press urged the submission to the electorate of the advisory referendum designed to modify the "no more bonds" policy of the city's council.

It is generally conceded that relatively the city of Milwaukee is operating on a shrinking tax base while that of the suburbs is expanding. The flight to the suburbs, temporarily halted by the war, promises to be accelerated as soon as residential construction becomes feasible. Public opinion is growing that all structures or services of county-wide benefit—such as the public museum, public library, stadium, war memorial—should be under the jurisdiction of the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors. This is considered the most feasible means of simplifying government here and is especially effective because Milwaukee County is almost coterminous with the Milwaukee metropolitan area.

The county board has been maintaining a level amount of $4,000,000 for debt charges and pay-as-you-go capital improvement appropriations for a number of years. Five of the seven projects proposed by The 1948 Corporation will probably be financed by the county board, but since it has never taken the "no more bond issue" attitude, the advisory referendum on the policy of issuing bonds was directed at the Milwaukee Common Council.

Campaign Organized

An Improve Milwaukee Now Committee was organized to carry out a vote "yes" campaign. A Keep Milwaukee Debt-Free Committee was organized to get out a vote "no." The former spent $36,172 on the campaign, $15,000 of which was contributed by the 1948 Corporation; the latter, $146. The advisory referendum was approved by a 57 per cent majority.

Civic groups as well as proponents and opponents of the advisory referendum agree as to the need for coordinated planning and programming, which culminated in the adoption, two weeks before the referendum, of the following resolution by the Milwaukee Common Council: "Directing the city's long-term improvement program technical committee to make recommendations to the Common Council for revision of the present six-year capital improvement program, and for formulating a coordinated program, taking into consideration the various projects in the several programs and surveys now under consideration . . . listing the various improvements which should be made, setting forth their desirable order of construction based upon total community needs, their individual estimated cost, their total estimated cost, the effect of the individual and the total costs upon total expenditures and tax rates, and the period of years in which they should be carried out."

Move for Cooperation

A joint city-county committee was officially appointed to devise and submit to the respective bodies appointing members "some machinery for effective cooperation between the municipal bodies legitimately interested in the planning, construction, financing, maintenance or use of public improvements" in which there is a mutual interest.

After the electorate had answered "yes" to the question: "Shall the city issue bonds for a program of public improvements?", attention immediately turned to the problem of determining the priority of projects under consideration.

There is general agreement that no projects should be undertaken which compete with housing construction or which involve the demolition of present housing facilities. With this understanding, the five official programs may be grouped, with 1946 estimates of cost, as follows:

> Projects which help to make the construction of homes feasible—new sewers in outlying districts, neighborhood rehabilitation—about $12,000,000;
>
> Projects needed to aid the sick, delinquent and homeless—detention home, hospitals, children's home, penal farm $7,500,000; (Two county projects now getting under way are estimated to cost nearly three times the estimate included in this figure.)
>
> Neglected improvements requiring wasteful maintenance costs—replace bridges, sewers, schools and permanent street paving—$41,000,000;
>
> Improve transportation facilities—thoroughfares, parking facilities, airports, bridges (where there are none now), grade separations, harbor—$95,500,000;
>
> Improve protection to property—fire stations, street lighting, etc.—$6,500,000;
>
> Improve recreation and informal educational facilities—sports arena, parks, branch libraries, parkways, zoo relocation, memorial center, playgrounds, stadium—$29,500,000.
>
> Public buildings in civic center area—replace museum, remodel main library, sports arena, court house and city hall additions and remodelling, fire and school administration buildings, health center and water building—$13,500,000.

In determining the priority of projects, the financial policies as to pay-as-you-go, general bond issues and revenue bonds must be considered. For example, the Milwaukee Downtown Association has suggested that projects which pay for themselves out of revenue or which would be paid largely with state and federal government aids should be undertaken first.

Then, too, consideration must be given to projects which may help the Milwaukee metropolitan area compete with other large communities. Cultural and amusement facilities are rated as important factors by many Milwaukee citizens.

Regardless of which criteria are used to determine the order in which projects are to be constructed,

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Politicians Serve as Teachers

Connecticut civics faculties go back to classrooms where governor, legislators and other state officials preside.

By **AILEEN ROBERTS***

TEACHERS as students! Politicians as teachers! Government taught by its makers and managers.

This unusual experiment in education was conducted for Connecticut's high school social studies teachers by the Institute of Public Service of the University of Connecticut during one fact-packed week last summer.

Connecticut's government officials that week stepped out from under the golden dome of the capitol, dropped their titles—governor, senator, representative, chief justice, commissioner—and assumed the role of "professor."

The teachers, eager to gain an understanding of a vital subject—one which, unfortunately, has been given scanty attention in our schools—were a model class. They listened attentively to their "professors," attended classes faithfully, raised their hands when they wished to ask a question.

It was an impressive and distinguished faculty that took the stand in front of the class that week. "Professor" Raymond E. Baldwin, better known as the governor of Connecticut, took an afternoon off from his official duties at the capitol in Hartford to drive 25 miles to the beautiful campus of the university to explain his multitudinous duties to the "students."

The governor obviously enjoyed his role of teacher for he talked most of the afternoon about his relations with department heads, the legislature, numerous commissions, the press and the general public. The governor's success as a professor caused some full-time pedagogues to consider taking up politics for self-improvement.

The intricacies of the General Assembly, Connecticut's legislative body, were unraveled by Speaker of the House E. Lea Marsh, Senator Nicholas Spellman and Representative Charles McKew Parr. Many "students" learned for the first time of the complicated process by whch a bill becomes law and of the many pitfalls that may beset it from the time it is drafted to the time the governor signs it.

Scheduled speakers and other "kibitzing" members of the state legislature found the course so interesting they stayed through several days of classes. The "needling" each speaker received from his legislative colleagues more often than not developed into lively informal panel discussions.

One member of the House of Representatives endeared himself to the student-teachers by attending

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every class during the week, adding his two cents to many of the discussions, and then coming back at night for more questions and answers.

The "political" side of the legislature was not neglected as controversial questions in recent legislative sessions were brought into the open. Who should appoint the minor court judges? Should the governor's term be increased to four years? Should the term of commissioners and other department heads be coterminous with that of the governor? Should deputy commissioners come under the merit system? Logrolling, behind-the-scenes political maneuvering, government by "special interests," were brought into the teachers' back yards and laid on their laps.

Court System Explained

The day Connecticut's court system was explained, the class was faced with an array of judicial talent that would have made the guilty quake. Chief Justice William M. Maltbie of the Supreme Court of Errors assumed the role of discussion leader. His battery of assistants included a Superior Court judge, a judge of the Hartford District Probate Court, the presiding officer of the Connecticut Assembly of Trial Justices and a judge of the Juvenile Court.

Judge Maltbie pointed out that the judiciary is absolutely independent of the executive branch of the government but that its actions were controlled to some extent by the legislative branch in that the General Assembly holds the purse strings.

"There is very little relation between state and federal courts," stated Judge Maltbie, "for an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court can be made only when the claim has been made under the federal constitution and has been denied."

Judge Howard Alcorn of the Superior Court explained that his was a trial court and included witnesses, exhibits, etc. "The Superior Court admits lawyers to the bar and can revoke their rights to practice. It adopts rules of practice under which lawyers operate in Connecticut and appoints the state's attorneys, public attorneys, coroners and court personnel," continued Judge Alcorn.

The class learned that the 118 probate judges who deal principally with the settlement of wills in Connecticut are elected by popular vote biennially. The probate court also has the power to commit inebriates, feeble-minded persons and epileptics to the proper state institutions.

"The oldest courts in Connecticut are the justice courts," Judge Philip Curtis told his class. "Their importance lies in the fact that all persons who commit crimes first have to appear before the justice court. Justices of the peace are also elected by the people."

Connecticut's Juvenile Court is one of social rather than criminal justice, students were informed. It has the right to handle all delinquents under sixteen but seldom has to decide whether the person is guilty or not guilty. Many technicalities of court procedure are eliminated and the juvenile courts are accorded many privileges not given to regular courts. All neglected children must come before the court but the children do not get a court record.

State Finances Discussed

How does Connecticut raise and spend its $140,000,000 biennial budget and how is that budget determined? Commissioner of Finance and Control James B. Lowell and his staff explained this crucial subject to the class.

To administer Connecticut's $70,000,000 government, the department of finance and control was established through the 1937 reorganization plan. The department includes the budget, purchasing and personnel divisions. The office of farm coordinator was added to this department in 1945. The commissioner, appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate, is the governor's chief administrative officer whose job it is to see that appropriations are spent as effectively and as efficiently as possible.

"The budget," explained Budget Director Robert A. Weir, "is a definite financial plan covering a definite future and a definite plan of action." The governor is charged with the preparation and administration of the budget and it is Mr. Weir's division that does this for him.

Departmental budgets are prepared with the help of the budget division and by November 15 a tentative budget is submitted to the governor-elect who studies it and discusses with the budget division his recommendations for the General Assembly.

In explaining the workings of Connecticut's merit system to the class, Personnel Director Glendon A. Scoboria said that basically the examining procedure screens out the unfit and finds those who are best qualified.

Students learned not only about government from the practical standpoint that week but their understanding and appreciation of the theoretical side was increased by Carter W. Atkins, executive director, and Thomas H. Reed, municipal government counselor, of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council.

Dr. Reed prefaced the course by explaining the relationship between the executive, legislative and judicial branches; the advantages and disadvantages of their interlocking and dependence on each other.

Mr. Atkins concluded the course by describing our intergovernmental relations in regard to grants-in-aid —federal to state and state to local units. Objectives of grants-in-aid, Mr. Atkins said, include promotion of greater expenditures for services of general public welfare, establishment of universal minimums in expenditures of public service, and the securing of more effective authority for desired control by the central government.

Sparkplug of the teachers' educational program, which is believed to be the first of its kind in the country, is Dr. A. N. Jorgensen, president of the University of Connecticut. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Institute of Public Service back in 1944. The course in the functions of state and local government was an outgrowth of the institute and was made possible through the cooperation of the school of education of the university and the Connecticut Social Studies Teachers Association.

"When I realized how little information was available to teachers about our government in Connecticut and how little our teachers knew about it, I was shocked and made up my mind to do something about it," remarked Dr. Jorgensen. "Our students will not be able to take a responsible and intelligent part in a society becoming more complicated by increasing governmental functions unless they acquire in school an appreciative understanding of their government. Why, I've even had parents ask me why their children didn't learn more about how and who operates our government in Connecticut," he recalled.

"This course is the first effort to acquaint our teachers of social studies with the actual operation and functions of our government so that they may help more fully towards molding the citizens of tomorrow. I believe that it will play a leading part in a growing movement towards increased public appreciation of, and participation in, our government," concluded Dr. Jorgensen.

From a career which has taken him through the gantlet of state government and the never-ending maze of national government, Joseph M. Loughlin, director of the institute since 1944, has gained a broad knowledge of how government actually operates—the people in it and the political forces behind it.

Educating the Official

Mr. Loughlin realized the incompetency of many of our public officials—their lack of training, education and comprehension of their particular job. He saw local finance officers, assessors, city clerks and others with little or no experience being elected to public office and attempting to fill the boots of the outgoing experienced incumbent.

He also realized that the average citizen who was becoming increasingly conscious of his government had little or no comprehension of its actual operation.

Mr. Loughlin not only saw these things but he thought he knew the answer to the dilemma. Compile and provide material written in nontechnical language on various functions of government for the education of the laymen; assemble teachers' aids and materials on our own local government that teachers could turn over to their students. Loughlin also discovered where the fault lay—that the teachers had no way of finding out about their town, city and state government. The week's course in government last summer was what is hoped will be the first of many vehicles which will carry this kind of knowledge.

The Institute of Public Service was established for the express purpose of "serving governmental personnel and employees in this state and to assist the citizens of Connecticut to gain a better understanding of the workings of their government."

The first venture of the institute that year was to inaugurate a contest for modernizing municipal reports. Too many annual reports of cities and towns have been dull, lifeless accounts that few had the courage to open. In this contest Connecticut has joined a number of other states who have been encouraging better reporting as a prime means of informing citizens in the affairs of government and to heighten interest in local affairs.

That first year also saw a basic course for local assessors. To this course was added in 1945 an advanced assessors course, a tax collectors school and a school for town and city finance officers. The institute repeated the advanced assessors and the finance officers schools in 1946 as well as offering the government course.

Of the school, P. Roy Brammell, dean of the school of education at the university, said, "I see this institute of government helping to bridge the gap between academic acquaintance with social studies and the actual operation of our government. It will help to tie in more directly our education with the current happenings in our state."

The regularity with which the teachers attended classes, the voluminous notes they took, the strict attention they gave the lectures and the seriousness of their questions indicated how much they wanted and needed information on their own government. One teacher said she always tried to get to the source of a subject in her teaching. She felt that this course gave her the perfect opportunity to get to the source of the subject—the principal people of our local and state governments. She not only got to the personalities but she got to the functions of government as well.

A Successful Venture

The success of the course and the response of the teachers has caused much thought to be given to the possibility of a continuation of the course this summer. Consideration will probably be given to the important fields of education, public welfare and health.

The thoughts, knowledge and words unfolded during the five days of the course are resting in the notebooks and minds of the teachers. But better yet, every word of the lecturers, every question and answer, were recorded on a dictaphone. Director Loughlin has been editing the material and plans to put it in permanent form. This probably will be made available to all social studies teachers in Connecticut for use in what is hoped will be an expanded educational program—one that will be cognizant of the duty of our schools to prepare tomorrow's citizens — tomorrow's voters — tomorrow's politicians, legislators and governors.

New Frontier in City Finance

The state as the revenue-collecting area and the city as the spender seen as financial development of the future.

By HERBERT D. SIMPSON*

WE HAVE come to the close of one period of municipal finance—a period during which municipal governments and finance have been under the impact of two succeeding catastrophes, the depression and the second world war. If we attempt to appraise, even in the most tentative way, the net results of the whole period in the field of government finance, we are confronted with a striking picture.

Our national government has accumulated a debt of around $260,000,000,000. But our credit is still the best in the world, partly because of our enormous productive capacity and partly because of the development of a revenue system capable of producing a volume of revenue that would previously have been believed impossible. The national government has also assumed a variety of new responsibilities and activities, some of them the result of depression, some the result of war, and some the result of changing theories with regard to the sphere of the national government. But the depression and the war are behind us and, unless we are facing a third world war, we may hope that the federal government will soon be in position to reduce rapidly its demands.

The state governments likewise assumed new responsibilities in connection with both the depression and the war and were obliged to defer considerable amounts of needed expenditure. But the states had developed the gasoline tax in the 20's and the sales tax in the 30's, which together have proved to be the nearest thing to a "depression proof" revenue system yet developed. In the acute depression year of 1938, the Department of Commerce estimated that retail sales were only 20 per cent less than in 1929, and gasoline consumption 42 per cent larger than in 1929.

Municipal and local governments, after a brief fling of prodigality in the 20's, have been subsisting on the "husks" for nearly two decades since. In that period, nevertheless, they have met the special obligations imposed by the depression and the war, have reduced their indebtedness, and have maintained essential services with little impairment.

But, in the years of peace and prosperity which we hope are ahead, municipal and local governments will again be called upon to assume perhaps a major portion of essential governmental services. It is in this area, therefore, that we will confront the most pressing and most important problems of government finance in the future.

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Uncertain as the future of everything is at the moment, it would seem that in the municipal field we may assume one thing with considerable confidence, that is, that American municipalities are upon the threshold of a period of dynamic activity and expansion. Just what the particular features and characteristics of this period may prove to be no one can say; but certain broad contours are outlined against the horizon with sufficient clearness to make it possible to map their topography for a little way.

Increased Population Seen

In the first place, it is apparent that we are facing a continued growth of urban population. This does not necessarily mean continued population growth in our metropolitan centers or an increase in the size of our present large cities. It may take the form of an increase in the size and number of smaller urban communities.

Over the immediate future it appears reasonably certain that most of the cities in the south, middle west and west will have a continued increase of population because of industrial development, the relatively high birth rates prevailing in those regions since 1940, and a resumption of the "drift" to the city when the expanding production of American agriculture enforces some reduction of rural population. But over the longer future as well it would appear that our increasing industrialization, brought about by the spectacular discoveries and inventions of recent years and the trade and financial position the United States is destined to occupy, must mean that an increasing proportion of our population will cluster in communities, large or small, with urban facilities and urban characteristics, whatever the census definition of "urban" may happen to be at any particular time.

In short, the United States is becoming a city nation. Sixty-two per cent of our population is now urban, and if we add the population of incorporated places of 1000 to 2500 excluded by the census definition we find that two-thirds of our population are living in urban communities. We are rapidly becoming a nation dominated by urban population, urban activities, and urban points of view.

This period may be characterized by some geographical expansion of the areas of metropolitan cities through annexation, consolidation and the evolution of county and regional cities. But this, we are inclined to think, is doubtful and in any case will be a slow evolution. This may possibly be still another epoch for someone to write about half a century from now.

The visible future is more likely to be characterized by internal, qualitative and intensive development. What will be the content of this development?

It is safe to say that urban development will be characterized, to a greater degree than ever before, by conscious planning on the part of both governmental and private agencies. By and large, it may be assumed that the days of hodgepodge city growth are behind us.

Some of the planning may not be much better, but at least it will be planned hodge-podge.

Urban transportation systems will be revolutionized. This will embrace railway terminals, subways and rapid transit systems, motor ways and motor parking, and air transport, and will involve an enormous amount of construction. Educational systems will be greatly expanded and, perhaps, improved. More liberal provision will be made for so-called higher levels of education and for trade, vocational, technical and adult education. Housing, through public agencies and various forms of incentive offered to private agencies, will be a field of considerable municipal concern and municipal activity. More liberal provision will be made for health and recreational facilities.

In short, the American people want to be housed, educated and amused, and transported back and forth between times. And with their characteristic Yankee capacity for contriving some way to get what they want, it may be assumed that the city populations of the future will secure these amenities.

Will the municipalities be in position to finance this promised development? At the moment their outlook is auspicious. Their debt and interest charges have been reduced, and many of them have accumulated "postwar reserves." Municipal credit has been re-established—so completely that within less than ten years from the enactment of the municipal bankruptcy statute and the widespread conditions of insolvency that accompanied it, municipal securities have commanded the lowest interest rates in their history. By every criterion of judgment it would seem that at the present moment municipal governments are in better financial position than they have been for many years.

Construction Needs

It is true that at the moment they are also confronted by some unusual obligations in the form of accumulated construction needs and other capital outlay requirements deferred from the war period. There have been some startling estimates of the aggregate of these needs, the basis of which we have not been able to ascertain. Perhaps some approach to a quantitative estimate may be made by comparing the actual capital outlay during the war period with what that outlay would have been if continued at the prewar level.

Capital outlay for cities of 100,000 population and over in 1941 was $191,228,000. The year 1941 is taken for a starting point because it was the last prewar year, it was a fairly prosperous year, and because the census figures for years prior to 1941 are not comparable with subsequent years.

Capital outlay for the next four years was as follows:

1942	$127,273,000
1943	74,994,000
1944	64,081,000
1945	71,548,000

If we assume that capital outlay for 1946 (figures for which are not now available) was continued at the same low level as 1945 and add the five yearly totals, we arrive at a total of $409,444,000.

But if capital outlay throughout that five-year period had been maintained at the 1941 level, the aggregate would have been $956,140,000. The difference between the two totals is $546,696,000, which may be taken as roughly approximating the "deferred" capital outlay for that period.

This is no small sum, even in these days of federal budgets. But the total expenditure of this group of cities for 1945 was $2,106,314,000; so that the deferred capital outlay, on the basis of the calculation above, would be only 26 per cent of one year's expenditures. This would mean that an increase of 9 per cent in annual expenditures would replace the entire amount of deferred outlay within three years. This group of cities is only one segment of the local government picture. But if the relationship of capital outlay and expenditures for the other units of government is at all similar, it is apparent that the amount of deferred capital requirements is not nearly as large as has been supposed.

The truth appears to be that "deferred" in current discussion has come to include a lot of public improvements that have been vaguely contemplated but were not specifically postponed by the war. It is something like the questionnaires put out by manufacturing companies at the close of the war, designed to ascertain the volume of accumulated consumer demand. The replies indicated that consumers had "accumulated" a demand for indefinite quantities of everything.

On the basis of the analysis above we may assume with some assurance that the municipalities will be able to take care of their deferred capital requirements without any serious strain upon their normal course of expenditures.

From the longer point of view, it is apparent that municipal governments will have increased revenue assets in the form of enhanced property values and of large volumes of new construction for some time to come. This, of course, implies an increase in assessed valuations, which almost certainly will have to come. Local governments cannot be expected to assume the burden of inflated costs and at the same time refrain from capitalizing on their inflated assets. If we are to have inflation, we will have to put up with it on both sides of the account.

Some new sources of municipal revenue are being developed, such as the municipal sales taxes and the municipal income taxes of Philadelphia, St. Louis,[1] and Toledo. But the most hopeful promise for municipal revenues lies in the trend toward larger allocations from state taxes and state general funds. If the comprehensive action taken by New York State in the past year becomes a model for action by other states, it may prove little short of a revolution in local government finance.[2]

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[1] Recently held unconstitutional by Circuit Court.

[2] In general the New York plan, adopted in 1946, replaces the system of "shared

Here we are confronted with more than a matter of revenue. We are confronted with the whole problem of the impact of urbanization upon our structure of state and local government. We are approaching a new frontier in municipal finance.

In earlier times the municipality or local government was essentially the *unit* of government in the United States. Writers on American government, especially European writers, never tired of stressing the dominance of *local* government in the United States. The local government levied the taxes, collected the revenue and spent the money. The spending area and the revenue area were coterminous, which, incidentally, was a healthy situation. The same government did the taxing and the spending and was under the scrutiny of citizens and taxpayers both "fore and aft."

With the progress of industrialization and urbanization—they are the same things—most of the essential functions of government, and in particular most of the intimate functions and those that affect the immediate daily life of the citizen, are still performed by municipal and local governments. Under our concept of self-government and our constitutional structure of government this is almost inevitable. We can scarcely conceive of an army of state police coming in and displacing our local policemen. At the same time the revenue area, by every definition of adequacy and equitableness in taxation, has expanded far beyond any municipal boundaries. The two are no longer coterminous — industrialization has "split" the atom, and we are confronted by the results.

State-Local Relations

We may either transfer the bulk of governmental functions to the "revenue area," which means the state, or devise some mechanism for bringing the revenue area to local governments. Mahomet must go to the mountain, or the mountain must come to Mahomet. We have apparently decided to bring the mountain to Mahomet.

This means that the state will more and more become the revenue area for the support of governmental activities, and the state government will necessarily become the agency for collecting and dis-

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taxes" with a system of lump sum appropriations for local assistance. In order to maintain this assistance at a stable level, the state budget has been separated into two "budgets," one for state purposes and one for local assistance, and a reserve fund has been established to support each budget. For the fiscal year ending March 31, 1947, the legislature appropriated $307,000,000 for local assistance, which was $55,400,000 more than the entire amount appropriated for state purposes. The state has allocated 55 per cent of its revenues for the current fiscal year to support the local assistance budget and its reserve fund. The local assistance is allocated on a straight per capita basis: $6.75 for cities, $3.55 for towns, and $3.00 for villages.

In addition, the state continues to share the proceeds of the gasoline and motor vehicle taxes; reimburses local governments to the amount of 80 per cent of their expenditures for welfare services (home relief, old age assistance, aid to dependent children and aid to the blind); and compensates the local governments for the full cost of removing snow from state highways.

tributing this revenue. We conceive that in this process the state will broaden its own administrative activities and will certainly develop further its supervisory and directing responsibilities. It may, to a minor degree, assimilate some municipal activities.

But in the main it will become a kind of top holding company, a central budgeting agency, through which the city dwellers of the state will levy taxes, collect revenues, and apportion them back to their own municipal and local governments for the actual performance of governmental functions. This may seem to imply that the states will become largely revenue-collecting machines for local governments—and to tell the truth, it is difficult to see how the process is going to stop very far short of that result.

I say this without enthusiasm and with some reluctance; in fact, like the proverbial Irishman, I am "opposed" to it. But I am unable to interpret the trend of events differently.

And this may not be as bad as it sounds. After all, it is only adjusting our governmental to our economic structure. It may prove to be the means for preserving the integrity of both state and local governments; and, since both have been gravely menaced in recent years, that will indeed be something.

No Need for Alarm

In this somewhat circuitous way we reach the conclusion that the urban development of the future, however spectacular it may be, will not suffer from lack of resources to finance it. It may suffer from lack of foresight, from conflicting pressures and from unwise extravagances. But if we can discover the wisdom and practical "gumption" to direct it, it will not be difficult to discover the resources to finance it.

It is true that at meetings of city officials and municipal groups during the past year a great deal has been said about the financial straits of city governments. But it must be remembered that to a considerable degree this is only normal trade association activity. City officials are the public representatives of their municipal constituencies and it is a part of their official duty to view the future with alarm.

It may be that there are grounds for apprehension outside the scope of this brief survey. But it will be a strange thing if the technological progress of recent years, the record volumes of production and the rising national income should all have the effect of making people unable to afford the protection, education and other services of city government. A reasonable assumption would be that rising incomes and standards of living will bring with them increased ability to command the amenities of local government; and it will be surprising indeed if the course of events over the next decades does not demonstrate the soundness of that assumption.

The State of the States - 1947

Governors show tendency to pitch messages on high plane, wrestle sincerely with multiplicity of urgent problems.

By **GEORGE W. PEAK***

IN JANUARY 1947, the governors of 43 states delivered messages to their respective state legislatures. Taken together, these messages represent a cross-section of state government affairs and a prognostication of things to come.

Education

Teachers. Twenty-six governors commented on the teacher pay situation and recommended action for pay increases. Two governors suggested establishment of scholarships for prospective teachers as a means of drawing promising youngsters into the profession. In four states recommendations were made to establish teacher retirement funds or to place existing funds on sound bases.

School Districts. In nineteen messages attention was called to the need for equalizing educational opportunities in the distribution of state school funds. In most cases this meant (1) larger distributions and (2) changed methods of distribution. Nine governors pointed to the need for reorganization and consolidation in the school district organization system.

School Surveys. In eight states studies of special commissions were commended to the legislatures' consideration with varying degrees of blessings. Another governor recommended that a special study of the state school system be made, and the administration of the schools in the nation's second largest city would be the subject of a special inquiry if the recommendations of another governor were taken.

Health and Welfare

Health. About a dozen governors took note of the possibility of securing federal aid for surveys of hospital needs and for new public hospital construction. Discussed also were the need for additional facilities for tuberculosis patients and for local health departments or centers.

Welfare. Increases in categorical relief grants were recommended in ten states. Two governors, however, spoke on the need for balancing increases for old-age assistance with the drain on the taxpayers. A few recommended direct relief increases.

One suggestion was that homes of old-age assistance clients, not exceeding $5,000 in value, be exempted from property taxes. Two governors thought the aged in county infirmaries should receive grants under the old-age assistance program and intimated that Congress should make it possible. One governor suggested that poor farms be eliminated; another that relatives should be responsible for the care of their poor. Still another thought it worthwhile to study the possibilities of caring for the aged in institutions rather than by grants.

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Juvenile delinquency prevention received a goodly share of attention. In two states the need for enacting juvenile codes was pointed out. Reports of special commissions were referred to by three governors and another recommended that a special commission be appointed to study the subject.

Highways

A majority of the messages contained some reference to highway construction and maintenance. One governor announced his intention of calling a special session to deal with the highway problem. Seven governors made recommendations with respect to dirt roads, farm-to-market roads, or secondary roads. One suggested that local governments pool their road-building resources in a state-administered program. In two cases appointment of special commissions to study long-range highway programs was urged.

On highway financing three governors recommended increases in gasoline taxes. Two others suggested increases in registration fees. Two made specific recommendations for bond issues. Five governors called attention to the need for more revenue to match federal funds. It was suggested in another case that the legislature should budget and control highway funds. One message suggested that local governments needed more money for roads, another that the town aid system be reconsidered, and another that highway aid to municipalities be abandoned.

Veterans' Affairs

In only eleven of the 43 states did messages fail to give much attention to veterans' affairs.

Five governors recommended bonuses and two others recommended consideration of bonuses. Two messages urged that immediate provision be made for the administration of bonuses already adopted. A loan fund proposal was put forward in one state and suggestions as to loan funds already in existence were made in two others. Various suggestions on tax exemptions were made, one to the effect that the state pay local property taxes on property rented by veterans. Two governors recommended that veterans be given preference in state employment.

In several cases, the strengthening of state agencies dealing with veterans' affairs was recommended. In two cases, the creation of such agencies was urged, and in one case it was stated that a reorganization would be in order.

Housing

The housing problem was mentioned in only thirteen messages. One stated that housing was the most critical state problem. In a few instances concrete proposals were made to alleviate the critical shortage. None of the suggestions for action was designed to cut any real chunk in the shortage problem.

Three governors recommended reappraisal of building codes and one suggested that the conduct of research into lower building costs be encouraged. In four states the governors brought the need for slum clearance and the elimination of blighted areas to the attention of their legislatures. Five governors recommended enactment of rent control laws to become operative when, as and if federal rent controls are lifted; one recommended the extention of such a law.

Conservation and Recreation

Conservation and development of natural resources were discussed in a number of instances. In five cases legislatures were urged to make provision for the rehabilitation of forest lands and in two it was recommended that forest taxation systems in effect be changed to a severance basis.

Development of the Missouri River Valley was discussed in two messages and of hydro-electric power in four. Six governors urged extension of rural electrification. Recommendations of a special commission on flood-control problems were referred to the legislature in one case and two governors called special attention to flood-control needs.

As to recreation needs, five governors urged further development of state park systems; one suggested a special study of state park needs.

Labor Relations

Union Regulation. Three governors recommended legislation to outlaw strikes against the state or its political subdivisions. Two urged enactment of laws to prevent strikes affecting the lives, health or safety of the public, one suggesting a specific measure to apply in labor disputes involving public utilities. One governor thought workers should be protected against discharge if expelled, or if they resign, from a particular union. The open door for union membership should be enforced, according to one governor, in all cases of closed shop agreements. Provisions for an effective means of interpreting and enforcing collective bargaining agreements, and for the settlement of disputes under such agreements, were also suggested. Another governor held that unions should be made legally responsible for their acts, and another suggested that restraint-of-trade laws should be examined with particular reference to labor unions.

Settlement of Disputes. Three governors recommended expansion of mediation programs and two recommended expansion of the conciliation programs. A complete state labor relations act was outlined in one message and another commended to the legislature consideration of the labor department's proposals to remedy defects in present laws. Cooling-off periods were suggested in another message.

One governor announced his appointment of an advisory commission to study the problems of industrial understanding. Another thought that a series of labor-management conferences should be instituted. A fact-finding agency was suggested by another. Still another governor thought that provision should be made for research in labor problems.

Labor Protection, Labor Benefits.

Prohibition of child labor in industrial agriculture was recommended in one case; in another, the enactment of an adequate child labor law was thought desirable; and in another adequate laws as to child and woman labor were thought needed. Fair employment practices acts were recommended in five states and a commission to study the problem was suggested in another. Enactment of minimum wage laws was recommended in two states and readjustment of the minimum wage law, as pertaining to women and minors, was recommended in one. Accident prevention programs, one with respect to mine inspection, were urged in two states.

Increased workmen's compensation benefits were recommended in nine states and increased unemployment compensation benefits in five states.

State Labor Agencies. The bringing together of all state activities on labor in a central labor agency was recommended in four cases. Increased appropriations for the state labor agencies were emphasized in three instances.

Business Regulation

Liquor Control. Liquor control came in for only a small share of attention. One governor recommended that a proposal for repeal of state prohibition be submitted to the voters. Another recommended that provision be made for local option and that measures be passed to reduce liquor consumption. Two governors suggested increases in license fees. One proposal was made to investigate the expenditures of liquor dealers to influence elections. In two monopoly states investigation of the operations of the state liquor board was suggested. Creation of an alcoholic beverage control board and removal of the regulatory function from the state tax commission were suggested by another governor.

Aviation. Many messages referred to aviation. Fourteen suggestions related to municipal airport construction. In six of these it was recommended that federal aid for for airport construction be channeled through the state, as permitted by the federal aid law. One governor recommended that cities be allowed to issue airport construction bonds and another that localities be allowed to form airport districts and to levy property taxes airport construction be channeled the legislature was asked to permit border cities to erect airports in neighboring states.

Two governors suggested consideration of aviation gasoline taxes and another asked that a special commission be created to meet with similar commissions in other states to develop a uniform aviation tax program. One governor suggested that the uniform aviation bill prepared by the Council of State Governments be passed.

Creation of a state aviation commission was recommended by one governor who pointed out that 43 states now have such agencies. Another governor wanted the establishment of an aviation section in the state industrial development commission. Creation of an airport development board was suggested in another message and one governor asked that a separate division for the purpose be set up in the state department of public works. Attention of the legislature was directed to the recommendations of a special commission on aviation in one other instance.

General Business Development. Eleven governors made references to the encouragement and development of industry. In seven cases it was suggested that efforts be made to attract industries to process raw materials produced in the respective states. Five governors thought that special agencies to further economic development would be a good idea and five also suggested that more publicity was needed to attract business to their states. Development of tourist trade was deemed desirable in three cases.

Administration, Organization

Planning. The subject of planning received little attention. One governor disliked the word so suggested that the state planning commission be abolished and replaced with an agency having similar functions but a different name. On the other hand, one governor suggested that a new planning act was needed and that the planning agency should be a part of the governor's office. Another thought the planning work of the state economic council (in the governor's office) should be continued and in one state it was suggested that the services of the state planning board be extended and used more freely. In a fifth instance it was suggested that the state planning board be empowered to coordinate all departmental planning.

Organization. Several governors made particular references to general organization problems. Three stated that there should be some revamping of various state agencies but were not specific. Another suggested creation of a special commission to study possible duplication and overlapping. Another stated he would make an exploration himself along similar lines. One governor recommended again the adoption of a reorganization plan submitted to the previous legislature.

Legislative veto on reorganization plans put into effect by the governor was brought up for consideration in two states. And executive veto of individual items in an appropriation bill was suggested in another.

Lack of responsibility of boards and commissions was pointed out by one governor who suggested that appointments of their chief administrative officers be subject to the governor's approval.

Two messages recommended four-year terms for governors and one recommended four-year terms for other important state and local officers. One chief executive thought a governor should not be allowed to succeed himself and another thought that a governor should be limited to two consecutive terms in office. The desirability of electing the governor in a non-presidential year was pointed out in another instance.

One governor recommended that certain wartime agencies be abolished and another that the governor's emergency powers be terminated.

Two governors pointed to the need for legislative reorganization. Creation of a legislative research council was suggested in one state, as was creation of the office of director of legislative research in another. Redrawing of judicial districts to redistribute the work load was suggested by one governor.

Personnel. Salaries received more attention than any other personnel problem. In fourteen states governors recommended pay increases for state employees. Another recommended that the bonus in effect be continued. Seven governors, however, stated expressly or implied that employee pay was about right, but five recommended that statutory salaries of certain officials be increased. Three governors thought pay of legislators was too small and one pointed out that the governor's pay was smaller than that of eighteen other state officials.

One governor recommended that provision be made for installing a position classification plan and another pointed to the need for continuing the review of the classification plan in effect.

Adoption of a merit system was recommended in one state and reorganization of the civil service commission in another. One governor recommended that civil service examinations be resumed.

Taxation and Finance

Although many governors sent separate budget messages to the legislatures (not covered here), most of them made reference in their regular messages to state finances. In thirteen states governors pointed to strong financial conditions, but in two of these states needs for new revenues were also pointed out. In seven states the financial situation was said to be rather desperate with new revenues required. In two states bond issues were recommended.

In seven states governors warned against dissipation of surpluses and in three need for the husbanding of postwar improvement funds was stressed.

One governor asked for the creation of an advisory commission to help find ways to economy in administration. The needs for new systems of financial administration were stressed in six states and the creation of a central purchasing agency was recommended in one.

One governor suggested that the time had come when the state should refrain from adding new services to the present list.

Tax matters came in for spotty consideration, some governors reserving the topic for treatment in budget messages.

Eight governors recommended that provision be made for special studies of tax problems. Five others referred to special studies just completed. Six governors pointed to the deplorable state of affairs in connection with property tax administration and another asked that provision be made for a complete reappraisement of property in the state.

Several suggestions were made for decreasing certain taxes—inheritance, unemployment compensation, state property, corporation license, income and poll taxes. One governor was against both income and sales taxes, and two others were against any tax increases. Still two others thought that any new tax increases should be submitted to referendum.

On the other hand, tax increases were recommended in several cases. Proposals for gasoline tax increases have already been mentioned. Other taxes for which increases or enactments were recommended include: severance taxes, slot machine licenses, luxury taxes, state property taxes, corporation franchise taxes, unincorporated business taxes, gasoline taxes on interstate truckers and sales taxes.

An integrated revenue department was suggested for one state and central administration and collection of inheritance taxes were recommended in another. Increased revenue department personnel was a need in one state and a department of tax research in the executive office of the governor was needed in another. One governor wanted to give the state board of equalization power to change the sales tax rate, as the needs dictated, within a maximum rate set by law.

Elections

Five governors pointed to the need for modernizing, strengthening and simplifying election laws. Four suggested that new registration laws were needed. One asked for a primary election law and another asked that conventions be made more representative of the people.

Five governors urged the legislatures to redistrict the states as required by state constitutions but not actually done.

Two governors, one southern and one northern, asked that poll taxes be removed as voting prerequisites.

One governor asked that secret-type ballots be provided for use in general elections and another suggested that cities and counties be allowed to purchase and use voting machines. Two governors urged provision for absentee voting.

State-Local Relations

Two governors recommended special studies of county government and two others pointed to the need for studying state-local fiscal relationships. Six governors thought that localities should be placed on a self-sustaining basis financially while others thought there should be more state aid. Many general references were made to the fiscal plight of local governments; only one optimistic note was sounded.

Two governors recommended that action be taken on special studies, one relating to rural planning and zoning and the other to county jails. Another governor recommended abolishment of the fee system for feeding prisoners in county jails.

In Conclusion

On the whole, the tone of the messages was pitched on a high plane and the desire to be of real service was evident. In no instance was it apparent that the problems of the state were treated lightly or without sincerity. Almost without exception the responsibilities of his high office seemed to be impressed upon the deliverer of the message.

Letters to the Editor

Why Things Changed

To the Editor
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

May I be allowed a comment on Norman Chester's interesting article, "Britain Broadens Franchise"? He says that opposition to the second vote of university graduates is small "because, by and large, the university constituencies had returned a number of distinguished independents to the House of Commons, who had made important contributions to the discussion of national policy and who might not otherwise have stood for election or have been elected."

That is true, but it has been true only since 1918, when the universities which return more than one member began to elect them by proportional representation. Before 1918 Oxford University, for example, always returned two Conservatives, and only once since 1884 had the election even been contested! Since 1918 only one election has *not* been contested, and Oxford is now represented by two noted independents.

ENID LAKEMAN, *Research Secretary*
Proportional Representation Society
London

Regrettable All Around

To the Editor
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

In reply to your letter concerning my membership, I'd like to say that from what I've read during the months I received the REVIEW I have gathered that I was just throwing away the $5 I had in it as a member. Most of the articles except those on the council-manager plan led me to believe that your experts, if asked an opinion on how our town is being run, would heartily endorse the antics of our city officials in spite of the fact that the cost of running the city of Rome is and has been rising by leaps and bounds.

To begin with, I think you approve of these "conferences" such as mayors and city clerks and so on which take our elected help off periodically to a distant city to listen to lectures, etc; also of the highly specialized "schools," so called, to which many of our appointed help are sent, to "learn the ropes" as it were. Frankly I do not. I believe in shopping around and hiring someone who has become expert in his particular line before he or she goes on the city payroll.

Again, I think you approve of long terms for such jobs as mayor. Too bad to throw a guy out after say two years just when he has become accustomed to the job. Again, I think it wrong to hire anyone as mayor till he has learned to do the job.

Also I think you approve of the system of putting all the tax money in one big hopper without earmarking any funds for this or that purpose and no other. I do not; for every proposed expenditure there should be a revenue collected from the groups to be benefited. Otherwise it will be the wheel that squeaks that gets greased, and many services will suffer because the pressure group with the greatest vote will drain the tank first. Very much like a crooked pinball machine is fixed to draw two, three or four nickles out of every five into the detour, there never is a real jack-pot.

So in view of the fact that the point of view of your editors, contributors, etc., and myself are so obviously far apart I regret that I must discontinue my membership. I hardly think, however, that your League will suffer any damage by my backing out.

THOMAS A. LANIGAN
Rome, New York

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Dear Mr. Lanigan:

It is seldom we receive such a frank and forthright letter. It is genuinely appreciated, for we naturally like to know why some people occasionally drop their memberships in the National Municipal League.

No, we wouldn't necessarily approve of the way your city is being run. Indeed, when our Consultant Service made a survey of Rome's government in 1942 we recommended many improvements which, so far as we know, have not yet been made.

But you are right in believing we approve of city officials going to professional meetings to keep abreast of modern methods. While we don't necessarily believe that elected mayors should have long terms without having to present themselves to the voters for approval, we believe qualified technicians and administrators (who should be appointed, not elected) should not be kicked out for political reasons. You can't, of course, insist that a mayor be qualified; as long as you try to get a chief administrator by electing him, it's simply a popularity contest.

And you are right that we don't approve of earmaking revenues, nor do we approve of putting public affairs in any other kind of strait-jacket, thus weakening self-government.

We don't expect all our members to agree fully with us. The League tries to reflect the "best thought" in civic affairs and to recommend high standards which have been proved sound by ample experience. We find it a satisfying and stimulating experience to keep on learning from day to day of new progress in communities, large and small. If you are satisfied that your theories of government are and always will be exactly right, of course you will find the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW irritating and we'll have to get along, regretfully, without you. But in feeling sorry to lose you we aren't just thinking of the possible damage to the League.

THE EDITOR

DEBT FREE IDEA LOSES

(Continued from Page 245)

decisions as to the governmental unit which is to have jurisdiction over them are of utmost importance. The construction of new facilities, or the replacement of present facilities now unfairly maintained by the city of Milwaukee alone, presents an opportunity to correct present jurisdictional inequities. This community is coming to the conclusion that if a project benefits the residents of the entire county it should be constructed and operated by the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors. Thus the city is relieved of one-third of the initial cost as well as one-third of maintenance and operation costs.

The many demands upon the community's public resources will require careful sifting of all needs—present and future. Milwaukee is levying a 4 per cent real estate tax. Legislation is pending to raise the present tax ceilings of the Board of School Directors, the Board of Vocational and Adult Education and the pension systems. Salaries and wages of Milwaukee's five units of government are automatically geared to the inflation kite via the consumers' price index. The desirable expenditure ratio as to salary-wages, permanent improvements and equipment-supplies—of 50 per cent, 25 per cent and 25 per cent respectively—are unbalanced in the 1947 budgets.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Twenty-one More Manager Adoptions

Movement Continues Rapid Spread Throughout Country

THE city of **Hannibal, Missouri,** (population 20,865) voted approval of the council-manager plan, 2,523 to 1,709, on March 31. The plan carried in each of the six wards. Another proposal, to elect a 13-member commission to study charter revision, was considered as an alternative and was voted down. Hannibal has had a mayor-aldermanic form of government. Petitions for change were circulated by a citizens committee and filed with the city clerk on January 29. The *Courier-Post* gave active support.

In **Ashland, Wisconsin,** (population 11,101) the council-manager plan was adopted at the April 1 election by a vote of 1,531 to 1,221. It obtained majorities in seven of the city's ten wards. A citizens' committee of nine, chosen at a public meeting on February 5, circulated petitions and conducted an educational campaign. The *Daily Press,* whose managing editor was a committee member, aided with publicity. The proposal calls for a council elected at large for a term of two years.

New Bern, North Carolina, (11,815 population) on March 6 adopted the council-manager plan, effective July 1, 1947, and the council is considering candidates for the position of manager. The vote was 1,225 to 716.

On April 1 **South Norfolk, Virginia,** (population 8,038) voted 669 to 501 in favor of the council-manager plan. A council of five is to be elected June 10, to take office September 1.

Montpelier (population 8,006), capital city of **Vermont,** has decided to employ a city manager.

Voters of **Bonham, Texas,** (population 6,349) adopted the council-manager plan, 621 to 84, at a special election on March 11.

In **Oak Hill, West Virginia,** (population about 4,500) a council-manager charter was adopted on February 18, to take effect July 1, 1947.

Sylvan Lake, Michigan, (population 1,041) voted 215 to 38 for the council-manager plan on February 26.

The manager plan has gone into effect in **Sulphur Springs, Texas,** (population 6,742). On April 1 the newly elected city commission took office and appointed as city manager J. E. Tackett of Graham, Texas.

Hayward, California, (population 6,736) voted 711 to 576 in favor of a manager ordinance on April 22.

Woodland, California, (population 6,637) adopted the manager plan on April 9 by a vote of 971 to 246.

The city council of **Chariton, Iowa,** (population 4,905) adopted a manager ordinance in April and is seeking a competent manager.

By a vote of 875 to 486 on April 1 the citizens of **Russell, Kansas,** (population 4,819) adopted the manager plan as provided in state law. The plan takes effect in April 1948 with the election of three commissioners to replace the present council of nine.

In **Allegan, Michigan,** (population 4,526) a council-manager charter was adopted at an election on April 7. A similar charter was defeated in 1939. The present city council is required to appoint a manager within 90 days. A new council will be elected in 1948.

The city council of **Coquille, Oregon,** (population 3,327) which was authorized some years ago to appoint a city manager, has finally done so.

In **Maine** the towns of **Madison** (3,836), **Monmouth** (1,500) and **Monson**

(977) adopted the provisions of the state's optional town manager act at recent town meetings.

Brandon, Vermont, (population 2,977) has recently adopted the manager plan.

Stigler, Oklahoma, (1,861) adopted a council-manager charter by a vote of 257 to 83 on April 8.

Otterville, Missouri, (population 430) adopted council-manager government by a vote of 82 to 17 on March 18.

The town of **Milford, Connecticut,** which has been under the representative town meeting form of government, voted 2,679 to 2,439 on April 3 in favor of council-manager government. A bill had been previously introduced in the legislature to authorize the council-manager plan for Milford. According to proposed amendments to this bill the plan would include a council of thirteen, two from each of five existing election districts, and three elected at large.

The **Connecticut** legislature has approved new charters providing the council-manager plan for **Manchester** and **Windsor.** When signed by the governor both charters must be submitted to the local electorate for adoption. Still before the legislature (see also Milford above) is a proposed manager charter for **Farmington.**

The **Maine** legislature on March 25 approved council-manager government for **Bath,** subject to a local referendum in September. Since 1847 Bath has been under a governmental plan comprising a mayor, a board of seven aldermen and a common council of 21. The proposal is for a single council of fourteen, with two members from each of the seven wards. The plan was recommended last year by a citizens' committee.

In a report to the **Massachusetts** legislature submitted on April 1 a majority of the special nine-member commission that has been studying the **Boston** city charter recommended postponing any local referendum on the manager plan for a year, after which such a referendum could be held if petitioned for by 10 per cent of the city's registered voters. Meanwhile the commission recommended a referendum on May 27 on two methods of electing a city council of nine to supersede the present council of 22 members, chosen by wards. The alternative methods proposed are by proportional representation or by limited voting (each voter being limited to voting for five council candidates). A poll conducted by the *Boston Globe* resulted in 45 per cent favoring a manager plan, 24 per cent against, and 31 per cent undecided. The board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce favors the manager plan with P. R. The movement for a change is accentuated by the recent indictment of the president and of a member of the city council, in addition to the fact that the mayor is under indictment for mail fraud.

A "Plan E" committee for a manager-P.R. charter has been formed in **Fitchburg, Massachusetts,** and has filed its organization details with the city clerk, thereby having the right to raise funds for a campaign for adoption of the charter at the November election.

After a hectic discussion at the **Southbridge, Massachusetts,** town meeting on March 10 the voters decided to have the town selectmen appoint a committee to look into the feasibility of a town manager or representative town meeting form of government.

A committee has been appointed in the town of **Reading, Massachusetts,** to prepare a report on the advisability of adoption of Plan E, with a town manager and a P. R.-elected council.

In **Mifflinburg, Pennsylvania,** the *Telegraph* has undertaken a campaign to arouse public interest in the council-manager plan for that borough.

The **Richmond, Virginia,** charter commission recommends the council-manager plan (see separate item).

The board of aldermen of **Winston-Salem, North Carolina,** has approved a proposal to seek enabling acts from the state legislature to authorize the city to hold referenda on adoption of the council-manager plan and on extending the city limits (by vote of residents of the city and of the outer area involved).

The city council of **Kinston, North Carolina,** voted three to two on March 17 against asking the state legislature to permit a vote on the manager plan. The Junior Chamber of Commerce has announced that it will continue its efforts for the plan and may seek a referendum by a petition to the county board of elections.

In **Camden, South Carolina,** the Chamber of Commerce has expressed interest in the manager plan.

A council-manager charter for **Rossville, Georgia,** was authorized by the legislature at its recent session. The bill provides for a referendum election to be held in Rossville after six months.

In **Fairmont, West Virginia,** there is a movement for a council-manager charter.

A citizens' committee in the village of **Trenton, Michigan,** is studying the possible adoption of the council-manager plan.

By a vote of 703 to 402 on April 7, the voters of **Coldwater, Michigan,** provided for a charter revision commission. At the same time an advisory vote as to the form of government which the voters desired such a commission to draft favored the council-manager plan 738 to 534.

The new city of **Hart, Michigan,** rejected a non-standard manager charter by one vote on April 7.

The Civic Management Association in the village of **Brookfield, Illinois,** is working for installation of the manager plan. It announces that in the April election five out of the six successful village trustees and also the president of the board were backed by the association. Brookfield has had a manager ordinance for two years but heretofore the board has failed to appoint a manager.

A campaign for the manager plan has been instituted in **Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin,** with the support of the local newspapers.

In **Watertown, Wisconsin,** there is a movement to introduce the manager plan. The *Daily Times* is helping to explain its meaning and operation.

The **Tomah, Wisconsin,** Chamber of Commerce is conducting a publicity campaign in an effort to bring about a vote this autumn on the manager plan.

In **Waukesha, Wisconsin,** a manager proposal was defeated recently by a vote of 3,116 to 2,550.

A newly appointed charter commission in **Willmar, Minnesota,** now under the mayor-council plan, is considering other forms including the council-manager plan.

The charter commission of **Benson, Minnesota,** is interested in the council-manager plan.

A special election on approval of a new council-manager charter in **Faribault, Minnesota,** is contemplated for May or June, the charter commission not having completed its work in time for presentation at the April 1 general election.

Other Minnesota cities where charter commissions have been preparing manager charters include **Bemidji, Crookston, Hastings, Hopkins** and **Montevideo.**

In **Poplar Bluff, Missouri,** petitions have been circulated calling for a referendum on the manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Kennett, Missouri,** is interested in the manager plan.

Several cities in **Kansas** are showing manager-plan activity. They include **Great Bend** and **Larned,** where petitions have been circulated and filed; **Holton,** where the *Signal* reports discussion of the idea; and **Norton,** where discussion has been fostered by the Chamber of Commerce. In **Lawrence** the Chamber of Commerce has appointed a committee to make a study of the manager plan and report its recommendations. If the report is favorable a committee will be appointed to conduct an educational campaign prior to a special election in the fall. **Erie** defeated a manager proposal 360 to 91 on April 1.

Broken Arrow and **Okemah, Oklahoma,** have completed council-manager charters and will vote on them as soon as the law permits. **Lindsay** and **Anadarko** have nearly completed manager charters. Movements for manager government are also under way in **Durant, Tonkawa** and other Oklahoma cities..

The Chamber of Commerce of **Las Animas, Colorado,** has expressed interest in the manager plan.

A campaign for the manager plan has been in progress in **Kalispell, Montana,** with the possibility of an election in the spring or early summer.

A decision by the **Wyoming** Supreme Court is expected soon on the question of a referendum in **Cheyenne** on the manager plan. Petitions for an election, filed in 1945, were deemed insufficient by the city attorney at that time, but the district court held otherwise, which decision was appealed by the city to the Supreme Court. In the hope of a confirmation by the latter tribunal, a campaign in preparation for an election is being planned by proponents of the manager plan, including particularly the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

A recent **Arkansas** statute authorizes municipalities to adopt the manager plan. It provides for election of seven directors, who appoint a manager responsible to them, a three-member civil service commission and a police judge. According to J. E. Halter, Jr., of the Arkansas Public Expenditure Council, major credit for the new legislation goes to a citizens' group in the rice center of **Stuttgart** and to cooperation from the legislature. Civic leaders in Stuttgart are studying comparative advantages of services under mayor and manager forms.

Arkansas cities now operating by special authority under the commission form may change to the manager plan. Two municipalities have heretofore hired managers under permissive ordinances.

Oroville, California, defeated a manager proposal 725 to 286 on April 14.

A special election will be held in **Burlingame, California,** on June 24 on a proposed council-manager charter.

The city council of **Chula Vista, California,** has created the office of city administrative officer, to be the coordinator of all official activities between the council, the public and all city departments. The city clerk, now serving his second term in that office and as city assessor, has been appointed to the new position. A somewhat similar plan is in effect in another California city, **Redlands,** where a city service manager is responsible for eight departments (not including police and fire) and for all purchasing.

Manager Charter Proposed in Richmond, Virginia

On April 7 the Charter Commission of Richmond, Virginia, adopted a tentative charter draft abolishing the two-chamber 32-member unsalaried council, the ward system and an elected executive, substituting a single council of nine elected at large, with increased powers, including the appointment of a city manager. Councilmen would be elected for two-year terms and be paid $1,200 per annum. Other features of the draft, as summarized in the Richmond *News Leader*, are as follows:

Establishment of a department of personnel and installation of a merit system;

Creation of a department of recreation and parks which would be allowed use of school properties;

Retention of the primary system of nominating persons for council;

Creation of a bureau of traffic safety in the department of public safety and transfer of building maintenance from the safety to the works department;

Elimination of the 5 per cent reserve fund and empowering council to vote emergency appropriations up to $500,000 annually;

Establishment of a traffic court;

Selection of judges of municipal courts by judges of courts of record instead of by council as at present;

Elimination of the elective office of justice of the peace after present terms have expired and transferring the duties to clerks of courts and bail commissioners;

Elimination of the high constable as an elective office and placing his appointment in the hands of the justices of the civil justice court;

Provision for tighter budgetary and fiscal control;

Setting up the gas, water and electric utilities on a sounder financial basis and providing for an increase in rates when necessary.

The charter commission had been intensively engaged for four months in preparation of the document, assisted by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, Dr. Rowland A. Egger and Dr. A. M. Hillhouse. Public hearings were set for April 16-17-18; the charter in final form was required to be ready for filing by May 5, with a popular referendum to be held in November. In January, if approved by the voters, it will go to the legislature for action, which if favorable would permit an election of councilmen in June or July 1948, to serve from September 1948 to July 1, 1950.

Charter Activities in New England

Aside from communities where the council-manager plan is an immediate issue, as noted elsewhere, several cities in New England report charter activity.

In Springfield, Massachusetts, a new charter committee is advocating the Plan A or strong-mayor type of city government, including a council of nine, elected at large. Several thousand pamphlets urging that plan and emphasizing the obsolete character of the present charter, nearly 100 years old, have been distributed. A poll of the membership of the Springfield Taxpayers Association, however, shows that 53.6 per cent favor the city manager plan.

In New Haven, Connecticut, the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce urges immediate adoption of the simplified city charter recently drafted, with the single reservation that the board of finance be continued but merely as a body to advise the mayor on the budget and bond issues.

In Norwich, Connecticut, a citizens' committee for better government is planning to prepare a new charter. It is charged that the present form combines the worst features of mayor-council and commission government.

In Woonsocket, Rhode Island, a commission appointed by the mayor to revise ward boundaries has been busy for months. Woonsocket has a two-chamber council based on five wards with a total of seventeen voting districts, and it is hoped that one chamber can be eliminated. In the 1946 mayoralty election the votes by wards ranged from 907 to 5,251. One suggestion is for a single chamber elected from fourteen voting districts, certain small existing districts to be combined.

Cities Act to Promote Better Race Relations

The Pittsburgh city council has created a Division of Civic Unity as a bureau of the city government, to work out "a program to promote amicable and cooperative relations among the various cultural, racial, economic, social and religious groups of the city, to the end that conditions which cause tension between groups may be eliminated." The ordinance also provides for appointment by the mayor of a civic unity council of fifteen members, to act as an advisory group to the division.

The division is patterned after similar race relations units established by ordinance in Cleveland, Buffalo and Toledo, according to the International City Managers' Association. In Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee and Cambridge, race relations committees have been appointed by the mayor, with the city council appropriating their funds.

The Chicago Mayor's Commission on Human Relations operated last year on a budget of $58,000. Last year's budgets for other race relations units were Detroit, $38,000; Cleveland, $25,000; Cincinnati, $12,000; and Buffalo, $10,000. Units in four other cities receive public funds of over $10,000. Some of these units also receive contributions from private sources. Twenty-five cities are reported by the American Municipal Association as now having race relations groups.

Chicago's agency is aided in its activities by a municipal Civil Rights Bureau, created last fall. San Diego is studying means to further inter-racial amity through municipal action, and a New York committee established by the city council has been investigating alleged discrimination against students seeking admission to professional schools.

Two New Legislative Councils

Arkansas and Washington have joined the ranks of the states striving to improve state law-making by introduction of legislative councils. In Arkansas the House of Representatives has chosen eleven members for the legislative council, the speaker being also a member, ex-officio. The senate has selected six members, with the governor appointing fourteen citizens to the council.

The Washington legislature has provided for a legislative council of ten senators and eleven representatives. It is given authority to examine all phases of state administration, reporting its findings to the legislature.

The Alabama council, created in 1945 and consisting of six representatives, four senators, the house speaker and the senate president, has prepared a printed booklet recommending action in twenty fields of legislation.

Bans on Strikes, Unions of Public Employees

The New York State law prohibiting strikes by public employees—the so-called Condon-Wadlin act—was signed by Governor Dewey on March 27. As finally amended it differs somewhat in form from the preliminary text reported last month in the REVIEW (page 203), where abstinence of a public employee from his work for the purpose of causing a change in wages or working conditions was declared to be misconduct and neglect of duty subject to corresponding discipline; the word "strike" was not initially used.

The final bill is a flat prohibition against striking by any public employee as there designated, a strike being defined as "the failure to report for duty, the willful absence from one's position, the stoppage of work, or the abstinence in whole or in part from the full, faithful and proper performance of the duties of employment, for the purpose of inducing, influencing or coercing a change in the conditions or compensation or the rights, privileges or obligations of employment."

The amendments noted last month are included, permitting re-employment only on the basis of probation for five years and without increased compensation for three years.

Another paragraph, however, states that an employee "who, without the lawful approval of his superior, fails to report for duty or otherwise absents himself from his position, shall be deemed on strike, provided, however, that such person upon request shall be entitled, as hereinafter provided, to establish that he did not violate the provisions of this section." The law also provides that it shall not be construed to limit the right of any public employee to express grievances, complaints or opinions related to wages or conditions, if such expression "is not designed to and does not interfere with the full, faithful and proper performance of the duties of employment."

Affirming the right of government to prohibit public employees from belonging to a labor union, the California District Court of Appeals recently upheld a ruling of the Los Angeles board of police commissioners prohibiting police membership in unions. According to the International City Managers' Association, the court declared that public servants should not belong to labor unions because such membership divided an allegiance owed entirely to the people under the constitution. The union involved was the local chapter of the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, an AFL affiliate.

Similar action was taken in Dallas last fall when a local court upheld a city ordinance prohibiting union affiliation by municipal employees, and the Texas Supreme Court recently upheld the lower court's decision. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, last fall a strike of municipal workers was ended when an Oklahoma court declared a labor union had no right to strike against the municipality.

The bill to prohibit strikes by state and local employees in Delaware, referred to last month in the REVIEW, failed of final passage.

Civil Service Assembly to Meet in Dallas

The 1947 annual conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada will be held in Dallas, Texas, November 17-20, according to preliminary plans. Three regional conferences have been announced for earlier dates: Eastern, May 5-6 in Toronto, Canada (Royal York Hotel); Central, May 22-23-24 in St. Louis Missouri (Hotel Statler); Western, July 16-17 in Seattle, Washington (New Washington Hotel), followed by an overnight boat trip to Victoria, British Columbia, and a final meeting July 18.

Government Management Fellowships

The Department of Government Management, University of Denver, has announced ten fellowships of $100 per month for a twelve-month graduate program designed to train students for responsible positions in governmental research.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

For Efficient Local and State Governments

Reports on Organization, Administration, Procedures

"THAT form of government is best which maintains the interest of individuals in municipal affairs, draws from among them the best talent, and in turn secures for them the services which they require with the least possible waste or friction," says the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Mississippi** in *Forms of Municipal Government in Mississsippi*, by Robert B. Highsaw, director of the bureau. The booklet describes with graphs the forms of municipal government in the United States, outlines the advantages and defects of each and relates this information to Mississippi practice. Mississippi municipalities have no legal means of obtaining the council-manager plan; the need for such option is emphasized.

The **Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Vermont** has published a series of four bulletins on land use in Vermont. Robert M. Carter, in *The Development and Financing of Local Governmental Institutions in Nine Vermont Towns*, "interprets local public institutions in relation to the physical environment" and notes trends in governmental organization, taxation, the highway system, the educational system and public welfare. Another report, *An Economic Study of Local Government in 50 Vermont Towns*, by John J. Dalton and Sheldon W. Williams, analyzes town finances during the fiscal year ending January 31, 1933, with emphasis on factors related to variations in governmental costs and tax burdens, with a view to investigating "the possibility of reducing town expenditures."

A *Report on the Preliminary Review of the Government of the City of Minneapolis*, prepared by the **Public Administration Service**, H. G. Pope, executive director, describes the social and economic features of Minneapolis, the structure of the city government, the fiscal pattern and factors contributing to the present financial difficulties of the city. No recommendations are made in the report since its purpose is to identify problems and provide necessary data for a later analysis. The report is summarized in several bulletins issued by the **Mayor's Tax and Finance Commission of Minneapolis**, Roy G. Blakey, chairman.

Government Research, Inc., of Los Angeles, Ed F. Thompson, executive secretary, reports on *The Need for a New Charter for the City of Los Angeles and Methods of Obtaining It* (fourteen pages). Two methods of writing a new charter are provided by the California constitution: preparation either by an elected board of freeholders or by the city council or a citizens committee appointed by it. The advantages and disadvantages of both are discussed.

The **Bureau of Municipal Research of Toronto**, H. L. Brittain, managing director, in its *Monthly Letter* advocates staggered two-year terms for members of elected city councils and school boards because of advantages such as continuity of membership and policy over the "straight" two-year term and the one-year term.

The **Governmental Research Association** has reprinted as a special pamphlet three articles by Dr. Thomas H. Reed on *Revising a City Charter*, twelve pages, 25 cents. The articles deal respectively with the process of obtaining a new charter, the form, language and arrangement of the charter, and the content of the document. The articles are conceived in the spirit expressed in a postscript advising charter drafters to "be realistic," avoiding the sacrifice of what Theodore Roosevelt called "realizable ideals" to "mere perfectionism."

Manager Plan

"What Is Council-Manager Government," asks the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis** in an issue of *Dollars and Sense in Government* published just before the February election in University City at which the voters adopted the council-manager plan. In a brief two pages, the institute outlines the principles of the plan, its history and its probable cost to University City.

The **Bureau of Government Research of the University of New Hampshire** has issued *The Manager Plan and New Hampshire Towns and Cities,* by Lashley G. Harvey, 23 pages. The report indicates that New Hampshire cities and towns need to replace their historic municipal administration with the modern manager plan. A description of the council-manager form of government and the movement for it in New Hampshire is included together with appendices containing the New Hampshire town manager and city manager laws and a bibliography.

The **Emporia, Kansas, Chamber of Commerce,** prior to the city's successful election for the council-manager plan, issued a 26-page report on council-manager government by Dr. Claude E. Arnett working with a committee appointed by the chamber. Information on the working of the plan was collected from various sources and compiled in question-and-answer fashion. While an attempt was made to present both the defects and strong points of the plan, the data available tip the scale in favor of this form of government.

Metropolitan Government Studied

"Review of Alternatives for Metropolitan Government," by the research staff of the **Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research,** is presented in *Greater Cleveland,* published by the **Citizens League of Cleveland,** Robert W. Chamberlin, director. The pros and cons of such proposals as the creation of special districts, the use of the county as the basis, annexation of the whole urban area to the central city, statehood for the metropolitan area, and metropolitan regional government are discussed.

The **Regional Association of Cleveland,** Ernest J. Bohn, director, urges that each municipality in the Cleveland metropolitan area undertake a vacant land inventory. Although recommending this for the immediate purpose of meeting the housing crisis, the study "will serve as a rational basis for determination of future zoning policies." The course that should be followed in making such a study is outlined.

"What's Best for Metropolitan Indianapolis" in respect to its sanitation system is the subject of *It IS Your Business,* bulletin of the **Bureau of Government Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce,** Carl R. Dortch, director. The bureau favors expansion of the metropolitan sanitation district to include any area needing service in Marion County. "Once suburban areas become closely built up, individual systems become dangerous and noxious. Let's use the machinery already wisely provided."

Metropolis in Maps is the pictorial means taken by the **Bureau for Research in Municipal Government of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration,** Morris B. Lambie, director, to discover if the Boston metropolitan district is "fact or phantom." The first section presents 23 maps showing overlapping districts within the Boston area, such as the telephone exchange, fire protection, police districts, etc. Later sections relate Boston to the national and world picture. The core of metropolitan Boston is easy to define the bureau finds; it is the outer fringes of special districts that cause the confusion as to "what is metropolitan Boston."

"Practically every governmental problem facing Buffalo vitally affects the adjacent towns, and in many ways all of Erie County," asserts the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau** in a recent issue of *Just a Moment,* George G. Sipprell, managing director. The bureau advocates the consolidation of the health departments of Buffalo and Erie County, transfer of city probation service to the county and consolidation of the city and county library systems.

Is a "Greater Tarrytown" Wise and Possible?, a report by Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed, "contributes to the clarification of public thinking on the subject of consolidation in the Tarrytown area." Outlining the ideal setup for the area of the Tarrytowns, Irvington and Pocantico Hills, recommendations are made to determine how closely this could be approached under existing circumstances. Consolidation of Tarrytown, North Tarrytown and Irvington as a city is the major recommendation of the report.

"The Government of Metropolitan Toronto" is discussed by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Toronto** in a recent *Monthly Letter.* The bureau feels that one local government for the whole area would solve many of the "tangles" caused by "existing boundaries [which] are partly a matter of chance, partly the result of special interests, partly perhaps of planning, but certainly not of community planning in the larger sense."

State Constitutions and Government

The Proceedings of the 6th Annual Southern Institute of Local Government has recently been published by the **Division of University Extension for the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Tennessee,** Lee S. Greene, director. Since constitutional revision is an active issue, the institute devoted its 1946 session to problems of local government and constitutional revision. Titles and authors of the papers are: "County Government and Constitutional Revision in Tennessee," by M. H. Satterfield; "Constitutional Revision and the Courts," by William H. Wicker; "Constitutional Revision in a Southern State," by William L. Bradshaw; "What Is Needed to Secure Public Support for Constitutional Change," by Charlton F. Chute; and "What Cities Need in the Constitution," by Morton L. Wallerstein.

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Kansas,** Ethan P. Allen, director, has issued two new reports on *Governmental Agencies of the State of Kansas, 1861-1946,* by Bessie F. Wilder, and *Legislative Procedure in Kansas,* by Frederic H. Guild and Clyde F. Snider. The first is a check list of 563 state governmental agencies which have passed across the political scene in Kansas. The second is designed as a reference guide to the legislative process. A detailed table of contents provides a quick means of obtaining specific information.

A more popular treatment of legislative procedure is *The Life of a Bill,* by Rhoten A. Smith, also published by the Kansas bureau. Mr. Smith feels that much of the public indifference that deprives the legislature of "that active support essential to the maintenance of a healthy democratic society" can be traced to ignorance of the legislative process. Thus this pamphlet does for the layman what *Legislative Procedure in Kansas* does for the legislator.

Report Number 4 of the 1947 series of legislative problems by the **University of South Carolina's Bureau of Public Administration**, Christian L. Larsen, assistant director, deals with *Centralized Purchasing for States.* Benefits are summarized and experience with centralized purchasing in North Carolina is described.

Public Employees and Salaries Investigated

Pending legislation in the California legislature exempting court employees from municipal civil service requirements respecting salary and promotion is a threat to the merit system within the San Francisco municipal service, declares the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director, in a recent *Bulletin.*

"City Salary Rates" is the subject of two bulletins of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau.** A table of thirteen compensation grades indicates that two-thirds of the city's employees fall within the $2100-2700 range. The bureau's proposal for salary adjustments would discard a flat increase plan. Suggestions include the appointment of a salary survey committee of limited duration, job elimination through combination of duties and an expedited effort to find new revenue sources.

The Chicago fireman is favorably treated in comparison with firemen of other municipalities and with his fellow public employees, comments the **Chicago Civic Federation,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, in *An Analysis of the Salary Schedule Applying to Firemen of the City of Chicago,* together with *An Analysis of the Proposed Changes in the Work Schedule.* The proposed work schedule, which would increase operating costs from 7.6 per cent to 55 per cent, would add to the fireman's "existing preferential status . . . and increase the load of already strained municipal finances."

Comparative Data Fire Departments and *Comparative Data Police Departments* have been compiled by the **Department of Government Affairs of the Dayton Chamber of Commerce,** John R. Kerstetter, manager, and include "authoritative current and reliable information on expenditures, coverage, pay, working conditions, etc., of Dayton and comparable cities of Ohio and the United States."

In re-examining city expenditures, the **Governmental Research Institute** of St. Louis, in *Dollars and Sense in Government,* points out that St. Louis could reduce the number of police department employees. It is statistically shown that in relation to the other eighteen largest American cities, the St. Louis police force is "heavily manned."

Transportation and Parking Problems

The **Association of Washington Cities,** Joshua H. Vogel, acting executive secretary, together with the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Washington,** Donald H. Webster, director, recently conducted a survey of five airports in Washington and Oregon. Data on the size and equipment of the fields and on salaries and other operating costs are given.

The **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** in an analysis of the history, financial aspects and future plans of the Buffalo airport, suggests that careful thought be given as to whether the county or a broader area should be charged with local airport operation.

A forthcoming origin and destination

survey of the Philadelphia-Camden metropolitan area is discussed in *Citizens' Business* under the title "Transportation Yardstick," by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia,** William C. Beyer, director.

Business Views on the Parking Problem in Ohio Cities, by James C. Yocum, published by the **Bureau of Business Research of Ohio State University,** summarizes the views of businessmen in 48 Ohio cities as to whether city government, private business or both should be held responsible for providing parking facilities.

"There are in Pittsfield today as many unaccepted streets as there are accepted streets" finds the **Pittsfield (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association,** Philip C. Ahern, research director. In an attempt to show the cause and effect relation between the exploitation of land by developers and the unaccepted street problem of today, data gathered by the Public Works Department were assembled in an unusually effective *Unaccepted Street Report.* Pictures, newspaper clippings and graphs bring home important facts about the planless development of land.

Costs of Government under Scrutiny

A summary of current appropriations and means of financing Cook County's expenses is contained in a bulletin of the **Civic Federation of Chicago,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary. The report also includes recommendations by the Board of County Commissioners for the more "economic use of existing funds" and the "development of other sources of revenue."

James A. Cunningham, president of the federation, in a statement made at the public budget hearing, concluded that "the cost of local government in Chicago rests far too heavily on property." "More state-collected revenue could and should be returned to the local units," continued Mr. Cunningham, but only if "city officials are willing to initiate a thorough-going revision and revamping of existing practice and policies affecting personnel and purchasing."

"When should a budget be passed" and "when should a budget be balanced," asks the **Citizens Research Institute of Canada,** Horace L. Brittain, director, in an *Open Letter.* The budget should be passed as early as possible and should be more than balanced in good times so that deficits may be incurred in bad times. Surpluses can be obtained by reducing governmental expenditures on the federal level.

"The Cost of Government in Canada —Municipal Government," is measured by the institute in *Canadian Taxation.* Municipal taxation has remained stable since 1929, with decreases in both revenues and expenditures during the war and a gradual reduction in annual debt charges.

The **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research,** which is also directed by Mr. Brittain, pleads in its *Monthly Letter* for "Taxation of Governmentally Owned Public Utilities." "Any undertaking that does not pay its share of the cost passes on part or all of its proper tax burden to its employees, the employees of other undertakings, and to other undertakings."

Bureau Programs and Prospects

A plan for administrative research in governmental operations in Cleveland is outlined in a recent number of *Greater Cleveland,* bulletin of the **Citizens League of Cleveland.** The plan calls for production of a "functional, service, and activity outline of the main governmental units of the metropolitan area of Cleveland" to provide a basis for budget analysis and evaluation and comparison of public services. End results envisaged are "a comprehensive picture of local government institutions and forecasts for future development."

The development of a program of governmental research at **Rutgers University** to aid New Jersey governmental units was suggested by Dr. Robert C. Clothier, president of Rutgers University, in an address at the annual conference of the New Jersey League of Municipalities, reproduced in its publication, *New Jersey Municipalities.* Dr. Clothier reviewed research and technical services that the university now provides for local governments through such technical departments as botany, zoology, engineering, physical education, entymology, psychology, etc.

The *Proceedings of the Thirty-second Annual Conference of the Governmental Research Association,* held in Magnolia, Massachusetts, September 10-13, 1946, can now be obtained from the **Governmental Research Association,** G. Gordon Tegnell, secretary, for $2.[1] The 91-page document includes the conference program and seventeen of the papers and addresses presented.

A brief report on the 6th annual conference, the first in four years, of the **Western Governmental Research Association,** held in Sacramento, may be found in the November 1946 *Western City.* There was a record-breaking attendance of 139 delegates to deliberate on government research and reorganization for peace. The conference was guided by President Edwin A. Cottrell, professor of political science at Stanford University. The association elected as its new president Alfred H. Campion, assistant chief administrative officer of Los Angeles County. Russell Barthell, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, was elected executive secretary.

The review of *A Quarter Century of Municipal Research* by the **Bureau of Municipal Research, University of Texas,** Stuart A. MacCorkle, director, originally printed in two articles in *Texas Municipalities,* has been reprinted with slight changes in pamphlet form.[2] The material was prepared by Lynn F. Anderson, research assistant in the bureau.

Announcement has been made of the establishment of the **Dade County (Florida) Research Foundation,** John F. Willmott, executive director. The purpose of the foundation as stated by the board of directors is generally "to assist in the development and improvement of the local governments of Dade County" by conducting administrative and financial surveys of the Miami city government, the county government and other local units, making recommendations to appropriate officials and providing informational services to civic organizations.

A two-page year-by-year *Review of the Record 1932-1947,* issued by the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau,** Richard A. Atkins, secretary, presents an impressive list of "major accomplishments in matters of public policy where the bureau took the leadership or where bureau-supplied facts play a significant part." The report indicates that the work of the bureau has been instrumental in saving Boston taxpayers many millions of dollars while supporting policies designed to improve standards of public service.

W. Earl Weller, executive director of the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research,** and five of his staff members have been engaged in a fiscal survey of Utica with the assistance of the **Utica Bureau of Municipal Research,** William R. Coates, executive director. The cost of the survey is being shared by the city of Utica and the Utica bureau.

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[1] See October 1946 REVIEW, page 477.

[2] See November 1946 REVIEW, page 538.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Seattle Looks at Its Candidates

Municipal League Service to Voters in 35th Year

SEATTLE citizens are fortunate to have a service in the public interest which is only infrequently found in cities in the United States. This service is embodied in the reports on candidates issued for over 34 years by the **Municipal League of Seattle**, a 3,200-member local governmental research organization. One of the vital gaps in our democratic process, that anyone may file for office without supplying adequate personal information to help voters pass on his qualifications, is substantially closed by this device.[1]

Since 1940 candidates' reports have followed a standardized four-column format—candidate's name and address, personal data (age, length of local residence, marital status), experience in business and public affairs, and the organization's comment. During the last six years the reports have scrupulously avoided choosing a slate and the previous practice of using the terms "preferred," "qualified," and "not qualified" has been abolished. These two changes were made by the Board of Trustees to keep the league from becoming a campaign issue.

The report is limited to candidates for local city, county, school and port offices and to aspirants seeking state legislative posts from districts within King County, of which Seattle is the county seat.

Here is a description of the current procedure followed in preparing reports on candidates. After committee preference sheets are returned by league members, the president, with the assistance of the staff, carefully chooses about twenty persons to serve as members of the candidates' investigating committee. Anyone closely affiliated with any candidate or having a particular favoritism toward or bias against any of them is screened out. Committee members are selected for their judgment, their knowledge of local governmental problems, their wide acquaintanceship in the community and their integrity. No attention is paid to political affiliation. Every committee during the past six years has had members of both major political parties.

Previous to action by the committee the league staff assembles basic data on candidates, tapping several sources: (1) the league files of newspaper clippings on present and former officeholders and perennial office seekers;

(2) A questionnaire to each candidate asking for information on his age, length of residence in the city or county, educational, business and work background, prior political experience, military service, church and club affiliations, plans if he is elected, names of three references, and probable amount of campaign expenditures;

(3) Letters of inquiry to the three references, seeking information on the reference's degree of acquaintanceship with the political aspirant, his ap-

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[1] Other organizations which perform a similar function include the Detroit Citizens League, the Citizens Union of New York, the Citizens League of Cleveland, Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) Civic Club and League of Women Voters (see the REVIEW, March 1947, page 161).

praisal of the candidate's business, professional and other experience, judgment, knowledge of office, interests and reputation. Occasionally, references give surprisingly frank opinions of their office-seeking friends. Two letters received in 1946 referred to candidates as "flighty in judgment" and "unable to make decisions." Credit references are sometimes obtained on comparatively unknown candidates.

After information from these sources is integrated by the staff the candidates' committee begins its work.

All candidates are invited to appear before the committee of investigators. About 55 per cent accept the invitation.[2] Some do not appear because they received unfavorable comments from the league during previous campaigns. Some do not wish to have their ideas brought out into the open, preferring to hide behind the glittering generalities of campaign speeches. Others feel that, since they hold decidedly different views on some public matters from those of most members of the candidates' committee, they will not get a fair comment. Still others know little or nothing about the Municipal League and probably feel that it would be a waste of time to be interrogated.

Specific questions are asked each candidate relative to the office to which he aspires. The candidates' replies are noted by the committee chairman and the staff, while committee members attempt to rate him as to education, knowledge of office, success in private affairs, extent of community leadership, prior political activities, and probabilities of success in office.

Questioning of candidates by committee members prior to the 1946 local elections disclosed that most candidates did not have the slightest conception of the duties, responsibilities and problems of the office for which they had filed. One of the committeemen made this thought-provoking statement at the conclusion of four days of interviewing aspirants for county and state posts: "If this were an employment office of a large business firm, not more than 5 per cent of these applicants would be given the slightest consideration. Yet here are the people who think they are competent to run our local public offices."

After candidates have been interviewed committee members get down to the task of appraising the candidate's reputation and personality, his present and past public performance and his probable success in office. Out of this time-consuming and tedious process the committee finally establishes comments for about 85 per cent of the candidates along some of the following lines: "Record as city councilman unimpressive," "well informed on city affairs—hard worker," "capable administrator as treasurer and assessor," "Record of incompetence as county treasurer." About 15 per cent of the candidates are not commented upon, sometimes because the committee cannot agree and other times because it does not have adequate information.

Following the report's approval by the league's Board of Trustees, it is released in large quantities as an issue of the *Seattle Municipal News,* official publication of the Seattle Municipal League, and is reprinted in large part by all three daily metropolitan newspapers and numerous weekly community and county papers. Sixty thousand copies were distributed prior to the spring 1946 city election and 40,000 copies preceding the fall 1946 county and state elections. In view of this wide circulation it seems justifiable to conclude that the reports are a definite factor in local elections.

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[2] One hundred ninety five of the 357 candidates for local offices appeared before the interviewing committee during the past year.

It is impossible to estimate accurately the influence that favorable comments by the league have in electing the best qualified candidates. There are too many factors, tangible and intangible, which have weight in deciding elections. However, the fact that during the past seven years 87 per cent of the successful aspirants for local public offices (excluding state legislative posts) received favorable comment in league reports seems to show that these reports have an apparently important influence on the outcome of city, county, port and school elections.

The Municipal League of Seattle performs a valuable function in issuing its reports on candidates; a great amount of factual material is brought together and presented in concise, easy-to-understand form to voters who, without such aid, would go to the polls with little or no information and oftentimes misinformation about many candidates. Many league members opine that if the league had no other activity than that of compiling this report, the continued existence of the organization would be easy to justify.

John C. Bollens
Former Research Director
Seattle Municipal League

New Yonkers Group

The recently organized **Yonkers Municipal League** started its career by announcing its full support of Yonkers' council-manager form of government and the P. R. method of electing the city's council. Wayne E. Huson has been chosen as president of the new organization and Frederick W. Maxwell and James H. Moseley were elected vice presidents. Two other groups in Yonkers, the City Manager League and the Committee of 100, have been invited to merge with the new group.

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Looking Forward

Looking toward the 1947 fall elections, the **City Charter Commission of Cincinnati**, Forest Frank, executive director, has asked members and other interested citizens to recommend candidates for the charter committee's councilmanic ticket. Sole qualifications, says the committee, are "(1) integrity, intelligence, ability and desire to get Cincinnati out of its rut; (2) support of the principles of honest, efficient, nonpartisan government, civil service, non-interference with the administrative authority, and P.R." The committee has published and sent to all members a copy of the address by President Charles P. Taft before the organization's annual meeting.

The **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy,** Harry K. Butcher, secretary, in its *Civic Affairs* comments that "every voter in this city should begin to think about our 1947 elections NOW! In 1947 the people of Philadelphia will elect a MAYOR, CITY COUNCIL, DISTRICT ATTORNEY and other important local officials." The committee points out that the cost of government is up but despite the fact that the committee "has again and again urged adoption of a common-sense, business-like program for the administration of our municipal affairs . . . [its] proposals have been consistently ignored by the mayor and city council. And today the net result is that IN MANY BRANCHES OF OUR LOCAL GOVERNMENT, PHILADELPHIA'S PER CAPITA COSTS ARE AMONG THE HIGHEST OF THE LARGE CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES."

Articles on Citizenship

"A Taxpayer Looks at Local Government," in *Municipal Finance,* August 1946, published by the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, is the address of Thomas C. Boushall before the MFOA conference at Richmond, Virginia.

"Citizen Action—Notes on Local Taxpayer Activities," appeared in the January issue of *The Tax Digest,* **California Taxpayers' Association,** N. Bradford Trenham, general manager. Covered are the activities of the **Alameda** and **Kern County Taxpayers Associations.**

The *Journal of Educational Sociology* devoted its entire December issue to "Citizens' Councils and Community Development," Rhea M. Eckel, special editor. The articles deal with the work of the **New York State Citizens' Council** which has developed a hundred community councils throughout the state.

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Where Can We Find the Money?

The report by the **Chattanooga League of Women Voters on** *Possible Sources of New Revenue* (26 pages), made at the suggestion of Mayor Bass, was compiled by league members under the chairmanship of Miss Nancy Lee Smith. The committee selected seventeen cities with which to make comparisons, weighting the list in favor of southern communities "because everyone wants to know how we stack up with our neighbors." Cities chosen were also weighted in favor of those getting substantial revenues outside the property tax. Listed are possibilities for additional revenues with a comment as to whether state legislative action or a city ordinance is required. A bibliography and numerous tables making comparisons between the cities studied complete the volume.

'A Little Book Did It'

"Every family in Burlington, Iowa," says *Action,* bulletin of the **National League of Women Voters,** Miss Anna Lord Strauss, president, "knows that the League of Women Voters is interested in good government and is doing something to make each citizen understand his part in achieving it. That such a positive statement can be made is due to a 66-page handbook called *Your Part in a Democracy,* written and published . . . by the **Burlington league** and given free to every household. The cost of $3,500 was contributed by 51 interested citizens." The book is an attractive two-color job, with charts and illustrations. It is being used as a supplementary text in the schools, the city clerk keeps a supply for new residents and voters, and the demand for copies has been so great a second printing has been made.

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Recent Publications

What Municipal Sins Cost is the text of an address by George W. Wanamaker, comptroller of Buffalo, New York, before the **Municipal Forum of New York.** Copies may be secured at 50 cents each (discounts on quantity orders) from John A. Keane, chairman of the subcommittee on distribution, 30 Pine Street, New York.

The *Report of the First National Conference on Citizenship,* held last May in Philadelphia[1] under the sponsorship of the **National Education Association,** contains a full discussion of the sessions and is illustrated with photographs of various speakers and participants. The report (114 pages) is available through the NEA at 50 cents per copy—discounts on quantity orders.

The Discussion Leader's Manual—Forum Series on Citizenship (29 pages mimeographed) was prepared by Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., under the direction of Dr. William S. Vincent of Columbia University, for the **Youth Conservation Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.** Its purpose is "to assist community groups interested in the study and discussion of present vital problems of American life."

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[1] See "Conference Marks Citizenship Day," the REVIEW, May 1946, page 256.

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New Constitution Urged for Illinois

The Board of Governors of the **Chicago City Club** has issued a statement that the club, through its Constitutional Revision Committee, will again take a leading part in efforts to secure a new state constitution. Chairman of the committee is Professor Kenneth C. Sears of the University of Chicago Law School.

The City Club urges that "in place of our present 76-year-old strait-jacket, Illinois should adopt a new constitution by the convention method. . . . Governor Green's. . . failure to take any stand on the calling of a constitutional convention indicates the need for a continuous campaign by the civic organizations and newspapers of the state. The fight is worth while and it can be won."

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Internship Program

Coro Foundation of San Francisco is training twelve veterans in an internship program at the San Francisco city and county building. It is continuing its workshop of the past three years for students from Stanford, Mills, University of California, San Francisco State College and University of San Francisco. Dr. Edwin A. Cottrell, who recently retired as Dean of Stanford University's School of Social Sciences, is educational consultant and trustee of the foundation.

Zoning

Hearings on a proposed zoning ordinance for Houston, Texas, prompted the Zoning Committee of the **Houston Chamber of Commerce** to make a survey of opinions of chambers of commerce in the large cities on zoning ordinances in their communities. Specifically, the committee inquired, "Has the administration of your zoning ordinance been fair to all alike?" The results of the survey are contained in a report, *Is Zoning Fair?*

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Proud of Its Record

"Yonkers is a better run city because of the work of our members," announces the **Yonkers (New York) Committee of 100,** Walter L. Hough, executive secretary. The committee is seeking new memberships and has sent members cards on which to record the names of prospects. The committee is writing to such prospects but asking its members to make personal contact.

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Forum on Merger

A forum on the merger of Burlington City and Township, New Jersey, recently recommended by Mayor Harold V. Holmes, was held by the local **Young Men's Club.** J. Woodard Tallman, president of the club, explained that the purpose of the forum was to bring into the open information on the proposal, pointing out advantages and disadvantages. A number of city and township officials were in attendance.

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Continuing the Battle

"Realizing that many people voted for city manager in the belief that the Jaycees would follow through in the program of getting a group of capable, representative citizens to allow their names to be submitted as candidates for city commissioner," says Jack Davis, chairman of the City Manager Committee of the **Hutchinson,**

Kansas, Junior Chamber of Commerce, "and knowing that in order for city manager government to be an improvement over our present form we must have a city commission which must favor city manager government for Hutchinson, we accept the responsibility of persuading qualified citizens to run for city commissioner and pledge to them our support in the event they are elected."

* * *

Why No City Report

The city neglects opportunity to inform the public of its accomplishments and needs, says the **Cleveland Citizens League,** Robert W. Chamberlin, director, in *Greater Cleveland.* The league points out that the city's last annual report was for 1939, the one prior to that covered 1916. "Thus for thirty years there has been only one general report of the city government. During this period the scale of activity of city government has increased many times over, the arts of municipal administration have advanced markedly, and citizens' dependence upon and contribution to city government have grown."

* * *

With the Taxpayer Groups

Taxes, Questions and Answers on State and Federal Taxes Levied in Wisconsin (64 pages, 25 cents) has been published by the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** Paul N. Reynolds, executive director. "This pocket-manual tax dictionary," says the booklet, "is designed to meet the citizens' need for up-to-date tax information presented in a form which is easy to read and easy to understand."

"Your Taxes would be higher but for what the organized taxpayers of Massachusetts have accomplished," says a brightly colored folder of the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations,** Norman Mac Donald, executive director. The leaflet describes how the citizens must "foot the bill," how the federation functions, and some of the work of local taxpayer groups throughout the state.

In its monthly *Taxtalk* the Massachusetts federation is carrying a question-and-answer column, "Local Government Clinic," for the benefit of local officials, taxpayer groups and *Taxtalk* subscribers.

The **Woodbury County (Sioux City, Iowa) Taxpayers Conference,** James L. Barclay, executive secretary, is interested in securing legislation which will give local governments sources of revenue other than real estate taxes. It reports a meeting at which 48 representatives from 26 Iowa cities and towns were present to discuss the subject.

New Gains for the Taxpayer, a four-page folder issued by the **Minnesota Taxpayers Association,** Norman A. Borgen, secretary-treasurer, describes the 1946 congressional reorganization act which it terms "a long step forward."

The "Taxpayers Clinic" conducted by the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** A. R. Everson, executive vice-president, at its annual meeting earlier this year, was so successful a second clinic was arranged.

* * *

Juvenile Delinquency Aired

"The Eagle's Brood," a documentary broadcast on juvenile delinquency presented by the **Columbia Broadcasting System,** recommended neighborhood councils as the most hopeful first step in attacking the combined effects of parental and civic ignorance and indifference, antiquated judicial and penal systems, political corruption, substandard housing, etc. The CBS program, based on three months' travel and study by Robert Lewis Shayon, was widely lauded for setting a new standard in public service broadcasts.

Proportional Representation • • *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Boston Commission Asks Vote on P. R.

Massachusetts Upholds P. R. New York Launches Attack

THE special commission headed by Senator Charles J. Innes, created by the Massachusetts legislature to study revision of the Boston city charter, turned in a majority report on April 1. The commission recommended a referendum on May 27 of this year at which voters of the city would be permitted to choose between proportional representation and the "limited vote" for electing a nine-man council and a five-man school committee at large. The question of whether the council should be empowered to appoint a city manager would be determined by another referendum the following year after the election of the new council.

The report also recommends that, upon the filing of the usually required number of signatures, the question of adopting "Plan E" (manager plan with P.R.) be allowed to go on the ballot at the November election. An affirmative vote would provide the manager plan in addition to P.R. without further delay.

The commission's report is expected to be promptly embodied in legislation. Dwight S. Strong, acting chairman of the Plan E for Boston Committee, although generally favoring the report, expressed preference for legislation providing simply for adoption of a charter of the Plan E type instead of the delayed two-step procedure for essentially the same plan proposed by the commission. Mr. Strong stated on April 2 that if the referendum is held as proposed his committee will favor proportional representation over the alternative limited vote plan because it is "the fairest and least arbitrary method."

Right to Use P. R. Upheld in Massachusetts House

On April 8 the Massachusetts house of representatives overwhelmed a bill to ban the use of proportional representation in connection with Plan E city government by 132 votes to 57. The bill had previously passed the senate March 31 by 19 to 15 in a surprise rejection of an adverse committee report.

The bill, introduced at the request of a perennial Cambridge opponent, would have terminated the use of P.R. in Cambridge and Lowell and interrupted campaigns for adoption in several other cities.

In spite of the solid Democratic vote against P. R. in the senate P. R. is not generally regarded in Massachusetts as a partisan issue. The senate action was deplored by newspapers and leading citizens of both parties. The vote is best explained in terms of local politics. The Democratic party was the party under whose standard Cambridge and Lowell were notoriously misgoverned just prior to the adoption of Plan E charters and, although a majority of the councilors in both cities are still Democrats, the old type of party machine control has largely disappeared. The current agitation for adoption of Plan E in Boston and other communities may have appeared to the Democratic senators as a threat of further reduction of the value of political patronage available to their party.

Those favoring the P. R. repeal tacitly emphasized the improvement in city government in Cambridge and Lowell under Plan E by not making any serious attempt to discredit the government of those cities and relying almost entirely upon theoretical objections to P. R., such as that voiced by Councilor William C. Geary of Lowell, who said: "There is no question that this is a Communist program, sponsored by the Communist party. Everyone agrees it is not good for our national government and I say that it is no good for our cities." To this and similar charges the *Boston Post*, leading Democratic newspaper in Massachusetts, with a policy that has been as thoroughly anti-Communist as any newspaper in the state, answered editorially on April 1:

> The claims that this system is "communistic" and destroys free speech are not borne out. Under the operation of P. R., as we have seen it, no one has been prevented from raising his voice on any municipal issue. . . . Nor has there been any fostering of Communism. The attack on this system that has been waged in the state senate has been carried on, we suspect, more for selfish political purposes than in the interests of better government.
>
> The commonwealth of Massachusetts would make itself ridiculous if this system were to be outlawed.

Councilor Geary was also answered by Councilor and former Mayor Woodbury F. Howard of Lowell, who said: "In Kansas City, Missouri, the Pendergast machine, with a city manager but without proportional representation, elected every member of the city council and brought the city to the verge of bankruptcy. The Massachusetts senate, on its record, is lining up with machine politicians who are always against proportional representation because they cannot control it." He added that by eliminating P. R. the senate would leave Plan E "an empty shell."

Answering a letter expressing the various arguments advanced for the repeal of P. R., Ex-Councilor Marcus Morton, Jr., of Cambridge wrote in a letter to the *Boston Globe*:

> The letter states that proportional representation is a system whereby control is taken from the majority and transferred to minority groups. That is false. On the contrary, there is far more majority control under proportional representation than under the old system. Under the old system the wasted ballot of a member of the minority in the ward counted for not one single elected councilor and a majority of the council was almost invariably elected by a minority of the voters. Under proportional representation all except a few hundred of the ballots cast are on file in sealed boxes labelled with the names of the councilors whom they actually elected. A majority of the councilors have control. Therefore, under proportional representation there cannot be anything but control by a majority of the voters.
>
> The letter states that proportional representation thus destroys the bipartisan system of government. That is false. The bipartisan system of government has been abolished in other forms of charter and in many cities. Proportional representation has nothing to do with the abolition.
>
> The letter states that racial and religious groups battle to elect representatives and the entire melting pot idea of Americanism is killed. That is utterly false. In these first five and a half years and three elections under proportional representation in Cambridge there has never been the slightest evidence of racial or religious competition. It is one of the most valuable incidentals of proportional representation that character assassination and name-calling are of little use, so that election depends on what a candidate stands for rather than on the names he calls other candidates. Proportional representation has done more in causing diverse elements of our population to work together in a true melting pot for the common cause than anything that has happened in Cambridge during the 23 years I have been lucky enough to live there.

Now that the P. R. ban has been defeated in the house, the campaigns to adopt Plan E reported in our last issue are going forward. One of the cities in which the campaign is well advanced is the relatively prosperous suburban community of Newton, west of Boston. Commenting on the drive there the *Boston Traveler* said editorially on March 21:

> It is part of the dynamism of the Plan E movement that it is not restricted to communities where poor government would make it a natural recourse. It flourishes as a movement in communities where good government would make it seem unlikely.
>
> In Newton, for example, there is a persistent and well supported Plan E movement. A drive already is under way to get the 4300 signatures necessary to place the question on the next ballot.
>
> The reason for this vigor, apart from its proved success nearby, is not hard to find. The principle of proportional representation accords with the finest ideals of justice and democracy. It is only natural that the residents of Newton should turn in substantial numbers to a concept of city government which brings to so practical a realization the essence of these ideals.

P. R. Fight Renewed in New York

As long expected, an attack on proportional representation has been launched in New York City for the "off-year" election of 1947. Most of the Democratic party leaders have never reconciled themselves to the loss of the near-monopoly which they enjoyed in the board of aldermen before P. R. was adopted in 1936 and which they have never been able to approach since.

In 1940, a presidential year, a repeal attempt was defeated at the polls by 782,768 votes to 565,879. It was anticipated, therefore, that the next attempt would be made at an election when there was no presidential, gubernatorial or mayoralty contest to bring out the independent voters in force. Such elections come once in every four years, and this is one of them.

This year, in addition to the probable light vote, the opponents of P. R. have unexpectedly had another advantage handed them. Present feelings of exasperation at the course being followed by the government of Russia are being directed against P. R. because of the presence of two Communists on the 23-member city council. Using this issue to the limit the attackers hope to persuade the voters to do away with all minority representation.

The charge is being made that Communists and other left-wing radicals have been able to "beat the system" and get more than their share of representation. Actually the Communist candidates polled 7 per cent of the first-choice votes in the city, increased their vote to 9 per cent of the total by votes transferred to next choices as hopeless candidates were defeated, and secured 9 per cent of the seats on the council. The American Labor party, the other left-wing group, polled 11 per cent of the first choices and 10 per cent of the final vote, and secured 9 per cent of the council. The votes for candidates of all groups have always been faithfully reflected by P. R. in the make-up of the council.[1]

It is expected that the repeal movement will take the form of a charter amendment providing for 25 councilmen elected by regular partisan plurality vote in state senate districts in mayoralty years. "Dope stories" to this effect appeared in all the New York papers late in March and were followed in several papers, including the *Times*, by editorials supporting the move. The

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[1] See the analyses of the five P. R. elections in New York City in the P. R. departments of this REVIEW for January 1938, December 1939, December 1941, December 1943 and January 1946.

Herald-Tribune carried the editorial supporting P. R. which is reproduced below.

The civic forces which led the successful campaigns for adoption and defense of P. R. are lining up again to retain it. The League of Women Voters and the Citizens Union were among the first to issue statements against the repeal. The Liberal and American Labor parties will be solidly with them and the Republican and Democratic parties will be split.

Chief emphasis in the defense will be on the fact that the proposed substitute seems certain to give the Democratic majority nearly all the members, whereas P. R. has always produced a large and able opposition, even when Mayor O'Dwyer carried every senate district in the city in 1945, and has also improved the personnel of the majority.

Politicians and P. R.

(An editorial in the *New York Herald Tribune,* April 5, 1947.)

The politicians are muttering again about proportional representation. This being an off-year in elections, the organization leaders are talking of an attempt on P. R., the system by which we have been electing our city council for the last ten years. Quite likely there will be election petitions in circulation before many months, and we shall be hearing all the old arguments about how we are suffering under P. R.

The debating society known as the city council now has 23 members, divided politically in this manner: Democrats, 12; Republicans, 5; American Labor, 2 (Quill and Connolly); Liberal, 2; Communist, 2. This is hardly a line-up to gladden a politician's heart—on a strictly partisan division the Democratic administration controls the council by only one vote. Not so long ago the board of aldermen had 64 Democrats and Joseph Clark Baldwin, and weren't those great days?

The argument is often made that P. R. affords an over-representation to radicals. How, except for this voting system, would the city council contain two Communists, certainly a disproportion to the Communist voting strength? And how would certain other councilmen of leftish sympathies fare in a conventional election? Probably not so well. But is this valid ground for throwing P. R. out the window? This proposed piece of repression carries an unhappy flavor. Certainly there is no reason for thinking that the city council would be improved if selected by party machine.

P. R. is quite able to stand on its own record. If it has produced some curious results on occasion, who are the politicians to complain? To P. R. we are indebted for such members of the council as Mrs. Genevieve Earle and Stanley Isaacs. They never would have got there otherwise. P. R. stood the test of a city referendum in 1940, winning vindication handsomely. We believe it would win again.

Carrie Chapman Catt

The grand old woman of the American woman suffrage movement, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who died on March 9 at the age of 88, was a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League from 1919 until the time of her death. She was one of the leaders to whom P. R. appealed as a natural extension of the suffrage movement: it was important not only to get the vote but to make the vote effective in securing representation. The League of Women Voters, which she founded in 1919, has been in the forefront of campaigns for the adoption and retention of P. R. in practically every American community where it has become an issue.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Richmond County, Ga., Continues Modernization

Consolidation of Offices, Planning Board Provided

THE civic revival in Augusta, Georgia, which has resulted in long strides forward in modernization of both city and county government, has met with still further success before the state legislature. Most of the specific proposals are based on surveys of city and county conducted by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed for the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League.

In the spring and summer 1946 elections the boss-ridden Cracker party, after a generation of complete control, was thoroughly defeated. This placed independents in control of the Richmond County commission, the city council, and the county delegation in the state legislature.

The county delegation has achieved substantial success in guiding reform measures through the Georgia legislature. A major victory was the passage of a new charter, providing the manager plan for Augusta, to be submitted to popular referendum May 7. Subject to referendum on the same day is a bill reorganizing the administrative structure of the school system.

Other bills enacted include abolition of the board of registrars and transfer of its functions to the county tax collector; consolidation of the offices of clerk to the county commission, custodian of the courthouse and county purchasing agent; establishment of a county planning and zoning board; prohibition of the sale of fireworks; and prohibition of loitering at the polls or soliciting votes near them.

Failing of passage were three local court reform bills, consolidation of city and county tax collection, and consolidation of city and county registration lists.

The county survey was made the subject of a series of articles by Tom O'Connor, writing in the *Augusta Chronicle*. Mr. O'Connor, in reviewing the report, stated in part:

"The five-man board of commissioners of roads and revenue has more in the way of title than it has in actual power. The board controls outright only the department of roads and bridges, the county home, the stockade and custodial services of the courthouse. Other departments are run by elected heads who look to the commission to furnish the money for their operations but otherwise are independent units of government. The board of education is an entirely independent body which fixes its own tax levy. The board of assessors is appointed by the commission but is subservient to it only as a matter of policy. Thus it is possible, under our system of county government, for department heads to set up several little governments of their own. Present financial procedures are an open invitation to carelessness, waste and overspending. The remedy lies in a county budget similar to those of the city of Augusta and the board of education, whose budget methods are strictly regulated by law.

"Deterioration of county physical property has become deplorable. Cost of government has leaped up 37 per cent in five years. Among the causes Dr. Reed lists salary increases, mandatory appropriations to the health department and cost of public welfare.

"Taking a close look at purchasing methods in force in the county prior to the survey, Dr. Reed recommends a central purchasing agency. Such an agency was put into effect a few days after the present commission took office. Dr. Reed recommends that soon after the end of each year the commission prepare and secure the publication of a brief but comprehensive report of the county's business during the past year. Dr. Reed condemns the practice of having audits made by a regular employee of the county. Salary increases for county employees are not advocated by Dr. Reed.

Modernize Methods

"The introduction of modern bookkeeping machines in the offices of the tax departments would bring about more economical operations and greater efficiency.

"Strict provision for controlling subdividers is provided in a county planning and zoning act recently enacted.

"Recommendations for other county offices include the purchase of photocopying apparatus for use in the clerks' office and for recording such other county papers as must be copied in full.

"The responsibilities of the sheriff are not happily related to the needs of the present day. The only practical solution is a single metropolitan police force for Augusta and Richmond County.

"Dr. Reed advocates voting machines owned by the county and rented to the city. County employees should not engage actively in politics.

"Of county planning and zoning, Dr. Reed states that with the passage of legislation permitting the setup of a county-wide planning and zoning commission, no time should be lost in naming the commission and employing a competent planning consultant to prepare a plan for the county as a whole.

"The Reed report concludes with the observation that there never can be a maximum of economy and efficiency in the government of Augusta and Richmond County unless they are consolidated into one governmental unit. Many of the most vexatious questions with regard to certain departments would be solved if they were directly responsible to a single local government. Dr. Reed sees a fairer distribution of cost of government under consolidation. Moreover, there would be the great advantage of unified command. The resources of the community would be brought into use much more effectively in solving the big problems which lie concealed in the future.

"The objections of farmers and owners of rural property to consolidation in which they might be expected to pay to provide city services for others could be overcome by setting up two taxing districts. There would be a much more equitable distribution of cost than at present and, with the savings to be derived from consolidation, taxpayers in both districts would be more lightly burdened.

"Many of the recommendations in the report were made verbally to commissioners late last year by the Reeds, and the county governing body at its inaugural meeting in January put into practice much that the report suggests.

Consolidation Recommended for Alabama City and County

The Legislative Advisory Commission appointed by the 1945 Alabama legislature to make a survey of Jefferson County, including the city of Birmingham, has now made its report to the legislature with the following recommendations: (1) that the city limits of Birmingham be extended to cover "all contiguous and adjacent territory, incorporated or unincorporated"; (2)

that the government of Jefferson County and Birmingham (with its limits as extended) be consolidated; (3) that the school systems of the city and county be consolidated. A motion that Jefferson County be made into two separate counties was not accepted. Points (1) and (2) would both be subject to referendum in the areas affected.

Major Harwell G. Davis, president of Howard College, is permanent chairman of the commission, which appointed Dr. Roscoe C. Martin, director of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Alabama, as its executive secretary, and Dr. Weldon Cooper, of the Bureau of Public Administration, as director of research.

Federal Aid for Counties Increases

Various programs of federal aid to counties are continuing to grow, and they promise to be increasingly significant in contributing to the problems of federal-state-local relationships. Several recent developments may serve as portents of trends which will cause counties to depend to an ever-increasing extent upon the federal government for financial assistance.

The funds available under the federal aid highway act are due to expire June 30, 1947. However, legislation is being prepared to extend availability of the funds for an additional period. The extension apparently is necessary because highway construction lagged as a result of labor and material shortages and high prices.

Counties received approximately five and one-half million dollars for airport construction during the first year of the federal aid airport program. Sixty-six counties in 22 states shared in the funds.

In regard to tax-exempt federally-owned land, Senator Taylor of Idaho, member of the Public Lands Committee, stated recently: "The recent hearings before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Public Lands served to bolster my conviction that the United States as a whole must share with the public lands counties some of the burden as well as the benefits brought about by the reserving of certain lands from private ownership.'

Henry County Council Ponders Continuation

The Henry County Council on Intergovernmental Relations, which has sponsored numerous proposals for local and state action to secure more effective cooperation among the several units of government, is bringing its project as originally planned to a close. Continuation of the study will depend largely upon community interest and desire for additional investigation into governmental problems. Local sponsors wish to interest the Spellman Fund in continuing its support for at least another two years.

Philadelphia Seeks More City-County Consolidation

Legislation to further city-county consolidation in Philadelphia is under consideration. The city already has partial consolidation in that a treasurer, controller and legislative body that taxes, incurs debt and appropriates money serve both city and county, but under the state constitution the two units cannot have a common executive, personnel agency or purchasing agent. Hence a constitutional amendment has been prepared which will effect complete consolidation. Such an amendment was approved by the legislatures of 1935 and 1937, but was defeated by popular state-wide referendum although overwhelmingly favored by the voters in Philadelphia. The present amendment must be passed by the 1947 and 1949 legislatures and be approved by popular referendum in the latter year.

53 California Cities Use Sales Tax

Most of Revenue Marked for Operating Expenses

ONE OF the most interesting current developments in municipal finance is taking place on the west coast, where in the past year adoption of municipal sales and use taxes has been spreading like wildfire among California cities. In a comprehensive article on the subject[1] Richard Graves, executive secretary of the League of California Cities, lists 53 cities which had adopted sales taxes through the forepart of the year. Twelve of the cities levy a 1 per cent tax, the remainder a tax of ½ of 1 per cent.

The tax is now so widespread that among the larger cities of the state only San Francisco and Long Beach lack sales taxes. Los Angeles' tax of ½ of 1 per cent went into effect in May 1946; San Diego's tax became effective July 1, 1946, and those in Oakland, Berkeley and Glendale in October 1946. All these places have taxes of ½ of 1 per cent, the 1 per cent rate being used by smaller communities fairly well isolated from other shopping centers.

In all the larger cities and in most of the others the tax was enacted as supplementary revenue for general operating purposes, but in five cities the proceeds are earmarked for capital improvements and in two instances proceeds are to be divided between operations and capital improvements. In 45 of the cities the taxes will continue unless the enacting ordinances are repealed; in the other eight definite dates for expiration of the levies are fixed.

Most of the acts incorporated by reference the major features of the state 3 per cent sales tax, especially as to definitions of taxable transactions and exemptions, and many of the administrative regulations provided for use of report forms, etc., similar to those used for the state tax, so as to minimize confusion and reduce to a minimum the duplication of records and reports by the retailer. Administration of the city taxes was vested variously in the city clerks, treasurers, tax collectors, license collectors, chiefs of police and even, in one instance, in the city manager.

Legislators Refuse Atlanta Plea for Payroll Tax

The Fulton County, Georgia, delegation to the state legislature has turned thumbs down on the request of the Atlanta city council for a one per cent payroll tax on persons residing outside the city but working within its corporate limits. Officials of most of the towns adjoining Atlanta, says *Southern City* in a report on the matter, had voiced strong opposition to the proposal.

Dewey Vetoes New York City in Rem Amendment

One of the few constructive measures adopted by the New York State legislature for the benefit of New York City was vetoed on April 9 by Governor Thomas E. Dewey. This was a measure authorizing the city to foreclose property tax liens by proceedings *in rem,* rather than by the expensive and involved procedure of using personal suits, and permitting foreclosure on a selective basis.

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[1] *Western City,* March 1947.

Tax lien foreclosure by proceedings *in rem* is recommended as standard procedure in the *Model Tax Collection Law* of the National Municipal League, and the process has been available to upstate New York cities for several years. Elsewhere it is widely used in the most progressive tax collecting jurisdictions, for in comparison with actions *in personam* it provides a simpler and less expensive procedure and facilitates the granting of a valid tax deed. Presently, tax lien foreclosures are costing New York City an average of about $400 per parcel compared with less than $5 per parcel in upstate cities using *in rem* proceedings.

Until the governor's veto, enactment of the tax reform bill had been regarded as the only tangible benefit received by the city from the governor and Republican majority in the 1947 legislature. New York City's requests for increased state aid had been dismissed and an alternative program of the governor's enacted which extended to the city the dubious privilege of imposing a variety of local excise taxes, including a 3 per cent sales tax on restaurant checks of more than one dollar, a retail liquor license tax at 25 per cent of the state license fee, a 5 per cent admissions tax, and city motor vehicle license taxes of $5 for passenger cars and $10 for commercial vehicles. The same law also authorized use of substantially these same excises by upstate counties and cities, from which it was estimated that the localities might obtain as much as $111,000,000, of which about $24,300,000 would accrue to New York City.

Indiana Legislature Enacts Fiscal Improvements

An act of the 1947 Indiana legislature provides for the reorganizing of the state's budgeting, auditing and purchasing practices in accordance with recommendations made by the Public Administration Service. Another act, according to the legislative bulletin of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, provides for consolidation of the various separate revenue-collecting agencies of the state into a single unified department.

The legislature also provided additional state aid for education, which is expected to meet the cost of teachers' salary increases without further property tax increases in Indianapolis. It authorized a reassessment on a statewide, uniform basis in 1949, and appropriated sufficient funds for the employment of trained supervising technicians and for the use of scientific assessment methods. Proposals that state aid to cities be enlarged reached an impasse with rejection by the municipalities of a plan to enable cities to levy a local surtax on the gross income tax, and no measures for increased state aid to cities were enacted.

Virginians Survey Local Revenues

A survey of Virginia local revenue sources and of existing tax yields has been undertaken by a commission of fifteen municipal officials headed by Mayor William H. Mann, of Petersburg, which was created recently by the Virginia Municipal League.

A special subcommittee will be appointed to deal with the retail sales tax, which will be examined both as a local levy and as a state-collected, locally-shared tax. Other revenues to be reviewed include amusement and excise levies, licenses, utility service charges, property reassessments, etc. The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia will assist in the studies.

Legislatures Increase State Aid to Local Units

Thus far six 1947 state legislatures have approved bills giving local governments larger shares of certain state-collected taxes—Arkansas, Colorado, Indiana, New Mexico, Utah, and West Virginia.

Colorado legislation, effective in April, increased the state gasoline tax and allocated 6 per cent of the new revenue to cities and towns on the basis of motor vehicle registrations.

Utah's legislation increased from $800,000 to $1,500,000 the allocation to local units of state motor vehicle license collections. Another Utah law provides that all state liquor store profits in excess of $2,250,000 annually shall be distributed to localities, up to a maximum of $1,000,000 annually.

The Arkansas legislature passed four tax-sharing bills, the most important of which allocates to cities 12½ per cent of all general revenues over $33,000,000. At present state revenues are about $40,000,000 and are expected to increase gradually for several years.

New Mexico has provided for allocation to localities of 15 per cent of motor vehicle registration fees. West Virginia legislators provided for rebate to municipalities of 2 per cent of liquor store sales. Recent revision of an Indiana statute is expected to increase local shares of state gasoline taxes.

Roanoke to Tax Real Estate Transfers

The city council of Roanoke, Virginia, has enacted an ordinance imposing a tax of one per cent on real estate transfers. The tax will be paid by the purchaser, and is expected to yield from $75,000 to $100,000 per annum, which will be dedicated to the city sinking fund.

Cigarette and Tobacco Revenues Jump

The 31 states administering cigarette and tobacco taxes raised $236,500,000 from this source in 1946 as compared to $164,200,000 for 1945. Factors contributing to the 44 per cent increase include increased production following the end of the war and boosts in tax rates in some states.

Nine states reported 1946 revenues from this source in excess of $8,000,000; New York, $32,600,000; Massachusetts, $20,100,000; Texas, $19,900,000; Pennsylvania, $19,300,000; Illinois, $17,200,000; Ohio, $15,500,000; Louisiana, $11,200,000; Florida, $11,100,000; and Oklahoma, $8,800,000.

Massachusetts, with an increase of 78 per cent over 1945, showed the greatest increase with Connecticut and its 70 per cent increase a close second. Both states raised their tax rates in the latter part of 1945.

At the municipal level, Kansas City, Missouri, had a 31.8 per cent increase in 1946 cigarette tax collections with a $1,000,000 yield. Birmingham, Alabama, raised $511,000 from this source in 1946, a 34 per cent boost over the previous year.

N. Y. Port Authority Gets Airports

On April 17, following approval of the New York Board of Estimate, Mayor O'Dwyer signed an agreement to lease the city's airports to the Port of New York Authority. Among major modifications to its original proposal (see the REVIEW for March, page 173), the authority offered somewhat higher rentals, shortened the period of authority operation from 99 to 50 years, and eliminated its option to purchase.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

British Health Minister on Centralization

Local Authorities Not on Way Out Says Bevan

IN ENGLAND and Wales there are about 29,000,000 men and women with the right to vote in local government elections. In most places the size of the poll is rarely more than a third of the electorate, and in some it may be as small as a tenth. Less than half the electorate in London are in the habit of using their municipal votes.

Behind all this apathy is a tendency throughout the country to under-rate the work of local authorities. This attitude, which was always deplorable, has special dangers for the health of our democracy at the present time but it is being encouraged even by some spokesmen of local government itself.

The indifferent citizen, not wanting to bother about local government, is letting himself be persuaded that what powers it ever had are being whittled away by current legislation. Yet it is precisely in the present reconstruction period that local government has a specially vital contribution to make. The plain fact is that local authorities have more work on hand than at any time in their history, and local government can be more glorious in the future than it has ever been in the past.

The local authority suffers the same mutations as any other social institution. Local government just can't stay put—rigidity can only spell atrophy; it must be adaptable to the needs of modern society. Still the fact remains that local government is the most intimate kind of public administration we have, and that means there are certain tasks that only local authorities can properly undertake, because only they have the requisite knowledge and the right machinery.

One of those tasks at the present time is housing. Presumably nobody thinks housing of secondary importance! On the local authorities falls all the work of acquiring and preparing sites, planning houses and getting them out to contract, and finally allocating them as fairly as possible to the families in greatest need.

The local authorities know the housing problem "on the ground." They know what kinds of houses are most needed, where they can best be built, and who has first claim to live in them; and they offer the most effective instrument for the production of houses for renting. So the government has put on the local authorities the main burden of the housing program.

The number of houses under contract to be built will soon be approaching the half million mark. This part of the work has indeed been done so quickly that at the moment the building industry has been given more work than it can handle. Considered in relation to the nation's enormous housing needs, the number of houses built or building represents no more than a good start; but that we have made so good a start in the face of immense difficulties is a testimony to the energy and efficiency of our local authorities—whom many people considered totally unfit for this great responsibility when first it was placed upon them.

Another field where local government is going to find abundant scope is that of the new health centers—a main feature of the personal practitioner services provided for in the national health service act. It is to be the duty of the county and county borough councils to provide, equip and maintain the new health centers, and I know they will get off to a very good start, even though because of shortage of building capacity they will have to use existing buildings for a time.

THE RT. HON. ANEURIN BEVAN, M.P.
Britain's Minister of Health

Nottingham Creates Information Center

Nottingham's Information and Advice Center, although less than a year old, solves 6,000 personal problems alone. It has a staff of 45 people—twelve for information and 33 for housing problems. This center is typical of many throughout England and Wales.

The Information and Advice Center was established in 1946 when the Citizen's Advice Bureau closed. At this time there was a conflict in views concerning its function; some believed that a local authority was less fitted than an unofficial organization to provide service for a citizen in domestic trouble, while others felt that the underlying cause of many personal problems lay in some activity of local or central government such as housing; therefore, the local authority was qualified to give advice on personal problems. The latter view was proved dominant by the results of inquiries.

The experience of Nottingham has shown that a local authority through its facilities and contacts and by sympathy and practical assistance can provide an adequate service which meets the social needs of its citizens.[1]

Electricity Bill Would Provide National Authority

A major measure before the British House of Commons is the electricity bill. A main feature calls for the setting up of a national authority to regulate and supervise the generation and supply of electricity. It is also suggested that the country be divided into districts for coordination of electrical distribution and that this be under the control of a district board. The bill would establish area boards which would acquire the bulk of supplies from the central authority to be redistributed to consumers in their area. The area boards' policy would be directed toward economical methods of operating and transmitting electricity. The bill would remove the service of distribution from 370 local authorities and 190 companies and transfer it to the area boards.[2]

Other British Proposals Cover Restaurants, Transport

The civic restaurants bill before the British House of Commons would enable local authorities to continue serving public meals and similar activities which they have undertaken under the general title of "British restaurants," established in 1940 because of wartime needs. This experience, reports the *Municipal Journal* (London), has shown that local authorities can run profitable businesses by serving good cheap meals and it was questioned whether private enterprise could provide meals on the same scale.

An amendment, carried by one vote and attached to the bill in standing committee, forbids the sale of intoxicating liquors. The amendment was protested because local citizens would not be permitted to decide the issue by referendum.

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[1] *Local Government Service,* January 1947.

[2] See *Municipal Journal,* January 10, 1947.

The transport bill presented recently deals with railways and canals, transportation of goods by road, passenger road transportation, and harbors and ports. A transport commission will be set up which will take over canal travel, road transportation, and privately owned railroads.

International Groups to Discuss Local Affairs

Two international congresses concerned with vital problems of municipal life and public administration are to be held in Europe this summer.

The seventh International Congress of Local Authorities will meet in Paris July 6-12. Subjects to be discussed are: (1) The role of the communities in civic education; (2) reconstruction and replanning of cities; (3) autonomy of municipalities.

The seventh International Congress of Administrative Sciences will hold its sessions in Berne, Switzerland, July 22-30. Its topics include: (1) Administrative tasks in the postwar period and the experience of the war; (2) chief of government and the organization of his staff; (3) participation of civil servants and their associations in administration; (4) position of local and regional authorities and their relation to the central government.

Another meeting of special interest to public administrators is the British Institute of Public Administration, which will be held June 26-30 at Ashridge. The subject of the conference will be "Administrative Implications of Nationalization." The American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities will supply further information about this conference.

An International Exposition of Urbanism and Housing at Paris is scheduled to begin July 10.

Women in Civil Service

A recent announcement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Great Britain, says the *Municipal Review,* stated that marriage will not be a bar to appointment of women to home civil service positions. It has been suggested that local authorities should consider adopting a similar policy for local appointments.

* * *

Local Employees over Million

The Minister of Labor announced on September 30, 1946, that employees of various classes of local authorities in Great Britain was 1,019,000. This figure included men from 14 to 65 years of age and women from 14 to 60. Of the total number 43 per cent were employed by county councils, 37 per cent by county borough councils and councils of large burghs and cities in Scotland, 12 per cent by municipal boroughs and metropolitan boroughs, 5 per cent by urban district councils and councils of small burghs in Scotland, 2 per cent by rural district councils, and 1 per cent by other local authorities such as joint boards.[3]

* * *

Cities Make Finance Pleas

The Association of Municipal Corporations, composed of large British cities, has made the following recommendations: (1) the central government should waive repayment of advances made to local authorities for utility deficiencies as was done with the general rate fund deficiencies; and (2) the whole burden of loss of rate revenue due to enemy action should be borne nationally.

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[3] The *Municipal Journal,* January 10, 1947.

Books in Review

The Shore Dimly Seen. By Ellis Gibbs Arnall. Philadelphia, J. N. Lippincott Company, 1946. 312 pp. $3.

The Shore Dimly Seen presents Governor Arnall's program for approaching the goal of "a land of the free"; a program based on his belief in democracy and individualism and his knowledge of the south and experience as governor of Georgia.

In his opinion the problems of the south spring largely from national policies, thus requiring national as well as local remedies. Because southern and western industries are prohibited from marketing their products in competition with the heavily industrialized northeast those areas have been driven to exporting their natural resources and forest products.

Concerning the Negro, Governor Arnall believes the south is his natural home where he can have the ample living space denied in the north and is welcome as a farm owner; that his problem is part of the general poverty of the region and will be solved as that is solved.

Governor Arnall believes "in local responsibility." He says, "Very seldom is there heard a resounding demand that states' rights be maintained by the states' assumption of responsibilities. Yet if county and municipal goverment on the one hand and the federal government on the other displayed such a tendency to shirk responsibility as do state governments in general there would be governmental chaos in America. . . .

"The need for governmental reform at the state level is acute. In emphasizing the shortcomings of Georgia . . . I do not mean to suggest that its state government was much worse than average . . . . Its basic organization of agencies and its distribution of authority among the three branches was better than in many other states. The appellate jurisdiction of its court of last resort was more adequate than in Massachusetts. The governor's authority was not so dangerously hedged as in Connecticut. The tax system was not in the chaos that seems chronic in New Jersey, nor was it as regressive as that adopted in Ohio in recent years. . . .

"There must be some readjustment of the general tax situation in the nation so that state finances may be better ordered."

The story of Governor Arnall's success in securing a new state constitution is well known.

On the federal level, an enormous portion of the suggested spending for prevention of depression would be in the nature of investment in self-liquidating projects. "The Tennessee Valley Authority has been one of the most profitable investments in the history of federal finance, in addition to its accomplishments for a depressed, exploited and temporarily submarginal area."

Governor Arnall suggests that regional problems such as the Missouri Valley and the northwest can be met by "the creation of regional authorities on the pattern of the TVA . . . until such time as state governments by experimentation and development of a sense of responsibility are equipped to proceed with such programs through compacts among themselves."

Alice L. Bebout
New Jersey League of Women Voters

The Self-Supporting City. By Gilbert M. Tucker. New York 21, Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1946. 108 pp. $1.

This little book adds a little to the store of single-tax material by adducing some recent facts that fit the case. The author proposes untaxing urban buildings in installments over eight successive years, transferring the burden to land. I, for one, believe in this and in its long range benefits but I wish the trickle of fresh data had not been submerged in the wordy enthusiasm with which the sound arguments are belabored; each little, and usually undocumented, fact is made the basis for eager pages of earnest moralizing and over-simplified assumptions.

But it is all true enough although little of it is new, and I hope it will find its way to some of the people who have not heard of Henry George.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Chicago's Law Year 1946. By Barnet Hodes. Chicago, Department of Law, 1947. 167 pp.

Mr. Hodes' current volume, in addition to covering his 1946 report, contains an attractively illustrated discussion of the postwar problems of municipalities—housing, slums, veterans, unions, finance, etc. There is also a resume of the department's work for the past twelve years—since the consolidation of the city's legal services.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Building Codes

Suggested Building Code Ordinance for Small Municipalities. Lexington, Kentucky Municipal League, 1946. 32 pp. 50 cents.

Directories

1946 Legal Aid Directory. Rochester, New York, National Association of Legal Aid Organizations, 1946. 39 pp. $1.

Highways

Aerial Surveys Aid Highway Location. Symposium Presented Before Surveying and Mapping Division of the New York Annual Meeting. By Edward T. Gawkins, William J. Cox, and E. C. Houdlette. Philadelphia 20, Aero Service Corporation, 1947. 14 pp.

Public Control of Highway Access and Roadside Development. By David R. Levin. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. vi, 154 pp. 35 cents.

Housing

Reference and Source Material on I. Housing and Housing Needs; II. Economic and Social Costs of Good and Bad Housing; III. Who Pays for Public Housing. Washington, D. C., Federal Public Housing Authority, National Housing Agency, 1947. 36 pp

Parking

Parking Manual. How to Solve Community Parking Problems. Washington 6, D. C., American Automobile Association, 1946. viii, 181 pp. $1.

Personnel

Personnel Administration and Civil Service. A Selected List of References. Washington, D. C., U. S. Civil Service Commission, the Library, 1946. 32 pp.

Public Employees and Employee Organizations. A Panel Discussion. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1947. 10 pp. 50 cents.

Public Relations from the Viewpoint of the Press. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1947. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Population

Estimated Population of the United States by Age, Color and Sex: 1940 to 1946. Recent Trends in Population Replacement. School Enrollment of the Civilian Population: October 1946. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1947. 8, 6, and 1 pp. respectively.

Public Administration

Periodicals Currently Received. A List of 672 Periodicals in Public Administration and Related Fields. Chicago 37, Public Administration Clearing House, Joint Reference Library, 1946. 40 pp.

Public Ownership

Trend Toward Public Ownership of Electric Utilities. By R. E. McDonnell. (Address before Indiana Municipal Electric Association). Kansas City, Missouri, Burns & McDonnell Engineering Company, 1946. 24 pp.

Public Works

Public Works Engineers' Yearbook-Directory—1946. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1946. 252 pp.

State Government

Messages of the Governors 1947. Chicago, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* February 1947. 44 pp. 50 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Oklahoma Sales Tax, Including Operations of the Use and Music Box Tax. Statistical Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1946. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1947. 29 pp.

The Property Tax Problem. By Frederick L. Bird, etc. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* February 1947. 28 pp. 50 cents.

Report of the Senate Interim Committee on State and Local Taxation. Sacramento, California Legislature, 1947. 61 pp.

School Finance Goals. Washington 6, D. C., National Education Association of the United States, Research Division, 1946. 41 pp. 25 cents.

State Tax Legislation 1946. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1947. 30 pp.

State Debt in 1946. (Preliminary). By Wylie Kilpatrick and N. B. Gerry. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1947. 7 pp.

Summary of County Government Finances in 1944 (Preliminary). By Wylie Kilpatrick. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1946. 16 pp.

Taxation and Business Enterprise. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1947. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Tax Proposals to Aid Small Business. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1947. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic Safety

Let's Teach Driving. An Administrative Guidebook, Washington 6, D. C., National Commission on Safety Education of the National Education Association, 1947. 135 pp. 50 cents (reductions on quantity orders).

National Poster Contest 1947. School Traffic Safety Posters. Washington 6, D. C., American Automobile Association, 1947. 6 pp.

1 Out of 3 Drives with Dangerous Lights, Brakes, Tires, Windshield Wipers or Horns—a Summary of the Police Traffic Safety Check. Evanston, Illinois, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1947. 32 pp. Illus.

Hold That Line—20,000, 30,000, 40,000 Traffic Deaths. Chicago 2, U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce 1947. 39 pp.

Traffic Safety Education. A Guidebook for State and Civic Officials. Saugatuck, Connecticut, Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1947. 68 pp.

Zoning

Effective Zoning. Trenton, New Jersey State Department of Economic Development, Division of Planning and Engineering, 1946. 13 pp.

Revised Zoning Ordinance, City of Wichita, Kansas. Wichita, City Clerk, 1947. 35 pp.

Airport Zoning Ordinance for the Zoning of Public Airports by Minnesota Municipalities and Counties. St. Paul 4, Minnesota Department of Aeronautics, 1946. Variously paged.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Standards for Councilmen?

MANY thoughtful people worry about the quality and performance of city councils and state legislatures. And well they might, for the injury done to confidence in our system of government by incompetent, irresponsible and venal members of such bodies is considerable.

Again and again it is proposed that high qualifications for candidates be established to keep undesirables out of legislative and councilmanic halls.

A usually clear-thinking local civic organization recently suggested that city councilmen should be *authorities* on state and municipal government and financial and tax problems.

A distinguished educator-author-soldier has made an extensive study to support his belief that "municipal, state and federal legislators should have a thorough knowledge of the social and political sciences—taxes, tariffs, labor laws, and management and industrial, constitutional and international laws, ancient and modern history, civics, economics, moral and legal ethics, and the humanities."

This kind of thinking is away off base. Councilmen and legislators could be better qualified, yes, but it would mean the end of our system if we forget that above all a representative must be *representative*—a fair sample of the people from whom he springs.

The people have to choose their representatives as best they can. No one could be so omniscient as to figure out specific educational and professional qualifications or the right kind of qualifying examination for candidates for a city council to insure both their competence *and* their *representativeness.*

It is possible, nevertheless, to set up some standards to help voters choose a high quality of councilmen without insisting that the choice be on the basis of expertness. It might just as logically be claimed that every school board member be able to administer the school system.

It would be good, for example, if the voters (who frequently do want to elect above-average candidates) were to prefer men who have demonstrated high competence in whatever private work they follow and, more important, an understanding of community and human problems.

Without being technicians in government, they should be able to form sound judgments concerning the competence of those who are. They should be devoted to honest, nonpartisan, non-patronage government; have the confidence of the community; be free from selfish influence or personal political ambition; be able and willing to devote enough attention to their duties as councilmen to develop a long-range view of community needs and problems.

There are other qualities which might be equally desirable.

But it's idle to say a set of qualifying standards can or should be set up as they are for administrative or technical positions.

The only sound way to obtain trained technicians and administrators is to appoint them. The only sound and proper way to choose representative policy-forming bodies is to elect them, freely and without restrictions except those developed in the voters' minds.

As a distinguished political philosopher has so wisely and pungently put it, the expert should be on tap, not on top.

Dark Days for the Boss

FRANK HAGUE of Jersey City is no longer as blatantly confident as he used to be that he is "the law."

The last three governors of New Jersey have not been his men; in fact, they have been actively hostile to his philosophy. He no longer musters the top-heavy vote in his Hudson County that used to smother his opponents throughout the state. (Some are unkind enough to say the change from paper ballots to voting machines might have something to do with this). A board of assessment appeals appointed by former Governor Charles Edison has crippled the technique of using assessments for reward and punishment.

But the greatest shock came with the resounding defeat in last month's local election of his loyal henchman, Bernard McFeely, in nearby Hoboken, a one-mile square city of 50,000 people, 250 saloons and a place where occupants of key public jobs have had an unmistakable tendency to be named McFeely.

Small fry dictators, like their big shot heroes, have a tendency to overplay their hands; and Barney McFeely was a little late in discovering that popular apathy has its limits even in tightly controlled Hoboken.

The first step in the revolt came last fall, the people voting by a big margin for a genuine merit system when persecuted policemen had had enough. Then and during the winter the League of Women Voters and other lonesome independents began different to accept something new. if there seemed to be any place to go.

So, when the entire McFeely ticket was snowed under, Barney McFeely sighed, "It was the will of the people," and turned his attention to arranging fat pensions for McFeelys and McFeelyites.

It is too early to guess, where an entire generation has grown up in a heavily boss - tainted atmosphere, whether Hoboken will be able to rise to the opportunity provided by these two victories. The people have very clearly asked the new leadership for something different and better. But the commission form of government's inherent encouragement of log-rolling and machine-building throws a difficult hurdle in the way. The situation calls for a rare degree of local statesmanship and resistance to Hagueism.

In any event, Mr. Hague's tough hide has been dented once more and he may find it advisable, even with the strike settled, to dispense with the long-distance telephone from Florida in running Hudson County.

How to Break into Politics

High-minded citizens have many opportunities to serve parties and make them what they think they should be.

By **CHARLES EDISON***

ALL Americans are proud of and devoted to that most fundamental of all civil rights—the right of free speech. The right to speak freely includes the right to criticize—the right to beef about the government is one of our inalienable liberties—but it goes only a little way toward making government by the people work. To let off all the steam we have does not make the engine go. The intelligent citizen really devoted to his country will want to do more than merely complain, object or denounce. He will want to take some personal part in the process of politics.

It is much easier to accomplish something in politics than most people think. The process is not remote, it begins right at home. It is as close as the precinct, or the township, or the school board. It touches us at every point—in the way we make our livings, educate our children, even where we bury our dead. It affects what we eat—as Woodrow Wilson said, even though you cannot taste the tariff in your sugar it is there just the same.

Indeed, there is nothing important that one can do in business or a profession that does not affect politics. Dean Upson of Wayne University once said: "Henry Ford successfully tinkering with the first carburetor on the first Ford car was also opening a Pandora's box of social questions—problems of street paving, congestion, city planning, policing, traffic control, street widening, rapid transit, parks and playgrounds, hospitals, traffic courts, poor relief, liquor control, probation, parole, prison management, all of which are as much a part of the automobile as are its engine, fenders and headlights." In lesser degree every one of us produces problems of politics.

The citizen who wants to do something in politics should first of all decide for himself what he wants his country, state or city to be—where he wants it to go. He may change his mind sometimes, but he will not be moving without some direction. No man can be effective in politics if he does not know what he wants to see government do or become.

Secondly, he ought to learn all he can about government, both through reading and experience. The freedom to criticize is a pretty empty freedom unless a man knows what he is talking about. The citizen who wants to make his citizenship effective will read more of his newspaper than just the sports, comics and business news. It is all right to keep up with the doings of

---

*Mr. Edison, president of the National Municipal League and of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., was governor of New Jersey from 1941 to 1944. He served as assistant secretary, then secretary, of the Navy from 1937 to 1940.

Blondie and Lil' Abner if you like them, but you need to keep up with the city council too.

The citizen, indeed, should read as many newspapers as he can in order to get their differing points of view—and more, to get the news—because what is news to one editor is not always news to another. Most politicians are chain readers of newspapers. They follow the dailies as carefully as a stock broker follows the market. The citizen who would take part in politics can well emulate them. He will thus build up the information indispensable to politics and, seeing as he will what others are saying and doing, he can build up a body of vicarious experience. He can learn from the mistakes of others.

Newspapers, valuable as they are, still are things of the moment, and the intelligent citizen will want to go deeper, into books and magazines. He may want to learn about some problem of government such as taxation or the debt, or about some area of government such as cities or counties, or about the structure of government such as constitutions. The study of government is like the study of anything else—interest grows with knowledge. The deeper a person gets into the study of government the more he will realize how endlessly complicated it is. Thermodynamics is simple compared with the endless variety and infinite complexity of human conduct in its social and political aspects. Learning about government is a challenge to any man.

But no one needs to know everything at once. The citizen, while absorbing such knowledge as he can from reading, may take the third step and associate himself with others. He will not get far unless he does. Lowell Mellett, in his little *Handbook of Politics*[1]—which I recommend highly, said that being alone in politics is the most foolish thing you can be. It is. Politics is a gregarious occupation. The citizen seeking to make his ideals prevail must make them prevail upon somebody. He will need to know the people who are also interested in the same ideals as his.

Choosing a Party

We have in this country two great parties. Neither of them has a hard-and-fast creed; neither has a dogma once and for all dictated from on high. Rather, each will welcome any citizen. One practicing politician of my acquaintance compared his party to a circus tent—it was so big and broad, he said, that anybody could get under it. The Republican party has under its tent such very different Republicans as former Mayor LaGuardia and Herbert Hoover; the Democratic party such different Democrats as Claude Pepper and Harry Byrd.

Broad as they are the two parties are not exactly alike. At any given time most people can say which party they prefer. The determining factor may be the national or local party leadership, the positions of the parties on specific issues, or the voter's estimate of long-run differences in party traditions and directions. Since the decision between the two major parties is not between extremes it must be made by weighing the relative importance of different considerations, including personal factors which may make the voter feel that he would be more happy or effective in one party than in the other.

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[1] Penguin Books, Inc., New York, 138 pages.

Of course there is a small minority of citizens who prefer to affiliate with one of the minor parties. Such citizens are entitled to the satisfaction of knowing that minor parties have from time to time influenced the programs and policies of the major parties. This is especially true of the so-called "third parties," such as the Populist party of the 80's and 90's and Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose or Progressive party of 1912 and after.

Nonpartisan Groups

Finally, there are strictly local "nonpartisan" parties, organized for the sole purpose of running candidates for local offices. In some places, as in South Orange, New Jersey, the national parties keep hands off local affairs, and Republicans and Democrats join in the local Citizens party. In Cincinnati, on the other hand, the Charter Committee, although composed of persons who are Republicans—as well as Democrats and independents—in state and national politics, runs candidates in opposition to those of the regular Republican organization. In cases like these it is possible for a person to be active in two parties, a local party and a national party.

When a citizen decides which party in his state or community most nearly represents his point of view, he will usually find it easy to associate himself with it. Any one can tell him who is the local leader, if there is one—the policeman on the corner, the clerk in the cigar store, any newspaper reporter. That leader may be a good man, or he may not be any good; but the citizen who wants to make his part in democracy count will get acquainted with him anyhow. He should also seek out and get acquainted with public officials. They may be good, or they may not be good; but a judgment based upon personal contact is infinitely better than one based upon mere rumor. By and large I think the citizen will find that the officers of his democracy are more capable and more intelligent men than they get credit for being. For every Frank Hague there are a thousand honest and hard working mayors.

Much of politics is a matter of personalities — of working with people. Until the citizen works with people he cannot establish any leadership. One place where anyone may try his political wings is in the local political club. Former Mayor LaGuardia has been most scornful of these clubs. I am not. They serve as partial urban substitutes for the country store and the town meeting. No doubt some have been hangouts for political parasites but that fact does not disprove their importance —it only shows that better clubs are needed. And if there is no club in the community the citizen has a real opportunity to develop some political leadership.

The party primary is the first gate to effective politics and in most states no one can join in the primary who is not registered. Registration laws differ from state to state and they do not always apply in the same way in all areas of the same state. But the town clerk or the secretary of the political club or even the policeman on the corner can tell you when and where to register so as to vote in the primary. If you miss your opportunity to register, says Mellett, "you can write yourself off as a flop in politics and look around for some activity for which you are better fitted."

Importance of Primary

It is the primary that picks the candidates for whom the voters cast their ballots in November. The importance of this primary cannot possibly be overstated. If the voters must choose on election day between a crook and a fool, or between two fools or two crooks, it is because the party members on primary day set up just that choice for them. Preventing such a choice is really not difficult. Outside of the south, where the primary is the real election, only from 10 to 20 per cent of the citizens who manage to vote at the general election in November will get out to vote on primary day. Take the matter down to a single precinct or election district. Suppose a thousand votes are cast in the general election. Then you can expect that from a hundred to two hundred votes will be cast in the primary. Just a few more than a hundred would be a safe majority. Generally speaking, any man or woman who has a hundred friends and relatives can, then, make himself a force in American politics. He can swing the vote in one precinct and that is what will impress any political organization.

In most states there is one precinct committeeman and one committeewoman for each party. They are the leaders in this smallest of our political units; they are the infantry of the party organization. The citizen seeking to take a more active part in politics than merely voting will learn who his committeeman and committeewoman are. Again the clerk in the cigar store or the policeman on the corner can tell him; but he can, if he wants, call the county board of elections to make sure. When he learns the names of his party officers and what they are like, he may want to work with them or, if he thinks they are no good, he will seek to displace them at the next primary.

These committeemen and women serve their parties without salary. Some have political jobs, but probably the great majority are in politics for the same reason that any good citizen would go in—because they are interested in helping to make democracy work. They are more sinned against than sinning. Their great weakness is that, after long years of ringing doorbells and trying to coax and cajole the sovereign voter to come to the polls, they get tired and discouraged. They need all the help they can get, and they will welcome any assistance without asking the would-be assistant to commit himself on the reciprocal trade agreements act or the St. Lawrence waterways.

No one should go into politics and not expect to put in some of his time at it. It takes time, just as any worthwhile activity takes time. Going to political meetings—not to mention organizing them, arranging radio time, getting up and distributing campaign materials, lining up election day workers, finding cars to take voters to the polls—these and a thousand other party activities take people's time.

The people who do all this necessary work do not get mentioned in the history books, not even in the footnotes; but their work is just as necessary to democracy as the drafting of platforms or the determination of high policy.

Financing Political Action

Any party needs money. It has to rent headquarters, pay for radio time, print materials, pay for postage, and do many other things that cost money. Most of the costs are necessary to the functioning of the democratic process, and in carrying them the parties pay part of the cost of government. Any citizen who goes actively into politics will be called upon for contributions, and he should give as much as he can afford to his party. The machine politicians can raise plenty of money from the questionable sources to which they often have access. Clean money is doubly useful. A person who can raise money for his party has almost certainly a promising political career before him.

Some citizens shy away from politics because they think it is dirty and dishonest. I am sure that politics is no worse than many other human activities. Rather, politics takes its tone from the general moral climate of the time. In a period of robber barons in business Tweed rings can be expected in politics. There have been lawyers whose ethics have been questioned, and even organized sport has had its scandals. But if a citizen is, after investigation, convinced that the organization of his party in his community is corrupt, then he has an extraordinary opportunity—he can, with his friends, clean it up. He has a real chance to do something for democracy right in his own backyard.

Although some compromises have to be made in politics in order to get things done—as they have to be made in other aspects of human affairs—no man needs to do anything his conscience forbids. "You can't always cause the best man to be chosen for office," to quote Mellett once more, "and you can't always cause the bad eggs to be thrown out of the party. What you can do is to keep yourself free from any improper obligations, your feet under your center of gravity and slowly push your weight in the direction of what you think is good."

Obviously it is very much harder to start a campaign to clean the rascals out of your party organization than to get to work in a going organization of persons interested in politics as a service to democracy. It is harder; but it can be done and it is being done more and more as citizens are awakening to the high stakes that depend on proof that our system really is what we tell the world it is.

Of course, a citizen must enter politics with his eyes open, and sometimes with his guard up. He owes it to himself and his community not to let his work or his money be used for sinister purposes by a corrupt or cynical machine. An alert citizen can soon tell whether or not the organization is on the up and up. If it is not, and he cannot make any headway in reforming it from within, it becomes his duty to get out and join with others in fighting it from outside.

This may mean crossing party lines, at least temporarily. It will certainly bring down the denunciations of the party "regulars" that he is a turncoat, a traitor or worse. That is just standard political billingsgate and should disturb no one with a firm mind and a good conscience. Many a recognized party leader has at some time or other performed his greatest service to his party by fighting a corrupt or unsavory clique that temporarily had obtained control of the machinery. When that control depends on the control of public offices and other patronage, the first step toward a clean-up may be a sound drubbing at the next election.

I have undertaken to point out how a citizen gets started in politics as an avowed member of a political party. I realize there are situations, particularly in cities where the national party of one's natural allegiance is thoroughly corrupt and boss-ridden, in which the admission of membership in either party comes hard, and certainly requires qualification or explanation. I also recognize the fact that few thoughtful citizens can ever be entirely happy about the position or lack of position of any party on all public questions.

Parties Are Important

Nevertheless, I am convinced that no citizen can claim to be living a full civic life if he does not join some political party and exert what influence he can within it and through it. We can neither reform nor abolish political parties by wishing. Parties have grown up in every free society as the chief method of promoting candidates for high public office and presenting a program or platform for political action. The citizen without party deprives himself of the most direct means of influencing the choosing of candidates and the policies that determine the course of government. He may claim he is "independent" but actually he is pathetically dependent for his political fare on whatever candidates and propositions his more politically-minded neighbors set before him.

There are, of course, other agencies which influence public affairs—nonpartisan civic organizations, pressure groups, the press, the public platform. Political parties and government itself frequently bend to the strong winds of opinion that they generate.

Some citizens prefer to work mainly through parties, others through the non-party organiza-

(Continued on page 320)

Let's Talk Things Over Right

Well organized discussion programs properly carried on will bring understanding and sound democratic action.

By SHEPHERD L. WITMAN*

"DISCUSSION gets nowhere." "You just sit around and arrive at no decisions." "It's entertaining but it wastes your time." How often we have heard these comments. The tragedy is that so often they are spoken with the voice of experience.

Fortunately, these results are not inherent in discussion but are the result of mismanagement of discussion. Few people understand its purposes or its method. Properly conceived and executed, discussion becomes the most effective device toward sound democratic action.

Discussion must be recognized in its proper relationship to the traditional instruments of democracy. The framers of our government realized that the philosophy of democracy required practical application. Certainly the rights of man had to be protected; positive legal restraints had to be placed upon the various branches of our government; a free system of elections was necessary for the expression of the people's will.

But it was not enough merely to fashion these instruments of democratic government. Rallying points for diverse opinion were necessary. Out of this need grew the political party. In the simpler life of earlier days the party more or less adequately met the needs of the people in their struggle to find common denominators of policy. But as the complexities of modern life bore more heavily upon the limited experience and knowledge of the electorate, the political party has been unable to keep pace in its capacity for formulation as distinguished from the mere expression of opinion.

Part of the difficulty is the result of the movement of political decisions away from the small community into the state, the nation and the world. As the focus of attention has moved away from the center of community life, the community has lost its earlier skill in facing these problems and dealing with them at its own level.

Thus, while the community has tried to keep pace with a mounting complexity of function and administration, the individual citizen has been left far behind. Nineteenth century mechanisms of citizen participation are still the most frequent pattern for twentieth century democratic control.

This dilemma is not the product of the citizen's disinterest. He knows the impact of taxation, zoning, garbage collection, police and fire protection and other manifold activities assumed by his city government. But what can he do about it? Where and how can he gain the information necessary to attack these problems, the essential opportunity to think together over these questions?

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Opportunity for Expression

The fact is that the urban community has failed to provide him with adequate means for analysis of his problems and for the collective expression of his attitude toward them. The great advantage of living together in a common community has not been utilized effectively to think together and plan together. No effective media of group communication have been evolved.

This is the atmosphere which permits the development of citizen lethargy, a sense of personal inadequacy and a consequent attitude of political futility. The citizen's response to dissatisfactions takes the course of individual grumbling, or a resignation wholly incompatible with the needs of modern life.

On the other hand, certainly it is not enough just to hand the citizen the cold facts. He must have an opportunity to evaluate facts in his own way at the level of his own capacity and interest. He must be able to thrash out matters in cooperation with his fellow-citizens. He must be shown the bearing of the evidence upon his problems and upon himself as an individual.

The attack upon these problems requires development of a sound system for the exchange of facts within the group, and for the cooperative analysis of those facts in the light of the community's needs and the possibilities and methods of improvement and correction. This calls for a correlated and interrelated program founded upon the technique of public discussion. It requires thorough organization and able direction.

To meet these requirements a specific organization—let's call it a council on public affairs—is called for in each community. How to set it up most effectively, who should sponsor it and how it should be financed are fundamental questions which must be considered.

It is basic that the techniques for the communication of ideas, and educational analysis and synthesis of those ideas, must be carried out at the level of common interest and physical convenience. This requires both an over-all, city-wide or area-wide discussion program and a decentralization of that program through civic subcenters.

Much so-called discussion has failed because of the general failure to understand both its purpose and its methods. The type of discussion which should have the widest possible use in the cities and towns is an organized, systematic exchange of ideas, a mutual challenging of opinion, a collective use of facts pointed precisely toward a tangible purpose—to assist people's thinking that they may arrive at their own conclusions.

Discussion is not, therefore, a bloodless, devitalized, pointless process. Attitudes and convictions *are* sought. They are not, however, sought as the composite idea of the group. No votes are taken, no majority or minority attitudes crystallized in any formal action. This is the job of the pressure group which in turn has a real but different role in the functioning of our political society. To divert the objective of discussion into this pressure area would be wholly destructive of the achievements we seek through discussion.

Discussion Leads to Action

But the discussion group should be recognized as the means by which people are motivated to political action, to support of those parties and groups which most nearly represent the policies they have come to believe necessary to the general welfare. Discussion should lead directly to citizen action through proper channels of political expression.

What, then, are we after in discussion? Its purposes are to introduce new and old facts into the gamut of men's thinking; to evaluate these facts, determine their relationship to decisions to be made, and balance them against the entire area of related evidence.

Discussion does change men's opinions. It is true that it changes them slowly, in short steps as it were. But this very gradualness of change is in itself a strength since it carries with it much deeper and firmer convictions.

Discussion is the contemporary product of the evolution of the primitive town meeting. It is the essence of democracy in the intricate, modern world. And by this very fact it contributes to the strengthening of the democratic tradition. Not only does it draw out men's ideas but it generates the tolerance for others' opinions so necessary in the democratic process.

Obviously, there are no geographic limits to the effectiveness of this procedure. The values derived are dependent only upon the breadth of the discussion's use and the technical effectiveness of its operation within the analyzing group.

Such an achievement will require a great deal more than an occasional fragmentary "discussion meeting." It calls for the unswerving application of the sound principles of discussion, of organization, of administration and support for the whole urban area.

The key to successful discussion is the leader of the group. He must be aware of those methods of group leadership which will assure the introduction of pertinent facts, the freest exchange of ideas, the uninhibited expression of opinion in a thoroughly constructive manner. This means he will want to know something of the human mind and something of the rules of logic. His responsibility is to maintain consistent analysis, keeping it in the channel of the search for truth.

Adequate leadership will require a good municipal leaders' training program, systematically organized, set up by experts who know the field, and carried out with understanding vigor. It is a cornerstone of the structure. It will provide guidance both in the techniques of discussion leadership and in subject matter. Leadership training will necessarily be a continuous process so that a substantial reservoir of trained and experienced leaders will develop.

Planning Committees

Subjects for discussion should be determined by subject planning committees. These committees might consist of from fifteen to 25 individuals, each representing a special interest group or phase of activity within the area or subdivision for which discussions are planned. They will be called upon to answer the question: "What problems are troubling us and our neighborhood most?"

The interest of the community and of the citizen is thus nailed down to reality. A discussion program based upon the subjects resulting from this inquiry will be realistic and will touch the genuine concern of everyone. Too often programs suffer from subject selection by "superior," "objective" executives who determine plans on "what the people need." Nothing could be more false and dangerous.

The discussion meetings themselves, the heart of the program, must be set up on a regular time basis. They must utilize every physical convenience. The public school buildings should be available for informal discussion groups, the churches can be enlisted to lend their physical facilities, civic recreational centers and private homes must be brought into the project.

The various devices of informal education must be employed to extract the maximum of educational values of each method. The program, although predicated upon the small discussion group, should also employ panels, symposia, round tables and lectures, and visual aids such as films, slides, charts and pamphlets. Here again expert advice is needed to evaluate the requirements of the community and the area and to recommend the proportions and occasions on which these methods should be employed. Training in, and demonstration of, the most efficient utilization of these techniques will also be necessary.

City-wide lectures should be integrated with the discussion groups. The program should include specialized study committees of citizens which can perform an invaluable service in evaluating the needs of the community and the best methods of meeting those needs. Their reports should be carefully drawn together by well qualified reporters and edited for the use of the people.

A program planning service for local organizations will be of great value in bringing into the picture the active cooperation of the numerous independent civic organizations found in every city. Their cooperation is almost assured if they can have help in organizing and carrying out their own programs.

Naturally administrative direction of this program is necessary. It can be simply set up with a central office supervising the program. The plan should envisage in the long run subcenters for each of the natural communities of the city or area. There should be attached to the central office a civic education advisory committee. This committee of citizen volunteers will assume the job of over-all evaluation of the educational program and advise in its planning and operation.

First Steps for Program

How can such a program be inaugurated? Each city will have its own special problems, its own resources and many characteristics which will call for tailoring of the master plan. Naturally, the first step will be an examination of the community's resources. This should be done under the direction of a civic educational advisory committee, which will normally evolve into the permanent civic education committee referred to above. It should seek professional assistance in the early days of its planning to help evaluate resources and to propose a blueprint of action. Under its direction civic education subcommittees will be created in the natural communities.

It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of technical assistance in this early stage. One of the primary causes of failure in the field of community education can be attributed directly to lack of experience on the part of the well intentioned citizens who have tried to inaugurate such programs. All the good will in the world will not overcome the bad effects of an inadequate or a wholly distorted start.

One difficulty has been that programs having inadequate funds seek to economize by using what resources are available for speakers or for fragments of the program. Such money would be immeasurably better spent to call into the community someone with knowledge and experience in community education to prepare workable plans and to assist the city's leaders in understanding the operation of the project, its objectives and what it can be expected to accomplish. Experience demonstrates that when this is done, private sources of revenue are immeasurably increased. It is time we recognized the significance of professional guidance in community education.

Citizen motivation for such a program is not difficult to effect. It will rest upon the conviction that an effective program is planned; upon the sense of achievement each citizen gets from the meetings he attends; and, above all, upon his recognizing his own personal stake in the program. In short, citizen motivation follows awareness of original interest and the sustaining of that interest.

The financial question raises points on which no prompt answer can be made. Clearly, there must be a choice between private financing and public financing or some combination of the two. The validity of city support for an education program of this sort is well worth consideration. Public support, however, even if considered valid, will usually be a long time in coming. The program must probably prove its own worth with private resources. These are actually quite readily available if plans are properly presented to the people of the city, and if they see precision and the probability of effective results within the proposals themselves.

What has been proposed here is merely the barest outline of a means of developing effective citizen participation in urban progress. It is

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offered as the core around which an active civic life can be generated and maintained. It is not a substitute for anything existing today. In fact, rather than increasing the complexity of modern city or metropolitan organization, it simplifies it. This is true because it will permit the integration of many existing organizations, such as civic planning commissions, within its pattern, resulting in greater efficiency and economy of operation.

Meeting the Challenge

It is quite clearly the avenue by which existing institutions and organizations can reach the people and, in turn, the means for the people to reach these agencies. How often we have heard complaints that the mass of citizenry does not understand the plans and the work of civic planning groups. These proposals will meet that challenge.

The name, council on public affairs, has been used to provide a convenient designation for the overall community organization needed to administer the program suggested here. Such a council would in effect be a citizens or community council for putting public discussion to work. Citizens councils with varied points of emphasis—planning, welfare, adult education, etc.—already exist in some communities. In a community that is fully equipped for effective citizen understanding and action, the job of the council on public affairs might well be organized as a major part of the work of a comprehensive, general purpose citizens council. It would be important, of course, to make certain of two things: (1) that the council is really community-wide in scope and interest, not limited or biased in favor of a particular function or cause, and (2) that the provision for organization, leadership and coördination of discussion be accepted as a prime, not an incidental, function of the council and that it be financed and staffed accordingly.

Let there be no doubt. From this program *can* come cooperative and positive action, action which has the force of genuine collective effort fortified by the enormous strength of reasoned convictions. There will not be universal agreement. We don't want that. But there will be general agreements replacing disintegrated opinion.

That reasoned convictions are the foundation of political action is the premise of democracy. This proposal for a council on public affairs gives it effective implementation. It helps the citizen formulate his political will on sounder bases. This, in turn, stimulates him to assume far greater active responsibility. He has a greater interest in the problems, his enthusiasm mounts, his convictions are surer and he feels the latent power which resides in cooperative effort. Public discussion properly organized and directed does indeed result in action.

The Politician Hates P. R.

Machines yearn for return to 'good old days' when they capitalized on public apathy to gain complete control.

By OXIE REICHLER*

OF COURSE, most politicians hate proportional representation as a method of electing a city council. P. R. guarantees effectiveness in giving the results that good citizens desire. After the last city election in Yonkers, where I live, the Democratic city chairman admitted that his party never would have gotten two of the five Yonkers councilmen, that they would have been shut out, except for P. R. Democrats had two-fifths of the vote: they got two-fifths of the council.

In contrast consider the city of Philadelphia, where there are 700,000 enrolled Republicans and 350,000 Democrats. Is the government of the city operated by men and women who represent these people? Let us see. The city council has 22 members—21 Republicans, one Democrat.

One would think that the 350,000 Democrats would seriously consider how it happens that there is a Republican on the council for each 33,000 Republicans but only one Democrat for all the 350,000 Democrats. Could there possibly be anything more unrepresentative, more undemocratic, more un-American?

Yes there could. The Democrats could be shut out of the government entirely despite their one-third of the voting population. Indeed, in hundreds upon hundreds of our local governments there is one-party rule, with the other side shut out entirely.

A typical example is Mount Vernon, New York, immediately to the east of Yonkers. Previous to a local election in Mount Vernon the *Daily Argus* was imploring its readers to stop electing a solid Republican common council because it did not make for good government for one party to have such complete control. It would be very good for Mount Vernon, the *Argus* argued editorially, if only the people elected a minority of Democrats—to make it two-party government. Forty per cent of Mount Vernon's voters are Democrats.

But it couldn't be done. The paper meant well but the case was hopeless. All those elected continued to be Republicans. The politicians like that—certainly the Republican politicians. And if the Democratic politicians do not like it, I know of no case where any one of them favors the simple and sure and easy cure—P. R.

You will find no really nice comments in Yonkers from either the Democratic city chairman or the Republican city chairman about proportional representation. Neither of these gentlemen has taken P. R. to his breast to give it a warm hug. The

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Republican leader has come out with a very kind statement that the party believes "in allowing the city manager form of government to operate successfully," and he went a little further, saying, "We believe in it, and believe it can operate smoothly." No such sweet talk about P. R., though. And no wonder!

The People Control

Whether it be in Yonkers, New York, in Long Beach, New York—the newest addition to the list of P. R. cities—or Toledo, Ohio, where P. R. has gone through the crucible five times, the story is the same. The politicians hate P. R. because they cannot control it. They cannot control the government it permits and provides. It knocks them on the knuckles and breaks their grasp.

In no known case—surely in no known American community that has P. R.—has this form of voting destroyed any political party. It has merely cut them down to size, to their own proper size, to the size they actually have and deserve to have on the basis of numerical strength.

Let's be realistic. P. R. gives "too much" power to the voters. But somehow the American people seem to like to get back the powers they surrender to others after they find those powers are being abused.

P. R. lets the people swat the political machines at every municipal election. It does not damage the two-party system. It sweetens and improves it. It cleans it up to taste for public service.

Wherever P. R. operates efficiently, whether in New York or Yonkers or Toledo, it blocks self-perpetuation of the "ins." The politicians hate that.

It blocks unrestricted control of the machinery of city government by any faction when that faction has merely gained a slight majority. Politicians hate that.

P. R. leads to the nomination and the election of higher-type candidates. What can a machine—which might have some nasty anti-public jobs to be done—do with a slate of high-minded independents?

Most of all, of course, P. R. is deadly to the politicians because it requires no primaries yet sacrifices none of the primary's advantages. Any popular candidate finds it easy to run. He needn't bow down low and scrape before any political leader. This freedom is poison to the machines.

Some of our best candidates—in New York, in Yonkers, in Toledo and elsewhere—were first nominated and elected under P. R. by independents before a political party would back them. That was the case in Yonkers with our distinguished councilman, Edith P. Welty, now in her fourth two-year term. It happened in the case of John A. Burke, now president of the borough of Queens in New York City. He was first elected to the city council without the endorsement of his party. Later, of course, he got it. There are many similar instances.

There's one principal weakness in plurality election of councilmen at large instead of by wards, and it is evident in many of our city manager cities as in those of mayor-council form. The election at large tends to shut out any minority, even a large one. We have already pointed out the situation in Mount Vernon. P. R. cuts through all that. It affords the benefit of candidates elected at large, but it virtually prohibits the monopoly of all seats by a single slate to the exclusion of all others. And that's why politicians feel so low when P. R. functions well.

Control by Minorities

Politicians know that it is not only possible but even probable—if the opposition can be divided—to elect their slate with an actual minority of voters under the plurality system. They remember that Abraham Lincoln got only 40 per cent of the popular vote, that Grover Cleveland had 300,000 fewer votes than were cast for all his opponents, that Woodrow Wilson had but 42 per cent of the popular vote in 1912. They know more intimately how ward after ward in our larger cities is carried by a minority, often a small one.

When you find a kill-P. R. campaign under way, look for the two-party deal to attain that single objective, revived control of the council by a return to ward politics. That was the picture in Yonkers not many months ago. That continues to be the picture in Toledo for, although the so-called Guitteau amendment on the ballot last fall failed to kill both P. R. and the manager plan and to revive the former mayor-council with ward-elected aldermen, a sixth battle is being organized.

In Toledo both major parties opposed the present form of government. They encouraged their workers "unofficially" to support the kill-P. R. and kill-manager amendment. It was significant, however, that the Democratic party's strongest candidate and Toledo's only Negro councilman, also a Democrat, helped swing the tide to save P. R. and the manager form. Similarly the Republican mayor and two Republilican party officers lined up against a return of the old system. The CIO split into two groups. The AFL favored P. R.–city manager.

Politicians keep dinning into our ears that minority groups prefer P. R. The largest single minority group in Toledo (Polish) supported the 21-ward mayor plan.

By the way, it was interesting to find, during last fall's Toledo campaign, an outcry for the election of the mayor and vice mayor at large "and the selection of a council by the people and not by P. R."

We in Yonkers, after using P. R. awhile, revised our charter to permit election of the mayor and vice mayor at large—but by a special recount of the P. R. ballots. It works out well, too.

Long Beach, New York, is having its troubles. Its troubles are pretty much like those of Yonkers in its formative years of P. R.–council-manager. We couldn't elect top-flight councilmen and those we did elect proved weaker than we feared. That's Long Beach's present trouble—after good government had smashed the evil Ornstein machine but fell short of follow-up support from the voters. An excellent man-

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ager is being badgered by patronage-hungry councilmen (same old story) and a merry battle rages.

In Long Beach it was the outgoing, discredited machine that—on the eve of the election of a new charter—distributed a slanderous brochure attempting to arouse racial and religious hatreds by seeking to link independent leaders in the good government forces with Fascism and Ku Kluxism.

Threat in New York

In recent weeks New York City has been learning once again that the leaders of both major political parties still hate P. R. and that a kill-P. R. campaign is being readied. No objections to P. R. have emanated from the voters at large, with the exception of statements from two veterans' leaders. These have chosen to skate out onto the thin ice of political action, promising to have thousands of members join in the "kill," although the constitutions of these veterans' organizations forbid such activities.

Nobody, however, is offering New Yorkers a substitute proposal for P. R. Nobody so far has said he wants to go back to having 64 Democrats and Joseph Clark Baldwin (Republican) on the board of aldermen.

New York politicians, like those everywhere, hate P. R. because it tends to destroy public apathy and to introduce true democracy by giving representation to minorities and by forbidding the minority to "take all" when it can divide the majority.

Public apathy is the very foundation of machine control, as Boss Ed Flynn of the Bronx tells us in the *Atlantic Monthly.*

New York will have less public apathy and much more public intelligence about good government and P. R. when and if New York's newspapers begin to present a P. R. election as adequately and interestingly and completely as they covered the Langley Collyer hermit yarn or even the Kentucky Derby.

P. R. Does Not Breed Blocs

Speaking for Yonkers, which situation I know best, the P. R. system never has tended to drive the community apart, as the politicians fulminated it would. One of our more prominent P. R.-hating Republicans has said that P. R. is intentionally destructive of the two-party system and that it breeds blocs and hateful divisions among the people based on religion, color, race or social or economic differences. Along about the same time his views were being echoed by a powerful Democratic boss.

It is of fascinating significance that in the seven years of our city's experience with P. R. these two men are the only persons ever to have raised religious and racial issues in the community as to P. R.

No other known cases of bitterness or cynicism have been evident. On the contrary it has brought citizens together in a common enterprise.

Similarly, our P. R.-hating politicians have warned us loudly that the P. R. count "leads to fraud," but it is of special interest in Yonkers that—in the single case of admitted fraud by a P. R. worker—his story was that he had been paid a bribe by a leading political machine man to destroy the ballots of a near-winner in our first P. R. election.

Of this I am positive: I have never heard of any dissatisfaction with P. R. on the part of persons or groups interested in effective city government.

The enemies of P. R.—the political organizations which think only in terms of control and patronage—seem to be forever trying to sabotage this system of electing our city councils.

I think we can agree that the degeneration of the two-party system on the local level is the real threat and it is happening where there is no P. R. Our local governments and our local taxpayers are being exploited so much by political machines that the politicians have come to regard this exploitation as their right.

It was this deterioration of the two-party system that virtually drove Yonkers and New York and Toledo and Long Beach to adopt P. R. in the first place. They couldn't see any other way out!

HOW TO BREAK INTO POLITICS

(Continued from page 309)

tions. The full-fledged citizen will find some active place in both fields of civic endeavor. But the why and the how of nonpartisan citizen action is another story.

I think no honest man should go into politics expecting to make money. Few public positions pay very handsome salaries, and most of those that do are short-term appointments.

The satisfactions for the citizen are other than financial. They consist in the satisfaction that comes from having accomplished something to make government by the people stronger, cleaner, more effective. Not everybody may have a street named after him, or have his statue erected in the public square, but every citizen may so affect the politics of his community that it is a better place because he lived there.

Theodore Roosevelt expressed this idea years ago when he told of his experiences with other progressive young men in the New York legislature—"the feeling that we were really being of some use in the world." That is the chief compensation of politics.

These Children of the State

Examination of intergovernmental relations reveals many inequities which cry out for new thinking and methods.

By ROY E. BROWN, JOSEPH M. RAY
and STUART A. MacCORKLE*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of a series of three articles, edited by Dr. Wylie Kilpatrick, of the Bureau of the Census, from a round table discussion on intergovernmental fiscal relations at the December 1946 conference of the American Political Science Association.

AS THE war recedes and the pressures of the inflationary period on public finance become acute, dormant interest in fiscal problems has been awakened concerning state-local relations as a major medium for postwar adjustment. Initially interest is concerned with public revenues—their adequacy and distribution—but in the background is concern for the administrative mechanism through which the state supervises—or fails to supervise—the finances of local governments to which the state is asked to grant aid or taxing power. In this description of state-local financial relations Colorado affords a contrast with Alabama, Texas and Maryland.

Dr. Brown on Colorado

When Judge Dillon, in his treatise on municipal corporation law, stated that the city was the child of the state he may have felt that parenthood entailed some responsibilities. In Colorado these children of the state—schools, counties and cities—have been crying for attention, but the parent still continues to ignore them. Either the children are able to support themselves and should be made responsible, declares Dr. Roy E. Brown, or they should be treated as infants and be fed, guided and protected by the parent.

State-local relationship in Colorado follows a familiar pattern. The state law on local budgets is not adequate, expenditure is not controlled, reporting is inadequate and local accounts are not audited by state officials. The state has provided but little leadership. Political strength has been divided between the rural areas which are Republican and the city of Denver which, until this spring's election, has had a tight, well organized Democratic organization. Such interest as the legislature may display in local government problems is usually blocked by Denver delegates. The citizens of Denver have generally opposed additional state aid to local governments on the ground that most of the revenue would be raised in Denver and spent in the rural areas. The result has been rather modest grants to cities, counties and schools.

In Colorado, as in most states, local units have difficulty in raising ample revenues to support local operations. Local revenues come largely from the property tax and limitations are placed on millage rates by the state. One feature of this limitation provides that a local government can increase its rate, not to exceed 5 per cent, above the levy of the preceding year. This offers some redress, but places a heavier burden on real property which is generally overtaxed. Some half-hearted attempts have been made to relieve the burden on real property but without success.

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The tax burden on the state level is high. The state uses both a sales and an income tax. While revenue collections are fair, funds are so definitely earmarked that the legislature actually has control over less than 20 per cent of them.

The first big cut goes for old-age pensions. In Colorado the old-age pension group is extremely well organized. It has maintained an effective lobby in the legislature, and has secured an amendment to the constitution which earmarks all sales taxes for old-age pensions. A pension of $45 a month is provided for all those over the age of 60. Should additional moneys be available from the tax after the pension is paid, it goes into a jackpot which is divided among the pensioners at the end of the year. Needless to say, during the past few years pensioners have been hitting the jackpot consistently. Better than 40 per cent of all revenue collected by the state is earmarked for this purpose. When we consider that other major revenues, such as motor vehicle and gas taxes, are earmarked for highways, it is obvious that the power of the state legislature to appropriate is very limited.

The state income tax was adopted in 1938 to replace the property tax for school purposes. At the end of the first year, Governor Carr in reporting to the legislature said: "It is now apparent that the income tax is not, and will not be, a replacement tax but rather an additional tax burden—in 42 counties the old levy for schools has been converted into a part of the general revenue fund and the income tax has been merely a windfall." Upon recommendation of the governor, proceeds of the income tax were divided 65 per cent to the state general fund and 35 per cent to the schools. In 1939 a proposed constitutional amendment, providing that the entire proceeds of the income tax go to the schools, was defeated.

The 65-35 division remained in effect until 1943 when the legislature reduced the amount going to the state to 50 per cent; the 35 per cent to the county school fund remained as it was, and the other 15 per cent went into a school equalization fund. Counties could participate in this fund by setting up a minimum program of $1,000 for each elementary classroom unit and $1,333 for each high school classroom unit, and by authorizing a minimum local levy.

During the next two years a rather significant thing happened. Only fourteen of the 75 counties chose to participate in the program. The result was that, of the $1,800,-

000 allocated to the equalization fund, only $300,000 was paid these fourteen counties and the remaining $1,500,000 reverted to the general fund. This resulted despite the fact that the educational block had long been pressing for additional state aid for equalization. When local districts were required to make a minimum levy to qualify for state funds, it was discovered that only a relatively small sum was required.

The demands made on the legislature by the Colorado Educational Association are similar to those being made in many other states. It is asking that the number of school districts be reduced and a larger and more efficient unit, with a more adequate tax base, be created. This improvement is sorely needed since many of the 2,000 districts have neither the resources nor the children to support an adequate educational program. The educational group is requesting a minimum education program of $3,000 per classroom unit, to be financed by an additional grant of $8,000,000 to be raised by a shared income tax and other sources as the legislature may provide. Since the individual and corporate income tax yielded only $6,200,000 in 1945—the schools already receiving about $3,000,000 of this sum—if all the income tax was earmarked for the schools the state would find it necessary to raise some $5,000,000 from other sources.

The solution of the local financial problem in Colorado may not be in additional state aid. All Colorado local governments are anxious to secure additional grants or shared taxes from the state irrespective of their ability to support their own governments. Local groups, teachers and county or municipal officials much prefer to turn to the state for additional revenues rather than to local taxpayers. The erroneous feeling is widespread that whatever a locality can secure from the state is a gift and does not affect local taxes. Local self-government implies a responsibility for raising revenues as well as for spending them. Rather than continue to increase state aid or to share state taxes, some consideration might well be given to one or all of the following measures:

1. Permit the state to take over and administer certain functions now generally considered as local. Welfare is coming to be a state function; public health may lend itself to state control and state finance.

2. Have the state withdraw from certain types of taxes and permit local units to use these taxes to supplement the property tax.

3 Have the state reduce its rates on certain taxes and permit the local units to levy up to a maximum determined by the state. For example, one cent of a cigarette tax might be reserved for state purposes, permitting a municipality to levy an additional one cent for its own use. These taxes, while levied by the local government, could and should be collected by the state.

State aid is and will be needed to equalize the tax burden and to assist in the support of submarginal units. But state aid, without solving the problem, perpetuates inefficient units that should be eliminated or consolidated. State aid destroys local responsibility by making the local unit only a spending agent. It is high time that some attention be given to providing the local units with flexible tax systems that preserve local autonomy.

Dr. Ray on Alabama and Maryland

In both Alabama and Maryland, as is doubtless true throughout the United States, the state coffers are well filled while local governments are in need of additional revenue.

Alabama

In Alabama within recent years the division of examiners of public accounts has extended state administrative control by conducting an annual audit of all counties and requiring annual financial statements from the cities.

Counties have been authorized to use the facilities of the centralized purchasing establishment of the state government. They have only rarely availed themselves of this privilege. The legislative reference service recently recommended to the legislative council a bill to make compulsory the use of the state agency for all county purchases above a certain amount. The legislative council chose rather to recommend to the legislature a bill establishing a purchasing agent in each county and requiring purchasing to be done by bids. The legislature, which convened early in May, has not yet acted upon this bill.

State-local relationships in matters of tax assessment have not yet resulted in an adequate solution of the problem. From the earliest days Alabama taxpayers have enjoyed a system of self-assessment. County tax assessors are elected. The state has for many years been authorized to improve local assessment. Local resistance to forthright exercise of this control reached such proportions in one county some years ago that the county court house, with all the tax rolls, was burned down. Thereafter, the state sought to improve conditions by establishing three-man boards of equalization in each county. These boards, however, have been composed largely of courthouse hangers-on and have been allowed no funds for transportation. The result has been a continuation of the old system of self-assessment. Within the past three years annual schools for the instruction of tax assessors and members of boards of equalization have been held in various regions of the state under the auspices of the state department of revenue.

State aid to local governments in Alabama falls primarily in the fields of schools, welfare and health. The two latter are operated on a county-wide basis, with main program outlines contributed by state and federal requirements. State aid to schools has for many years constituted a major item of state expenditure. School funds are currently plentiful, since the lion's share of the sales tax yield is earmarked for the Alabama special educational trust fund. Educational opportunities are equalized by the application of an elaborate formula. There is considerable opinion favoring the channeling of the proceeds of the state income tax into the ASETF.

The income tax, pledged in 1934 to the retirement of a warrant-refunding debt, has long since built sufficient reserves to serve its purpose. An effort to amend the constitution to place income tax proceeds in the general fund was defeated in 1945, and an already large surplus in the present fund is continually growing larger.

Several Alabama taxes are shared with the localities. The counties receive approximately one-third of the yield of the gasoline tax for road purposes. Counties and cities receive shares of the proceeds of the motor vehicle license and the financial institutions excise tax. All counties and all cities where stores of the state liquor monopoly are operated receive shares of the profits earned. Of late years these profits have amounted to six or seven millions of dollars annually. The trend, however, appears to be in the direction of program aid rather than shared revenues.

Maryland

The situation in Maryland is made unusual by the existence of the city of Baltimore, which operates as both a county and a city on a budget approximately the same size as that of the state. There is continuous comment on the score that residents of the city contribute much more to the state's coffers than is returned in grants or shared taxes. All cities in Maryland are financially strapped. The only bright spot apparently is Hagerstown, where a sizable surplus of funds derives from profitable light and water systems.

In general, local governments are too dependent upon property tax yields. A system of continuous assessment by full-time, permanent assessors has recently been inaugurated in all counties. This system is definitely to be preferred to the self-assessment system in Alabama. The University of Maryland, in cooperation with the state and national associations of assessing officers and the state department of education, held a one-week school for assessing officers last year and a second school is planned for 1947.

The functions of schools, health and welfare are assigned to the counties. Several counties managed during the war to free themselves of debt. Seven counties have liquor dispensaries which yield them considerable revenue, but the undertakings are managed by state-appointed boards. Home rule for counties and Baltimore is provided in the constitution, but no counties except Montgomery and Wicomico have moved in the direction of home rule charters. Counties have recently been authorized to borrow to meet conditions of postwar road construction. What the counties lack most is operating revenue. The same is true for cities.

Last year the governor appointed a commission on the distribution of tax revenues. This commission issued an extensive report in October 1946, commonly known as the Sherbow report. Three of its general recommendations call for an annual budget, a fiscal research bureau and uniform systems of accounts for all political subdivisions. At its regular session during the first quarter of 1947 the legislature proposed to the voters an amendment calling for annual sessions of the legislature. This proposed amendment presumably is derived in part from the committee's recommendation for an annual budget. The legislature also established in the legislative reference service a fiscal research bureau. Another law requires each county, city and town to establish its fiscal year beginning either on January 1 or on July 1. The same law provided for a commission on uniform accounts to establish a system of accounts for all counties, cities and towns. This law does not become compulsory until January 1, 1950.

The Sherbow report recommended that the formula for aid to the counties for education be based primarily upon the classroom unit and the pupil unit. It recommended also that the number of educational funds be reduced and that incentive grants be given to increase teachers' salaries and building funds. These reforms were enacted largely as recommended.

The Sherbow report recommended tax-sharing as the most feasible remedy for the insufficiency of city and county funds. State aid to cities has heretofore been virtually nonexistent in Maryland. When, therefore, the legislature acted to give effect to these Sherbow recommendations, it was breaking new ground. Under the new legislation, the tax on admissions, the recordation tax, and general licenses are to go hereafter to the city in which collected. In case such collection is made outside a city or town, the tax goes to the county.

The income tax has come to be an important source of revenue to the counties. Under the present law they receive one-fourth of the amount raised from their residents. The board of public works, however, is authorized to lower the income tax rate and in recent years, with surplus funds plentiful, this rate has been reduced to a minimum. The result has been reduced revenue for the counties. The Sherbow recommendation was that the localities, both municipal and county, be given a limited first call on income tax yield, a call for a percentage of income and not of tax yield. Rates were suggested of 1½ per cent on investment income and .625 per cent on ordinary income. The yield from rural residents would go to the county and that from urban residents would be divided equally between the city and the county. Legislation was enacted embodying these recommendations.

Some of the Sherbow recommendations failed of adoption. Those which did pass, however, clearly have started Maryland off along the shared-tax path.

Dr. MacCorkle on Texas

Texas lays no claim, concludes Dr. Stuart A. MacCorkle, to having many intergovernmental fiscal relations. Each of the state's approximately 7,850 local units guards with pride its own financial independence. This does not mean, however, an absence of intergovernmental fiscal cooperation. The three main types to be discerned show what has occurred in the absence of a general program of state supervision.

The first consists of state aid for local functional programs. Significantly, Texas is one of the five states not sharing some of their taxes with cities. The counties are the beneficiaries, sharing in motor vehicle revenue. Since the county is the state agency in collecting license fees, the first $50,000 of motor fees collected annually are retained by each as a hybrid aid and reimbursement for service. Amounts in excess of $50,000, but less than $175,000, are divided equally between the county and the state, which is entitled to all collections over the latter amount. One unique feature is that Texas counties not taxing for highways may use motor licenses for any general purpose.

Of the state's four-cent tax on motor fuel, two cents are retained by the state highway fund, one cent goes to the available school fund, and one cent is allocated to the county and road district highway fund. The last distribution is important in that ten to fifteen million dollars have been expended annually to pay debt service on county and road district debt incurred for roads forming a part of the state highway system. From an administrative standpoint the result invites mention because the administration of debt serviced by the state is by a special state agency—the board of county and district indebtedness.

State support of schools is the justification advanced for the retention of the state property tax by Texas, which levies neither an income nor general sales tax. Texas varies from many states, although only in degree, in having built up a permanent school fund consisting of a landed endowment and an investment trust fund. Proceeds from the sale of lands are invested in securities. Interest earned on these investments, together with the previously mentioned property and gasoline taxes, constitute the available school fund for distribution to counties on the basis of their scholastic population.

The second type of relation, administrative supervision, is characterized in Texas by the absence of a central state agency for supervising local finance. Supervisory duties are dispersed among several functional departments and the offices of the state comptroller, the state auditor and the attorney general. None of these officials audits local accounts. The state comptroller, however, audits the state portion of county tax collectors' accounts annually; he exercises some authority over accounts of county tax collectors and provides a limited optional accounting service—forms, procedures and account classifications—for county financial officers.

The state requirement for local units to prepare annual budgets was a progressive step that has lacked administrative supervision to implement the budgeting process. State reporting of local financial statistics is relatively undeveloped; however, both the state auditor and state comptroller publish limited local financial information.

The attorney general's office exercises control over the legality of local bond issues without reviewing the policy involved in the purposes and amounts of the issues. Finally, the state agencies administering grants-in-aid provided by the federal government exercise the usual required supervision.

A third type of intergovernmental relation is possible among local governments under state authorization. The county commissioners court (legislative body) of any county may contract with any city having a population over 10,000 for the establishment and maintenance of a hospital, to be managed under the joint control of county and city authorities. Texas has 22 health units and/or hospitals operated jointly by cities and counties. Other functions in which joint city and county operation occur are libraries, welfare and recreation. These instances, however, have been rare.

Some 170 school systems in Texas bear a measure of relationship to the city government. In most instances, however, the city levies only the interest and sinking fund taxes for schools and does not levy the maintenance taxes. In only about one-fourth of the systems does the city levy and collect taxes for school operating purposes.

An unusual relation between the city of Austin and the school district of Austin resulted from a 1945 amendment to the city charter which requires that a maximum of $175,000 be delivered to the schools from the water and light fund upon the written request of the school board of trustees. Such money is payable out of the water, light and power profits made during the previous year. The utility rates must be maintained at a level to provide the $175,000 in addition to operational and maintenance costs and debt service. This example points to the growing number of intergovernmental arrangements in individual cases and functional fields. A general pattern has yet to emerge in Texas.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Housing Crisis Challenges Government

Congress Considers Long-Range Attack

WITH construction of new housing falling off instead of increasing, the various levels of government are faced with the continuing critical need of stimulating private enterprise and expediting public effort in the housing field. In the first quarter of 1947 only 158,000 new homes were reported as having been undertaken, as compared to 192,000 a year ago when construction controls were still on.

The *New York Times* on May 13, in urging enactment of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, emphasized that in New York City the number of new dwellings started by private builders in April was only 650, as against 2,650 in the preceding April. The Citizens Housing Council of that city asserts a need of more than 250,000 units. The national need is measured in millions, considering even moderately desirable housing standards.

The Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, which was reported out to the senate on April 23 by the banking and currency committee with a six to five vote, continues to encounter stiff opposition in and out of Congress, despite the unusual circumstance of being advocated by both President Truman and Senator Taft in addition to many other public leaders.

Its public housing phase aims at the construction of 500,000 low-rent units over a four-year period by local housing authorities, with a federal subsidy of $26,500,000 the first year, rising to $105,600,000 in the fourth year, and continuing at that level to the end of a total 45-year period. The chief objective, however, is a goal of nearly 15,000,000 homes to be built in ten years under private auspices, with governmental "yield insurance," up to a billion dollar total, guaranteeing a minimum yield of 2¾ per cent from large-scale housing investments with anticipated yields of 3¼ to 4 per cent. Home purchases in the middle-income group would be encouraged by insured loans up to 95 per cent of cost, on 30-year payments at 4 per cent maximum annual interest.

Urban redevelopment would be aided by a fund of $500,000,000 for loans to cities to help develop blighted areas and assemble land for housing projects, and also by outright grants increasing from $4,000,000 the first year to $20,000,000 in the fifth and succeeding years, up to 45.

A fund of $250,000,000 is set up for loans to assist farm housing, with subsidies ranging from $2,500,000 the first year to $10,000,000 the fourth and succeeding years to the end of a thirteen-year period, and annual subsidies for low-rent non-farm housing in rural areas are provided, ranging from $5,000,000 initially to $25,000,000 the fifth and succeeding years up to 45.

The bill would establish a National Housing Commission to coordinate federal housing activities. The Federal Housing Agency, the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration and the Federal Public Housing Authority would be made permanent and their heads would be members of the commission, along with representatives of the Treasury, Department of Agriculture, Veterans' Administration and the RFC. An administrator would coordinate the programs of the agencies represented.

The greatest opposition was expected to develop in the house of representatives, where the prior Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill died in committee after passing the senate.

To gain immediate housing relief for veterans and others many piecemeal efforts have taken shape, nationally and locally, some of them makeshift in character. Somewhat larger but less immediate programs are in prospect, including a referendum this fall in New York State on a $135,000,000 bond issue for additional low-rent housing loans, with increased state subsidies up to $13,000,000 per annum.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The referendum in **Augusta, Georgia,** (population 65,919) on May 7 resulted in victory for the council-manager charter, passed earlier by the legislature, by a vote of 6,107 to 5,040. The charter takes effect January 1, 1948, with a council of seven instead of the present fourteen. A county school board measure was also approved, 7,248 to 5,640, reducing a 22-member body to seven, elected at large, with at least two members residing outside the city. The total vote on the charter was 11,147 out of 26,000 potential voters in the city.

The council-manager plan was adopted at the polls in **Reno, Nevada,** (population 21,317) by a vote of 5161 to 3736 on May 6, carrying in all six wards. The total vote of 8897 compares with a registration of 13,382. The council is required to appoint a manager within six months.

Bethel, Vermont, (population 1,477) adopted the state enabling act providing town manager government.

Cottage Grove, Oregon, (population 2,625) has approved a charter amendment providing for the manager plan by a vote of 136 to 88; it becomes effective July 1, 1947.

St. Johns, New Brunswick, (population 51,140) which adopted the manager plan by ordinance in 1946 has now secured a council-manager charter from the New Brunswick legislature.

In **New Hampshire** there have been several recent developments in the council-manager movement. In **Dover** the Veterans Civic Committee has prepared a manager bill now before the legislature; public hearings have been held with strong support shown. If approved by the legislature, as expected, there will be a local referendum this autumn. In **Portsmouth** a similar bill has been prepared and introduced with the backing of a citizens committee. The town of **Claremont** is seeking legislation to become a city for which the council-manager plan has been proposed. The **Manchester** Taxpayers Association is campaigning for the adoption of the council-manager plan.

In **Worcester, Massachusetts,** an active movement is under way to have a referendum on Plan E (manager and P. R. council) at the November municipal election. Worcester now has a mayor and a council of two chambers. A committee has been at work obtaining petition signatures. The League of Women Voters is one of the interested organizations.

The **Newton, Massachusetts,** Plan E committee is seeking 4000 signatures to petitions calling for a vote on the manager plan.

Governor McConaughy of Connecticut signed the **Hartford** council-manager bill on May 1. An election for the council is to be held in November. The bill to authorize the manager plan for the town of **Manchester, Connecticut,** has also been signed by the governor and a local referendum is expected in July or August.

The proposed charter for **Montgomery County, Maryland,** recently completed by the charter board, provides the manager plan (see page 349).

The Montgomery County League of Women Voters has been furthering the idea of a council-manager charter for **Takoma Park, Maryland,** in preference to mere adoption of a manager ordinance such as has been discussed in that town.

The proposed council-manager charter for **Richmond, Virginia,** was filed by the charter commission with the Hustings Court on May 2. A referendum election is expected for November 4. If the charter is adopted a nonpartisan election of the nine councilmen, at large, would occur in mid-1948.

Louisburg, North Carolina, defeated a manager proposal last month 303 to 206.

Mayor F. N. McCorkle, who is serving his fourth consecutive term in **Camden, South Carolina,** said recently that the manager plan would be ideal for that city and would increase administrative efficiency.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Hampton, South Carolina,** has been studying the manager plan as the apparent answer to many of the problems of that community.

Mayor A. R. Agate of **Elyria, Ohio,** recently advocated the manager plan and a small council in that city.

A group of civic-minded citizens in **Georgetown, Illinois,** is making a study of the manager plan.

Montevideo, Minnesota, will vote on a proposed council-manager charter on June 17.

The Kiwanis Club of **Watertown, Wisconsin,** is launching an educational campaign to familiarize the voters with the council-manager plan.

An active campaign for the manager plan is under way in **Levelland, Texas.** **Plainview** and **Robstown** also are planning movements for council-manager charters.

A manager proposal was defeated in **Great Bend, Kansas,** at a general municipal election on April 1, by a majority of 379 out of a total vote of 1435. **Larned, Kansas,** also defeated a proposed manager plan, 304 to 226.

A fifteen-member committee of business and civic leaders has been appointed by the Chamber of Commerce of **Lawrence, Kansas,** to investigate the merits of the manager plan.

A citizens' group in **Purcell, Oklahoma,** is working for a manager plan charter to supersede the present commission plan.

In **Berkeley, California,** the existing manager plan has been strengthened by adoption on May 6, by a vote of 13,456 to 11,193, of a charter amendment removing the existing limit of $10,000 on the manager's salary. Another amendment, adopted 16,710 to 6,523, provides that no councilman can be appointed city manager during his term or within one year after its expiration; nor, within the same period, to any city-paid position which was created or the compensation of which was increased by the council during his membership therein.

Mayor L. R. Pettijohn of **Hanford, California,** has endorsed the manager plan, stating that it is also favored by the city council.

El Centro, California, defeated the council-manager plan by a vote of 897 to 523.

In **Petaluma, California,** where a charter election occurs in June, forms of city government, culminating in the council-manager plan, have been discussed in a series of editorials in the *Argus-Courier*.

In **Corvallis, Oregon,** a newly elected councilman, Robert Mix, advocates the manager plan, which has been discussed by civic leaders for some time and in which the local newspaper has shown some interest.

Home Rule, Regional Planning for Georgia Communities

Governor Thompson of Georgia has signed bills to provide home rule for cities in that state, and to establish a metropolitan planning council for Fulton and DeKalb Counties, including the cities of Atlanta and Decatur, in order to coordinate plans for future expansion and growth and to draw up a master plan for the development of the entire Greater Atlanta area. The new board will not supplant the present Fulton County Planning Commission nor the Atlanta Planning Commission but will serve in an advisory capacity.

Cleveland Area Inaugurates Regional Planning

A new regional planning commission was established recently in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in which Cleveland is located. It is to prepare comprehensive plans and recommendations covering such matters as expressways and other interurban public works by more than fifty municipalities in the area.

The American Society of Planning Officials reports that the new agency will replace the Cuyahoga County Planning Commission, and will be financed by a county appropriation of at least $15,000 a year, plus individual municipal payments ranging from $100 to $500. Municipal participation is voluntary.

The new commission is designed to provide planning service at minimum cost for small communities in the metropolitan area which generally cannot afford to retain their own consultants. Plans drawn up by the commission will be submitted to the various municipalities for adoption.

Texas Adopts Municipal Retirement System

A comprehensive pension and retirement system for municipal employees in Texas became law in April with the approval of Governor Jester. The legislation, sponsored by the League of Texas Municipalities, was originally introduced in 1945. It passed unanimously in the house of representatives but failed to come up for consideration in the senate. The present bill was introduced by Representative George Parkhouse of Dallas on January 30, 1947.

Known as the Texas municipal retirement system, it will be managed by a board of trustees composed of five members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the senate. Three members must be chosen from among chief executive officers, chief finance officers, or department heads of Texas cities; the other two are to be employees of municipalities. An executive director, appointed by the board, will be responsible for management of the entire plan.

Participation by any municipality in the system is optional with the governing body; it may extend to one or all of the city's departments as desired. A participating city may refuse to add new departments or new employees to the system, but it cannot discontinue any participants. A petition signed by qualified electors equal in number to 10 per cent of the total number of votes cast at the last regular municipal election is able to order an election to determine whether the city will participate in the retirement plan. If a majority of the votes cast at an election favor participation, the governing body must arrange to have the city included in the statewide program.

The statute permits the consolidation of any existing firemen's relief and retirement funds with the new municipal retirement system, if the fire department employees so elect and the consent of the employing municipality is obtained.

The plan is to be financed jointly by employee and city contributions, each based on a percentage of employee earnings. In addition, each participant must contribute one dollar per year for the operating expenses of the system. Eight separate funds are provided. Retirement is mandatory at the age of 70 years, but employees may retire at 55 provided they meet other requirements of the law. In addition to retirement benefits, the statute provides for disability benefits as well as retirement benefits, determined in each case by the annuities which can be provided from contributed funds and accumulated earnings.

While the legislation was designed to provide a sound pension system for any city or town within the state, it will be especially beneficial to the hundreds of smaller municipalities which otherwise, because of a small number of employees, could not operate a sound and economical retirement system.

STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Director*
Bureau of Municipal Research
University of Texas

Kansas School Districts Reorganized Further

A 1947 revision of the Kansas common school district reorganization law may reduce the number of school districts in the state from a former 6,000 to only 3,000. The reorganization law of 1945 already has lowered the number of school districts from 8,000 to 6,000.

JOHN G. STUTZ, *Editor*
Kansas Government Journal

New York Ban on Primary "Raids" Upheld

The so-called Wilson-Pakula law adopted this year in New York State, restricting primary nominations to enrolled party members, with certain exceptions, was upheld on May 13 by Justice Bookstein of the Supreme Court, Albany County. It had been challenged as an unconstitutional limitation on the rights of voters. The court pointed out that non-party persons can become nominees for election not only by write-ins but also by action of party committees.

Veterans Are 42 Per Cent of Federal Employees

Veterans are rapidly displacing nonveterans in federal government jobs, according to recent reports cited by the Civil Service Assembly. At the end of January there were 823,432 veterans of both world wars working for the federal government, or 42 per cent of the total of 1,969,698 federal employees. In January 1946 there were 2,405,985 federal employees, only 619,192 of whom were veterans—male or female.

Louisiana Prepares Draft of New Constitution

The legislature of Louisiana has directed the Louisiana Law Institute to prepare a draft of a new state constitution to be submitted to a convention tentatively scheduled for 1949.

New Internships in Public Administration

The School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California announces several new part-time internships or assistantships in public administration. From three to eight are in administrative analysis, in cooperation with local governmental agencies in the Los Angeles area; five

(Continued on page 345)

State and Local Planners Look to the Future

Utilities, Industry, Zoning Suburban Trend Considered

"MORE AND more consideration is being given to the economy and social implications of municipal life in the development of a physical planning program," finds the **California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission,** A. Earl Washburn, director, in *California Reports on Planning,* 67 pages. Statistics of the extent of planning and examples of the work of planning commissions in cities, counties and the state are given, together with a roster of all city, county and state planning commissions.

"The United States is dotted with cities-that-were and cities-that-might-have-been. Their shabbiness, the exodus of their young people are the tell-tale clues to their failure. A community's fate, to a large extent, is in the hands of all its people. What they do with it is their own business." This is the conclusion reached by the State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission in *Forecasting a City's Future, Sacramento, California,* by Van Beuren Stanbery and Miriam Roher. This study does not see economic growth as springing from the total number of factories but rather from the interrelationships of all segments of the community and from the effect of nation-wide trends and pressures upon Sacramento.

"Planning—Its Future in Utica" is considered a two-fold proposition by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Utica,** William R. Coates, executive director, in a recent number of *Your City.* The report stresses the necessity for an adequately staffed city planning commission and shows the importance of relating physical planning and financial planning in order to make the city a pleasant place in which to live and to provide a place in which to work. A long range financial plan should incorporate the pay-as-you-go plan of operation and reduce the property tax, thereby encouraging home ownership and industrial development.

Why do people move from the core of a city to its fringe and from the fringe into the rural area and what conditions provide the most attractive environment for the rural dweller? A cross-section of opinion on these questions has been collected by the **Milwaukee County Regional Planning Department,** E. A. Howard, planning director, and presented in a 29-page study of *Residential Development in the Unincorporated Areas of Milwaukee County, Wisconsin.*

The zoning committee of the **Houston Chamber of Commerce,** Milton H. McGinty, chairman, conducted a survey among cities of Houston's population class in an effort to determine the effectiveness of zoning in those communities. It is shown in a series of three pamphlets, entitled *What Other Cities Say About Zoning,* that zoning has provided sound, stable growth, stabilized property values and helped to evolve a master plan for growth and development.

The use of public funds for subsidies to industry is both unconstitutional and unsound in Tennessee, according to a sixteen page report, *Subsidies for Industry in Tennessee,* by the **Tennessee State Planning Commission,** Hayden B. Johnson, executive director.

Communities, primarily small ones, by granting tax abatements and issuing bonds in order to attract industries, the report points out, have suffered losses in revenues and created the need for increased expenditures for public improvements.

A second report by the Tennessee Commission is *Local Planning in Tennessee 1945-1946,* 76 pages, one of a series of brief histories published annually, showing the gradual growth and expansion of community planning activities throughout the state. A model municipal planning ordinance, a typical local planning assistance agreement, a list of reports relating to the local assistance programs, a list of local planning commissions and sixteen illustrations and maps are included.

Planning Water and Sewerage Systems for the Small Community is the subject of a third Tennessee Planning Commission report. A city will not attract new residents or new industries until it can offer a safe and adequate water supply and a satisfactory means of removing its sewage, states the report. The study reports on the various methods of financing and planning for such improvements.

A *Coordination of the Permit and License Issuing Functions of the Los Angeles City Government* is necessary, declares the Municipal and County Government Section of **Town Hall in Los Angeles,** Dr. John M. Pfiffner, chairman, to prevent delay in the building program caused by the plethora of municipal "regulations, restrictions and procedures" relating to building and development of property.

Traffic Jam as Usual

The *Los Angeles Traffic and Transit Problem* is presented by the Regional Planning and Development Section of **Town Hall in Los Angeles,** Arthur B. Gallion, chairman, in an effort to explain to the citizens in broad and simple terms the many elements making up the traffic problem.

A summary of the proposed "Traffic and Transit Improvement Program" is outlined in a recent *Research Bulletin* by the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director. The program developed by the Administrative Transportation Planning Council is "but the first step the city must take to bring its transportation facilities up to contemporary standards."

The "Parking Merry-go-round" is discussed in a recent number of *Citizens Business* issued by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** Robert Kenneth Sawyer, director. While several surveys have been made of the city's parking needs, responsibility for carrying out recommendations is not being fixed and adequate funds for detailed plans and estimates are not being provided.

In another issue, the Philadelphia bureau attacks the "Highway Headache" in urban areas as "a major concern to the city and a major problem to the state." Either the "state highway department must be organized to meet the problems peculiar to cities" or responsibility for urban roads must be placed with the cities and financed by grants-in-aid from the state.

Parking Meter Service in Kansas, issued by the **League of Kansas Municipalities,** John G. Stutz, executive director, surveys the number, installation units, revenue collection and uses, and public acceptance of parking meters in Kansas.

Reports on This and That— Safety, Welfare, Finances

The **Bureau of Public Administration, University of Washington,** Donald

H. Webster, director, has issued *Community Safety,* a report of the proceedings of the safety section of the eleventh annual institute of government, 1946. The papers by persons actively engaged in safety work carry expert reports on various safety problems including traffic, on the job safety; the causes and preventions of accidents and fire prevention. The paper on traffic safety through modern lighting techniques, by J. W. Bollong, traffic engineer of the city of Seattle, contains a considerable amount of technical information illustrated by charts.

The **North Carolina League of Municipalities** has issued *Municipal Fire Department Service to Areas Outside Corporate Limits,* by George C. Franklin and James E. Tucker. The demand made for this service has become a financial and administrative problem, "aggravated by the rapid development of suburban areas and increased demand by the public for fire protection which would result in lower insurance rates." One solution recommended is a city-county contract which would create a special fire district embracing the area around the city limits.

"Public Welfare Costs Climb," reports the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** in a recent *Bulletin.* "Indigent aid requirements exceed estimates made only a month ago." Both the state and city budgets for welfare administration have been raised and provision has been made for increased state aid to counties in the event of a depression.

"The Effect of State Aid on the 1947 Cost of the City Health Department" is set forth in *Research Brevities* of the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research,** George L. Nichols, managing director. While it might be inferred that the cost of the city health department increased because of the necessity to qualify for reimbursement by the state, the report points out that this was not the case in 1947 and that the increased budget is due to increases in local costs.

The **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** devotes one of its bulletins to the department of public works, its organization, activities and responsibilities. Several other issues of *Citizens' Business* deal with some of the aspects of the water problem.

The **Utah Foundation,** Stanley J. Stephenson, managing director, "established to study and to encourage the study of taxation and the effect of state and local governmental costs upon the economy of Utah," has issued a considerable number of reports since its organization in 1945. Brief factual digests of at least eighteen surveys are available, the full reports on which can be obtained by non-members for one dollar. Among the subjects dealt with are *State of Utah Expenditures, Utah State Revenues, Assessed Valuation of Utah and School Districts, Earmarking of State Revenues in Utah, Unemployment Compensation in Utah 1936-1946, Public Welfare in Utah, Utah State Government Finances 1937-1946, Utah State Fish and Game Department 1917-1946, Financing State Highways 1925-1945, Traffic, Mileage, and Surfaces of Highways in Utah, Utah's Old Age Assistance Program, Utah's Program for Aid to Dependent Children, The Utah Department of Publicity and Industrial Development,* and *Utah's Sales and Use Tax.*

Financing Education—State Aid vs. Local Taxes

"No function of local government is more important to the community and to the taxpayer. No other single activity of local government costs so much or affects so many." Emphasizing the importance of education as a function of government, the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director, devotes an issue of its *Newsletter* to "The State and the Schools, a Review of the Workings of Act 403." This 1945 act "made some rather comprehensive changes in the distribution of state assistance to the schools." Since there has been much agitation in the state legislature to alter parts of the act, the league reviews the actual experience of school districts under the act in order to get legislative action based upon accurate information.

"What About Teacher Salaries and School Subsidies in Pennsylvania?", asks the **Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce,** Leonard P .Fox, general secretary. Recognizing education as an "investment in people," the chamber favors protecting that investment.

The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director, in *News and Views—Your State and Local Government,* cites "Further Considerations of an Equitable State Aid Program for Education." The council recommends that each town's contribution be based on assessment at a fair market value at the same millage rate and the difference between that contribution and "a predetermined amount per pupil for school operations" be paid by the state. The council points out in "Obstacles to a Sound State Aid Program" that after analyzing the seventeen different types of educational grants the state has, "it would seem high time to discard . . . all the limitations and inconsistencies inherent in the existing grant structure, to redefine the objectives to be sought, and to develop a completely new program which is logical and which will furnish a solid foundation upon which to build in the future."

The **Department of Governmental Affairs, Dayton Chamber of Commerce,** John R. Kerstetter, manager, reports in *Dayton Government Digest* on increased state aid to schools and local governments for adequate teacher compensation and for increasing the school foundation program.

"Much Higher Costs in City Schools," headlines a recent issue of the *Iowa Taxpayer,* organ of the **Iowa Taxpayers Association,** Joe E. Long, executive secretary. City high school costs have risen 8.28 per cent and town schools 14.94 per cent since the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945.

San Francisco's elementary school operation, figured on the basis of cost per pupil in average daily attendance, is the highest in California and California ranks second among the states for school expenditures, reports the **San Francisco bureau** in a recent *Research Bulletin.*

Providence may again fail to assess population trends properly if it increases its school room capacity or teaching staff on the basis of enrollment despite the Providence City Planning Commission forecast of a decrease in the number of people living in Providence, according to the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director, which discusses this problem in a recent bulletin entitled "Population Trends and Education Policies."

The **Lackawanna Tax Research Bureau,** James J. Kirkwood, director, discusses "Constitutional Tax Limitation and the City School District" in *Comments.* It is recommended that a percentage of the entire amount of educational costs be included in the 2 per cent tax limitation on real estate so that property owners will have some protection from a "completely uncontrolled school tax rate."

An analysis by towns of the highest, lowest and average school district tax rates in Erie County is presented in a recent issue of *Just a Moment* issued by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** George G. Sipprell, managing director.

Attacking the "groundless opposition" to the Chicago school superintendent bill which provides for a chief executive officer to administer the board of education's policies, the **Chicago Civic Federation,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, points out that the results of such legislation would "provide in the Chicago public school system the same normal administrative responsibilities which characterize the organization of business, or most of the large school districts and of other school districts in Illinois."

The Apathetic Voter and His Ballot

The "Apathy of Los Angeles Voters is Cause for Concern", says **Government Research of Los Angeles,** in a recent *Monthly Bulletin.* Although Los Angeles' population has increased, a decrease in the number of registered voters, one-third of whom usually exercise their voting power in city elections, can result in a council elected by 3½ per cent of the population of the city.

The **Bureau of Municipal Research of Toronto,** H. L. Brittain, managing director, urges in a *Monthly Letter* that electors get out the vote because "democracy does not consist in the number of elections or in the number of persons elected, but in the measure of control of public affairs by the voters." In a later letter, the bureau analyzes the "Voting Record at the Civic Election of 1947," in which only 36 out of every 100 possible votes were cast, in order to develop some facts which "might have more influence on chronic non-voters."

The Direct Primary in New Mexico, by Paul Beckett and Walter L. McNutt, has been issued by the **Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico.** This study provides a description and analysis of the system of nomination in use in New Mexico. Despite some necessary improvements, the direct primary is supported by and gives greater control to the people of the state and, in time, the authors feel, better nominees will be selected by the people than would be by a small group of politicians under the old convention system.

Voting Machines, a proposed plan for their complete installation in Montgomery County, Ohio, 38 pages, has been prepared by the **Dayton Chamber of Commerce** in an effort to determine how many machines are needed, where they will be used, and the extent of savings which can be effected.

Legislative Councils Issue Annual Reports

The **Illinois Legislative Council,** Jack F. Isakoff, director, in its *Annual Report for 1946* reiterates the statement made by the Council of State Governments that, "Certain it is that no other legislative device in the history of our state governments has made such rapid progress in the favor of state legislators in such a short space of time." The council aided three-fourths of the members of the legislature during 1946 and supplied factual material for interim commissions, legislative committees, and other state agencies. The report outlines briefly the major studies completed during the year and gives some indication of those in progress.

Two 1946 studies are *Collecting Delinquent Property Taxes,* which compares Illinois methods for enforcing payment of taxes on realty with provisions in other states, and *State Regulation of*

Firearms, which discusses Illinois law in relation to the conflict between the "constitutional guarantee of the right to bear arms and the desirability of limiting freedom to possess firearms so as to control the most likely abuses."

The **Connecticut Legislative Council,** Joseph P. Egan, research director, has reported on its 1946 activities. Twenty-five pages are devoted to a progress report of the committee on legislative procedure.[1] The status of 1944 and 1945 recommendations is outlined and action to carry out partially or completely unfulfilled recommendations in these reports is proposed. Among the subjects of subcommittee reports of the council outlined in the Legislative Council report are Professional and Vocational Licensing, State Employees' Retirement Plan, Veterans Bonus, Taxation of Pleasure Automobiles, Special Legislation. The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** assisted in the research on special legislation. An appendix containing a report by the committee appointed to study the problem of the criminally insane is included.

Another record of achievement is the **Maryland Legislative Council's** *Report to the General Assembly of 1947,* James J. Lindsay, chairman. Between June 1, 1945, and December 4, 1946, 78 sessions of the council were held during which 186 proposals or sets of proposals were received from the legislature, the governor, official commissions and private organizations. The bills resulting from these suggestions are listed. The minutes of the council's sessions are included in the report. In two separate volumes the council has published the texts of all *Proposed Bills Submitted to the General Assembly of 1947* together with a brief explanation of the purpose of all the bills recommended.

Strictly Personal

Dr. Edwin A Cottrell, recently retired as head of the department of political science at Stanford University, has been elected a trustee of the Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles and will direct its studies in the field of local and metropolitan governments.

Dr. Charlton F. Chute has resigned as director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute to become director of the Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Philadelphia Division. **Victor Brannon,** formerly assistant director of the institute, has been appointed to succeed Dr. Chute.

Robert K. Sawyer, formerly lieutenant colonel in the engineers corps, United States Army, took over the directorship of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research on March 17, succeeding Dr. William C. Beyer who had resigned to take a position on the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania.[1] For the past year, Mr. Sawyer had been the bureau's senior engineer. In that capacity he prepared the report, *Philadelphia's Water Supply.*

R. E. Chislett, II, has moved from his position as director of the Department of Governmental Affairs of the Trenton, New Jersey, Chamber of Commerce, to the Newark Chamber of Commerce, where he is assistant to the executive vice president.

G. Keyes Page, formerly director of the Genessee County (New York) Taxpayers Association, has been made vice president and ex officio member of the board of directors and the executive committee of that organization.

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[1] See February 1947 R*eview,* page 100.

[1] See the REVIEW, March 1947, page 159.

Students Meet Rebuffs in County Studies

Noncooperative Officials Make Research Difficult

ONE OF the fundamentals usually stressed by political scientists is the need for an alert citizenry and the importance of an informed, intelligent and responsible interest in government affairs. In order to test the practicality of this hypothesis in one area of government, a class in county government and administration at **Berea College** undertook a county project during the first semester of the academic year 1946-47.

A first step was study of the general background of county government and its place in the American system, with *Government in Rural America,* by Lane W. Lancaster, as a textbook. A more specific introduction to county government in the southeastern states was secured from such publications as *County Government and Administration in the Tennessee Valley States,* by the TVA, and the Kentucky Legislative Council's *County Consolidation.*

The twelve members of the class then undertook to become as well informed as possible about the government of their own counties. Published information was used only as a starting point, functions and problems were stressed, and grading was done partly on the student's ingenuity in handling the assignments.

The most significant result of this experiment was the conclusion that a thorough knowledge of the organization and operation of the government of one's own county can be obtained only with great difficulty. If the experience of Berea students was typical, actual functioning of specific rural counties in the southeastern states is largely an unexplored field. When we tell people they should be well informed about local government, we must recognize that we are asking them to face up to a task difficult to carry out in more than a superficial manner.

One student expressed the results of his investigations in this way:

1. The scarcity of publications of any sort written about the county;
2. The suspicion and skepticism apparent in the hesitancy of most officials to give even the appearance of cooperation to a student interested in unravelling the threads which hold the government together;
3. The unaffected attitudes of citizens toward malfunctions apparent to the most unobservant eye;
4. The overt disregard of laws which are common knowledge to any layman;
5. The dearth of qualified officials holding even the most important positions;
6. The hopeless outlook of the citizens for any improvement in the near future.

It must be said that there were many instances of cooperation in supplying information. The more typical experiences, however, were "two replies received from seven letters written to county officials"; county officers "not interested to any great extent in assisting me"; "the county judge referred me to the county attorney, I went to the county attorney and he referred me to the statutes, then I went to the sheriff and he referred me to the county attorney"; "I hardly know which would be quicker, to change the government in my county or to find out just how it works"; "when I went to interview the county officials they were all very skeptical as to my purpose, and it was quite a task to convince them that a college woman was doing research in county government"; or "only the information already known will be given you, and the actual conditions are under lock and key."

A comparison of the student's reports makes it obvious that those most successful in obtaining realistic information about the functioning of their county government had a relative or friend able and willing to give them inside information on a personal basis. A conclusion would seem to be that more than a general knowledge of county government can be gained only by observation from an inside vantage point or by actual participation.

The students unearthed, of course, the usual type of information on the organization, problems and difficulties of county government. As for the teacher, there is one political scientist who has learned to speak less quickly and glibly about "the duty of every citizen to be well informed about his government," but who realizes even more keenly the importance of citizen participation in government, not just at the ballot box but in a continuing and vital way.

Willard N. Hogan

Berea College

Detroit Bureau Organizes Panel on Public Opinion

A new service—public opinion sampling—has been inaugurated by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director. According to a recent issue of *Bureau Notes*: "The bureau's citizen panel was designed expressly for civic opinion measurement and is to be a continuing research project. An attempt will be made to gauge the thinking of the whole community on issues that are current, on issues that are specific. It is made possible by the cooperation, interest and concern of a cross-section group of Detroit's voters who voluntarily formed the panel."

Continuing, the bulletin comments: "The voting process seldom provides a clear, unqualified answer to the specific issues confronting government from time to time. True, there are other mirrors reflecting public attitudes—capable newspaper reporting, activities of special interest groups and the complaints of individuals. However, none of these agencies pretend to represent the views of the citizen aggregate. Scientific opinion sampling can best perform this function."

In the first sampling "barometer" questions were asked to test citizen rating of the city and state governments. Returns were received from over 2,400 registered voters. Questions included: At this time what is your opinion on the general, over-all kind of job the new state administration will do? What is your present opinion as to the over-all job being done by the city administration? Of the Detroit Street Railway? Of the garbage and rubbish collection activities of the sanitation division? Of the water department?"

The second poll had to do with public improvement plans. Citizen panel members were asked to give their opinions as to what improvements should be given priority and in what order. Additions and improvements to the receiving hospital were clearly established as Detroit's primary need with expressways, new schools, slum clearance and street paving following in that order. Improvements to the zoo, a memorial hall, voting machines, library construction and a civic center found themselves at the bottom of the list.

Another poll asked citizen opinion on such matters of public policy as what action to take against city strikers? What types of state taxation should be enacted? Should the government or private interests construct and operate airports? If government, should it be city, county, metropolitan authority, state or federal government?

Young People Practice Democracy

Students representing over 50 Pennsylvania colleges and universities held a "model state legislature" at Harrisburg, April 19. Over 500 students attended the "legislative" sessions, which were held at the state capitol.

The "model legislature" conducted by the **Young Men's Christian Associations of New Jersey,** with the cooperation of **Princeton University** and state government officials, met at Trenton, April 18-19. Dr. John F. Sly of Princeton University was statewide chairman of the program and numerous state officials acted as "resource leaders" in committee discussions on bills. So that members of the "legislature" would have before them in convenient form all proposed bills with names of the "legislators" introducing them, the YMCA compiled and published a *Model Legislature Bill Book—1947.*

Over two hundred college students, representing the **Students' Committee on State Affairs of the Massachusetts Civic League,** Miriam Butler, executive secretary, attended a hearing before the senate committee on constitutional law on three bills which would lower the voting age to eighteen. Several students spoke in support of the measures but others were against them.

Radcliffe College students served as usherettes at a public forum in Cambridge on the Plan E form of government — council-manager plan with proportional representation for the election of the council.

The **National Self Government Committee,** Sophia Pollack, secretary, founded in 1904 by the late Richard Welling "to advocate self government in schools, colleges and other youth groups as an essential for the training of American citizens," has added to its board of directors five "junior directors"—interested students representing Harvard, Cornell, Yale and New York University.

Writing in the *Stephens Standard,* a publication of **Stephens College,** Columbia, Missouri, on "Classroom Democracy That Works," Peggy Lou Malloy of Hawaii observes: "The secret of democratic classroom procedure lies in three words. The first is 'partnership,' partnership between teacher and class and partnership among the class members. The second word is 'planning'. Things don't just happen. Purposes are discussed, various possibilities of study are presented, worthwhile projects are suggested, relative values are weighed, individual interests and abilities are considered, programs of work are recommended, and a final plan is democratically approved or amended and put into action. The final key word is 'responsibility,' the individual's responsibility to himself as a learner and his responsibility to the group. And here lies the great strength—as well as the great value —of any educational method. Education's greatest contribution to democracy will be in the awakening and developing of an intelligent sense of responsibility. Only such inner compulsion and initiative can guarantee progress and improvement."

Citizenship Day

In accordance with President Truman's proclamation of March 1, Citizenship Day or, as it is sometimes designated, "I Am an American Day," was celebrated on May 18 in many communities throughout the country. The United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, is endeavoring to assemble information on the programs. It has distributed a questionnaire asking the name of the community, nature of the observance, chief sponsor, estimated attendance and special features presented. Copies of the program and newspaper clippings reporting the celebration are also requested.

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Citizen Leadership Program

The **National Training School for Public Service** announces its *1947-1948 William Volker Program in Citizen Leadership and Public Administration* (20 pages). The program is carried on in conjunction with the **School of Public Affairs of Wayne University** and the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.** Chief aim of the school is "to provide the facilities necessary for the training of men of exceptional ability and capacity for leadership: for professional service with citizen agencies concerned with government including research bureaus, taxpayer groups, citizen leagues, chambers of commerce, labor unions, and community chests; for effective participation in community action and practical politics; and for administrative positions in the public service." The school, directed by Dr. Lent D. Upson, offers ten or more fellowships of $1200, plus tuition and fees if not otherwise provided, for the year September 1947 to August 1948.

Citizenship Conference

The **Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association,** Earl T. Hawkins, chairman, held its second national conference on citizenship in Boston, May 8 to 10. Mr Hawkins cites two major reasons for calling the conferences: "that working together we may be able to better utilize our forces in moving America forward in the theories and the practices of democratic citizenship; that we may discuss with each other the programs of the various organizations represented at the conference and after learning of their experiences better plan the practices of our own."

* * *

County Government Scholarship

Stimulating interest in county government is the objective of a scholarship offered to seniors in the public high schools of Virginia by the **League of Virginia Counties** and the **National Association of County Officials** in cooperation with the **University of Virginia.** The scholarship is adequate for a full college education and will be awarded for "high scholastic standing, outstanding citizenship, and knowledge of county government." Decision on the last-named condition will be based on a thesis written by the applicant on the government of his own county.

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Primary Control

Concerned over proposed legislation which would remove primaries from state control, the **Florida Voters' League,** Edwin L. Clarke, secretary, polled its members on the question, "Should the state leave to political parties full control over primaries?" An overwhelming number of those replying—97 per cent—were opposed to such a proposition. The league has therefore been actively engaged in combatting the measure before the legislature and has issued eight reasons why it should be defeated.

* * *

Wanted—Efficient Cities

"A 4½ million dollar business needs a 'manager,'" says *Tax Topics,* published by the **Manchester (New Hampshire) Taxpayers Association,** John J. Gaines, executive secretary. "Our point is this: your city government is a big business. It requires expert business administration. It needs a president and a board of directors which, of course, is its mayor and board of aldermen. Your city needs the full-time knowledge, experience and capabilities of an administrative executive —which in this case is a city manager."

The executive committee of the **Central Atlanta Improvement Association,** Clark E. McDonald, executive vice president, has voted unanimously in favor of the appointment of a citizens charter commission to draft a new city charter within two years to replace the present Atlanta document of 1874.

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Civic Groups Meet

Members of the **Detroit Citizens League,** William P. Lovett, executive secretary, listened to Paul H. Reynolds, executive director of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers' Alliance,** at the league's 35th annual meeting. Mr. Reynolds discussed what's wrong with Detroit and other cities.

The **Yonkers (New York) Committee of 100,** of which Warren Spooner is president, heard the city's Mayor Curtiss E. Frank deliver an address on the city administration at its annual meeting this spring.

The **Hamilton (Ohio) Woman's City Club** was addressed by Mayor William Beckett on "Women's Civic Responsibility." The mayor was introduced by Mrs. Paul Mitchell of the club's charter committee. The great power vested in the council under the city's manager—P. R. charter, and the importance of selecting the right persons for office, were stressed by Mayor Beckett. "The office of councilman is a grave responsibility, one not to be taken lightly," he said. "All municipal laws are made by council. The city manager is a paid employee and has no voice in determining policy. . . . It is vital to populate council with the proper representatives. . . . Have you fully informed yourselves as to the candidates for whom you have voted?"

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Juvenile Delinquency

The **National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency,** meeting in November 1946 at the call of Attorney General Tom C. Clark, has issued its *Report on Community Coordination* and *Report of Citizen Participation Panel* (Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.). "The success of a program to prevent juvenile delinquency, and to treat it when it occurs," comments the latter pamphlet, "rests upon citizen understanding and participation. . . Citizen planning and participation is the essence of a sound community in which delinquency would be an inconsistency. . . . The responsibility, as well as the right to participate actively in community activities, must be accepted by the people of the community."

The Social Welfare Committee of the **Chicago City Club,** William H. Haight, president, is considering a proposal to establish an Illinois Youth Commission or Authority to aid in reducing juvenile delinquency and provide a program for the development of healthy, useful citizens.

Help for the Community

A Service to Small Communities (six pages) describes the services made available by **Community Service, Inc.,** Arthur E. Morgan, president, Yellow Springs, Ohio. The organization supplies speakers and leaders for discussion groups and maintains a consultant service for local groups, business organizations, churches, schools and others interested in community development.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Allen H. Seed, Jr., executive vice president and secretary of the Minneapolis Civic Council since 1939, has resigned to become manager of the Minneapolis division of Encyclopedia Britannica. Mr. Seed is president of the National Association of Civic Secretaries.

Colonel Robert W. Chamberlin, director of the Cleveland Citizens League, has resigned to become executive secretary of the Cuyahoga County Republican Finance Committee. **Robert D. Fleischer,** assistant director and editor of the league's *Greater Cleveland,* has been appointed acting director.

Lyman Beecher Stowe has been elected chairman of the board of directors of the National Self Government Committee, succeeding the late **Richard Welling,** founder of the organization and its chairman for many years. **Robert Littell** has been elected chairman of the committee and **Dr. Julius Yourman,** vice chairman.

The executive committee of the Massachusetts Civic League has selected **Hon. Richard S. Bowers** as president of the league. From 1939 to 1946 Mr. Bowers was a member of the Massachusetts state senate.

A. F. Metz of Rutherford has been elected president of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association. He succeeds **Walter T. Margetts, Jr.,** who has been president of the association for the past five years. Mr. Margetts will continue as a member of the board of directors.

William H. Cunningham has been appointed executive director of the Woonsocket (Rhode Island) Taxpayers Association.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 333)

are for research assistants for the Delinquency Control Institute; and two to four are in personnel administration under the supervision of personnel directors of cities and counties. These carry stipends of about $90 per month. Four to eight are as assistants to staff members of planning agencies with stipends of about $110.

These are in addition to various research fellowships and assistantships in public administration previously made available.

Local Governments Represented in Conference

Representatives of research agencies, local government associations and political science teachers of high schools and colleges met in April at their fourth semi-annual Kansas Conference on Government Information and Instruction Services. "Laboratory techniques of teaching Kansas state and local government" was the theme of this session.

Delegates attending the conference included representatives of The League of Kansas Municipalities, Kansas County Commissioners Association, Kansas Association of School Boards, governmental research departments, and the Kansas State Teachers Association.

John G. Stutz, *Editor*
Kansas Government Journal

Proportional Representation • • *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Battle Lines Form in New York Cities

Long Beach to Vote Again
Petitions Out in Yonkers

WHILE hopeful campaigns proceed to get P. R. and the manager plan for Boston and other Massachusetts cities, political opponents of P. R. in Yonkers and Long Beach have taken advantage of the publicity on the repeal attempt in nearby New York City, reported in this department last month, to launch attacks in their cities also.

In Long Beach the city council on April 18 voted three to two to put a repeal proposal on the ballot at a special election June 17. Voting for the repeal were the two Democratic organization members, Jack Karp and Frank J. Leik, and the one Republican, Frank Barbieri, who could not have been elected without P. R. and does not necessarily represent his party in opposing it. Voting against repeal were Ralph Weiss, independent Democrat elected with the support of the nonpartisan Long Beach Citizens Union, and Louis J. Fuchs, representative of the American Labor party and president of the council.

As soon as the referendum was fixed by the council, petitions were put in circulation by the Citizens Union and the American Labor party to postpone it to the general election in November. Under a unique provision of the New York city home rule law a petition signed by 10 per cent of those who voted in the city in the last election for governor can always secure such a postponement and thus avoid the expense and usually small vote that a special election entails. Nearly twice the required number of signatures was filed in Long Beach. If the petition is found sufficient as expected, Long Beach will elect its second council under P. R. at the same time that it votes on the question of repeal.

A similar repeal attempt was voted down in Long Beach two years ago, before the first P. R. council was elected. The Democratic organization had a 100 per cent monopoly of the last council elected by the old plan and would like to turn the clock back.

In Yonkers petitions have been put in circulation to place the repeal of P. R. on the ballot at the fall election. If the petitions are signed and filed, Yonkers voters will have an opportunity to reaffirm or reverse the judgment they expressed on P. R. in 1942 when they endorsed that feature of their charter by a two-to-one vote, defeating the repeal efforts of both major party organizations.

Editorial Support

This time the Republican organization may not be in opposition, since it helped to elect all the members of the present good government majority of the council. The nature of the opposition to P. R. and the principal reasons for it are described elsewhere in this issue in the article, "The Politician Hates P. R.," by Oxie Reichler, editor of the city's only large newspaper, the *Herald Statesman.*

Answering theoretical objections to P. R. the *Herald Statesman* on April 18 said editorially:

> Here no "tiny" minority has won

> any council elections. On the contrary, the Republican-City Manager forces elected three councilmen, having mustered 60 per cent of the votes, while the Democrats—with 40 per cent—got two councilmen.
>
> That is real representation in proportion to the people's political alignments. It was a fair and accurate reflection of party registration and of public opinion. Nobody here got fragmented or atomized.

The *Herald Statesman* on April 21 took issue with two New York newspapers which had given currency to a hoary canard about P. R. that probably owes its origin to a practice that makes sense enough under certain other systems of election but has no applicability to P. R. It says:

> Both the *News* and the *World Telegram* fall for a more or less widespread impression that the Communists somehow gained an unfair advantage by using P. R. in some mysterious and super-efficient way. What they and other misguided critics mean by the power of "smart, tightly organized minority groups" is that there is a way of casting "bullet votes" for their candidate only—voting for no others—and thereby giving an advantage to these concentrated ballots.
>
> Despite the misguided editorial writers and political party speakers, this is simply not true. It is a fake argument. And every Yonkers voter who has used P. R. knows it's a phoney statement.
>
> Bullet voting under P. R. is unintelligent voting. To mark one choice and stop is to defeat one's own choice under P. R. The more choices a voter makes, the more likely is his ballot to be effective. If he makes but one choice, his ballot is more likely to be exhausted, and therefore wasted.
>
> We earnestly recommend to the *New York Times*, the *New York Daily News* and the *New York World Telegram* that they try to do a better job of informing their readers about P. R. . . . We suggest that these newspapers print the detailed election results, which few if any New York newspapers do.
>
> When the newspapers have done their educational job, and are so well informed that they can speak clearly and intelligently about P. R. to their readers, we doubt that there will be either confusion or misunderstanding—and we doubt that any good citizen, or any good newspaper, would line up with those that want the repeal of P. R.

Times Prints Answers to Editorial

The *New York Times*, which printed an editorial on April 2 opposing P. R., subsequently printed two letters in reply. One was signed by Herbert Pell, who has had 35 years' experience in American politics, having served as a member of Congress from Manhattan, Democratic state committee chairman, minister to Hungary and Portugal, member of an international commission, and in other important capacities. His letter, printed May 2, states:

"I was surprised to see the *Times* opposing P. R. in the city. I should rather have seen the *Times* supporting its extension throughout the state. . .

"My considered opinion is that the greatest weaknesses of our system are public apathy and the unrepresentative character of most of our elective bodies. Beginning with the Congress of the United States, the smallest number of Democrats elected in 40 years was 125; the smallest number of Republicans was 90. Together, this group constitutes about half of the house and no matter which party is in power, controls all important chairmanships.

Not Elected by People

"Not one of these men, Republicans or Democrats, was really elected by the people. Of 150 assembly districts in New York State, at least 100 have not changed their party in 30 years.

"The same thing was true of our old board of aldermen. The experiment of proportionate representation in New York City has resulted in the election of a city council far superior in every way to the old board of aldermen, and above all it has made every vote of importance. No person going to the polls of the City of New York and voting for a councilman need feel that his vote is useless or that it may be more or less important than that of a man living on the other side of the street.

"The objection to P. R. does not come from the people. It comes from the political leaders who want a body subservient to themselves and which they can control. As a general rule they thrive on public apathy.

"Competition may or may not be the life of trade, but it is certainly the life of good government. Any New Yorker can see this very clearly when he considers our governors in the last 50 years. What sure Republican state has produced such governors as Theodore Roosevelt, Charles Evans Hughes and Nathan Miller? What Democratic state can equal Alfred E. Smith, Franklin Roosevelt and Herbert Lehman?

"The avowed reason for the destruction of P. R. in New York City is obviously not the desire of political organizations to control an elected and supposedly representative body. We are told that there are two Communists on the board and that we must at all costs prevent Communists from being represented or their party having any place on the ballots. This is nonsense which must be manifest to any person who remembers prohibition. Every person in New York who voted before the First World War remembers that the Prohibition party always ran a complete ticket.

Anti-Saloon League

"In the early 90's a man in Ohio started the Anti-Saloon League, which was very soon managed by Wayne Wheeler. Wheeler was about the most astute operative who has appeared in American politics in 50 years. The members of the Anti-Saloon League did not include half of the country's Prohibitionists, but by their coordination and the acute intelligence of their leaders they were able in less than twenty years to control two-thirds of both houses of Congress and the legislatures of 46 out of 48 states.

"With this example before us, is it a wise thing to give the Communistic elements in the United States no political outlet except to follow the example of Wheeler? Three or 10 or even 15 per cent of the total vote of the country cast for a minor party will have no effect on our economic or political system. Five per cent dangled as a prize in every doubtful district may, with equally astute management and competent organization, achieve the control which Wheeler acquired.

"I should much rather see a real Republican party or a real Democratic party with the opinions of minor groups given ample opportunity to express their views outside of these organizations than to see two groups fishing for the support of a small minority. Among the great advantages of proportionate representation is that it reduces all pressure groups to their proper places."

(Continued on page 360)

Maryland County Secures Manager Plan

New Local Law Gives Anne Arundel Business Setup

THE Maryland state legislature has enacted a local law establishing the office of county business manager for Anne Arundel County (Annapolis) and abolishing the offices of budget supervisor and county roads engineer.[1]

The law specifies that the manager shall be appointed by the county commissioners solely upon the basis of his executive and administrative qualities. He need not be a county resident, he is to be appointed for an indefinite term, and when removed he has the right of public hearing.

The manager is given broad administrative jurisdiction. The law states: "This subtitle and all other relevant acts applying to Anne Arundel County shall be liberally construed with a view to enabling the board of county commissioners, the county business manager and all other county departments, offices and agencies to realize the maximum advantages to be attained from integrated management of the affairs of the county."

As chief executive and executive secretary to the board, the manager has power of appointment and removal (except over the police and the liquor license commissioners), of budgeting, financial reporting, purchasing, supervision over roads and public works, and the performance of other administrative duties as directed. Revenues from road taxes must be spent in the district where collected, but gasoline tax revenues may be spent on a county-wide basis.

The act becomes effective June 1, 1947.

Montgomery County to Vote on Manager Charter

The Montgomery County, Maryland, charter board has issued a new proposed charter providing for the manager plan but varying in some significant details from the one defeated at the polls in 1944. It omits reference to nonpartisan elections and it provides for a council of seven rather than nine. It specifically exempts the powers of incorporated municipalities from the powers of the county council. Local legislation may be rejected by popular referendum. Instead of unpaid council members, the new proposal provides $20 per day but not more than $1800 per year is to be paid to any councilman.

The charter establishes departments of finance, public works and the county attorney's office, but the council is authorized to establish additional departments as needed. It also establishes corrupt practices provisions in regard to appointments, centralized purchasing for county departments and referenda on all bond issues.

It will be submitted to popular vote in 1948.

Tennessee Legislates for Counties

Tennessee's 95 counties received a considerable amount of attention by the 75th Tennessee General Assembly. There were enacted a few general laws applicable to all counties, including an act to enable them to borrow money to pay increased teachers' salaries for the school year 1946-1947. Another general act authorized cities to transfer their school systems to counties. The legislature also reduced the counties' participation payments in the old age assistance, aid to dependent children and aid to the needy blind programs. Most county legislation, however, was in the form of private acts involving individual counties.[2]

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[1] See REVIEW, February 1947, page 109.

The trend toward establishment of general sessions or trial courts to replace the old justice of peace courts continued in this session. Counties in which such courts were established include Anderson, Bedford, Campbell, Cocke, Hamblen, Maury, McMinn, Rutherford, Robertson and Sullivan.

McMinn is the county in which the "Battle of Athens" took place last year. In addition to action taking judicial functions away from justice of peace courts, legislation also was passed establishing a modified county manager government for McMinn County.[3] Under this legislation the county court, constitutional governing body of the county, was retained, but it was deprived of all powers and duties that could be taken away from it under the state constitution, leaving to it only such powers as setting the tax rate and filling the offices of coroner and ranger.

The McMinn manager law follows closely the plan that has been in effect in Hamilton County, Tennessee, for several years. That plan, although it does not cover all county functions and services, apparently has been satisfactory. Should McMinn County meet with similar success it can be expected that other counties will adopt the plan until the state constitution can be amended to provide more adequate systems of county government.[4]

Several Tennessee counties had the boundaries of their civil districts changed by this session of the legislature. Justices of the peace, who collectively constitute the county governing body, and constables are elected from civil districts. Frequently such legislation is passed to remove from office existing officials and to replace them by new officials named in the act to serve until the next election. Counties redistricted in 1947 include Anderson, Bradley, Clay, Carter, Hamblen, Knox, Overton, Polk and Unicoi.

The office of purchasing agent was established in Henderson, Madison, Sequatchie, Sullivan and Wilson Counties and a budget commission was set up in Hickman County. Other legislation established the offices of county attorney, county judge and county board of education in specified counties. A county service officer was created in Anderson County.

Many of the private acts involved salaries and fees of county officials, changes in boundary lines between counties and other matters local in nature.

M. H. Satterfield
Tennessee Valley Authority

County Home Rule Fight Revived in Michigan

Several proposed constitutional amendments have been introduced in the Michigan state legislature permitting major reform in county government. A resolution introduced in the senate specifically authorizes Wayne County to adopt the manager plan. The Michigan Institute of Local Government is sponsoring a constitutional amendment providing for alternative forms of government for all counties.

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[2] For an account of private acts authorizing bond issues see page 353.

[3] See the Review, September 1946, page 435; January 1947, page 50; March 1947, page 169; April 1947, page 224.

[4] See "County Government and Constitutional Revision in Tennessee," by M. H. Satterfield, *Tennessee Law Review,* February 1947, pages 707-717.

Unified Purchasing by County Saves 20 Per cent

King County (Seattle), Washington, taxpayers saved more than 20 per cent last year on purchases of supplies for local government units through services of its new county purchasing department. During 1946, the department's first full year of operation, central purchasing saved $53,000 on thirteen major items alone including gasoline, tires, milk, printing and drugs. These items cost about $250,000, or about one-fifth of the $1,300,000 spent for purchases last year.

The King County centralized purchasing act provides that any contract or purchase over $1000 must be advertised in the county's official paper and that intention to purchase lesser items must be posted in advance. In practice bids are requested on virtually all purchases.

County Forests Reach Saturation Point

Wisconsin reports that it now has approximately 2,000,000 acres in county forests. This exceeds considerably the federal and state government holdings in the state. Counties are authorized to receive ten cents an acre in state aid for development, planting and management of forests, but present appropriations will not permit further expansion of county forests unless accompanied by severe pro-rating of available funds.

New York Association of Towns Holds 1947 Meeting

The New York State Association of Towns recently held its 1947 annual meeting in Albany. Highlight of the meeting was the model town board meeting in which the trials and tribulations of town officials were presented in entertaining fashion.

Iowa Adopts County Assessor System

Iowa's township assessment system will be replaced January 1, 1948, by a county assessor system just established by the state legislature. Under the new plan the elected county auditor will become the ex-officio county assessor. Trained assessors working under the supervision of the auditor will be chosen on the basis of examination conducted by the state tax commission. Positions of 1600 township assessors, nearly all elective, are abolished by the new measure. A county board of review to hear appeals and adjust valuation is provided. Its members will be chosen by county supervisors, school authorities and mayors of cities and towns in the counties. Cities with populations of 10,000 or more have the option of either coming under the county system or retaining their own city assessment systems.

South Dakota Aids County Roads

South Dakota has created a special division within its state highway department to assist counties in connection with the federal-aid secondary road program. The new division will aid the counties on surveys and plans and in working out other engineering problems. Counties availing themselves of the engineering service will be required to reimburse the department at cost because available funds will not be adequate to cover the additional expense. The service will be rendered only on request.

Oregon Doubles City Highway Aid

Plans for Shared Taxes Made in Other States

THE apportionment of Oregon's highway revenues to its cities was doubled by action of the 1947 legislature, which raised from 5 per cent to 10 per cent the amount of state collections to be returned to the cities. The cities had originally asked for 15 per cent.

Distribution is on the basis of population except that Portland receives credit for only two-thirds of its population and except that $250,000 of the cities' share is set aside for expenditure by the state highway commission within cities on streets not a part of the state highway system.

The allocation to the counties was increased from 15.7 per cent to 19 per cent.

The Oregon legislature also enacted a bill providing for submission to the voters in October of a proposal to enact a state sales tax, one-sixth of which will be returned to the cities. It also provided for adjustments in debt limits. In cities in low-valuation counties the ratio of assessed to full value may be computed at 60 per cent for establishing debt limits. The debt limit for self-liquidating sewer bonds was raised from 5 per cent of assessed valuation to 15 per cent.

Washington

In Washington all existing state aid appropriations were continued, according to a report on the legislature by the Association of Washington Cities in *Western City* (April 1947). Most important of these items now is an excise tax on liquor, imposed as an emergency measure during the war. More than eleven and a third million dollars was appropriated for the cities and counties from this source during the 1947-49 biennium, compared with nine million dollars in 1945-47.

Another important fiscal measure enacted will provide a state-operated, actuarially sound pension plan permitting retirement of municipal employees at half pay at specified ages, available to any city desiring to participate. Costs are expected to range between 5 and 10 per cent of the payroll depending on the extent of prior service costs that a city may desire to assume and the age of the employees involved. Changes were also made in the mandatory firemen's pension law.

Montana

In Montana cities were disappointed in their effort to secure a share of state liquor revenues when Governor Ford vetoed a bill which would have allocated 6 per cent of the state liquor excise tax to the cities, towns and counties. The allocations, estimated to aggregate about a million dollars annually, would have been available for general governmental purposes. Defeated by the legislature were measures which would have apportioned to local units part of the state revenue from slot machines and automobile licenses. Enacted, however, was a measure making city, town and county licenses for slot machines a prerequisite to state licensing.

Other laws enacted by the legislature affecting local finance increased the permissible property tax for library support, authorized cities and towns to purchase land for parking lots either inside or outside their corporate limits, and raised to $1,000 the allowable city and town purchases without advertisement for bids.

New Mexico

A special feature of the recent legislative session in New Mexico was the service of a special tax advisory committee, appointed by Governor Mabry at the invitation of the legislature. The committee, composed of lay citizens, served in an advisory capacity with the finance committee of the two houses of the state legislature. The committee's recommendations, as reproduced in the *Bulletin* (April 1947) of the Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, related mainly to reduction of appropriations. It recommended, however, a readjustment in county and school property taxes and appropriation on a temporary basis of additional funds to schools pending a survey of school finances.

Tennessee[1]

Of the general legislation passed by the Tennessee legislature the one act receiving most attention was perhaps the sales tax. Tennessee joined the ever-growing number of states levying this type of tax by passing a 2 per cent retail sales tax effective June 1, 1947. This legislation had the support of the state educational groups and others since it provided the only source of funds for an increased educational program in the state.

The estimated annual return from the sales tax varies from $20,000,000 to as high as $35,000,000. The law provides that, of the first $20,000,000 received from this tax in any one year, 70 per cent shall be allocated for educational purposes in the same manner as other educational funds are allocated and used. Municipalities are to receive 12.5 per cent of the total tax collected and the department of public welfare is to receive 10 per cent of the first $20,000,000 collected to be used for aid to dependent children, aid to the needy blind, and old age assistance. The state sinking fund board receives 5 per cent of the $20,000,000 and 7.5 per cent of all collections above that amount to help finance the state building program. Counties, of course, share heavily in the portion of the tax allocated for educational purposes; in addition, they will receive 80 per cent of sales tax collections above the $20,000,000. This portion of the tax must be spent by the counties for education, aid to dependent children, aid to the needy blind, and old age assistance.

The Tennessee legislature passed several other acts dealing with changes in the state revenue system. Of more than passing interest was an act suspending further collection of state bridge tolls until March 1, 1951.

The state legislature also authorized the issuance of approximately $29,000,000 in state bonds for a state building program. Of this amount, $9,000,000 is for buildings for the department of institutions, $6,000,000 for University of Tennessee buildings and approximately $7,000,000 for buildings under the direction of the state department of education.

Public welfare legislation included an authorization to issue $2,000,000 in state bonds for the construction of state tuberculosis hospitals. Funds were also provided for the operation of such hospitals. Other welfare legislation included an increase in the maximum benefits to dependent children and the establishment of a program of vocational rehabilitation. Other legislation included establishment of a division of library services and archives and authorization of

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[1] Information on Tennessee was reported by M. H. Satterfield of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

$1,500,000 in state bonds to provide a library and archives building.

A large number of the private acts passed for both cities and counties authorized or validated bond issues. For example, twenty separate private acts were passed authorizing Memphis to issue bonds totaling almost $32,000,000. Of this amount $5,250,000 was for school buildings while the remaining included funds for a city hall, a memorial building, sewers, streets, hospitals and other municipal purposes.

Davidson County was authorized to issue $5,500,000 in general purpose bonds while Knox County was authorized to issue $2,000,000 in bonds for school buildings and $4,000,000 for a joint city-county office and service building. Eleven acts were passed authorizing bond issues by Shelby County, totaling almost $8,000,000. Madison County was authorized to issue $2,500,000 in bonds for road construction and improvement.

Total bond authorizations for Tennessee cities and counties, contained in some 275 private acts, exceed $106,000,000, a sum almost equal to the present bonded indebtedness of these units excluding revenue bonds.

Kansas[2]

Schools in Kansas will receive a "shot in the arm" this October to aid in their present financial crisis. Some $2,400,000 will be distributed through new school-aid legislation.

Schools had already received more than $900,000 in March as the first of two semi-annual payments provided by previous legislation. The second payment, scheduled for September, is included in the new aid program. Assistance in the future will not be as large, but the extra funds appropriated in the swing to the new program were planned as additional support.

Funds from the state permanent school fund earnings will continue to be distributed through the counties to public schools. Two semi-annual allotments in 1946 from that fund distributed $368,930.

In total, appropriations of funds by the 1947 legislature amounted to $39,000,000. This marks an increase of 50 per cent over the amounts appropriated and allocated by any previous legislature. Financing more government and the increased cost of government was the principal work of this year's legislature.

More Cities Raise Service Charges to Suburbs

An increasing number of cities are raising their charges to suburban localities for sewer and water services. According to information gathered for the 1947 *Municipal Yearbook,* published by the International City Managers' Association, of 459 cities over 10,000 reporting, 257 now charge higher rates outside than inside the city. Of 172 cities providing sewerage service to suburbs, 132 charge higher rates for users outside city limits.

Higher service charges for suburbs are becoming especially popular in major cities. Forty-four of the 57 cities over 100,000 population reporting charge higher rates for outside water service. The remaining thirteen charge the same rates to city and suburban users.

Outside water rates are double city rates in Buffalo, Fort Worth and Nashville. Suburban users pay 50 per cent more than city dwellers in Flint, New Orleans and Syracuse; 15 per cent more in San Francisco and Wichita; 10 per cent more in Dayton and Reading, Pennsylvania.

Among cities of 50,000 to 100,000

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[2] Information on Kansas reported by John G. Stutz, editor, *Kansas Government Journal.*

population, 27 cities charge higher water rates outside the city and fifteen charge the same. Outside water service charges are double the inside rate in Augusta, Georgia; Durham, North Carolina; and Saginaw, Michigan. In the 25,000 to 50,000 population group, 129 of 258 cities charge higher water rates to suburbanites than city dwellers.

Sewerage service charges follow the same pattern, with 32 cities over 100,000 charging out-of-city users for the service. Detroit charges outsiders twice as much for such service as it does city customers, while Flint charges 50 per cent more and Columbus 10 per cent more.

Scarsdale Informs Voters on Plans

A form of public finance reporting not often attempted or done well by American cities is that of informing the voters about financial proposals, as distinguished from reports about financial accomplishments.

A year ago the village of Scarsdale, in Westchester County, New York, issued a brief report explaining why the village board of trustees favored including in the budget an appropriation from current taxes to finance part of a proposed capital improvement program. This year the board, faced with the question as to whether or not the plan should be continued, has published a more comprehensive document, advancing the arguments pro and con and raising the question for determination with some degree of finality.

The 55-page brochure is entitled *Financing Postwar Construction Program of the Village of Scarsdale: Facts, Figures and Points of View.* It fully lives up to the promise of its title, both as to statistics and "points of view." Scarcely a page but contains at least one quotation from a letter or conversation with some citizen of the village on the point at issue, and the total effect is as though the reader had attended a town meeting of unusually well informed and serious citizens. Scarsdale's mayor, who submitted the report to the villagers, is H. Beach Carpenter, and the village manager is Reeves Newsom.

New Local Borrowing Tops Billion

Borrowing in 1947 by state and local governments of over one billion dollars for long-term purposes was assured by the end of April, when the state of Illinois successfully marketed $300,000,000 soldiers' bonus bonds—the largest single offering of state or municipal bonds to date. This raised to $1,085,087,320 the bond sales for the first four months of the year, as reported by the *Daily Bond Buyer.* In the first four months last year state and municipal bond issues totaled $326,248,686. This year's total included the Illinois bonds and $100,000,000 Michigan bonus bonds also.

Finance Officers Meet in New York

New sources of local revenue, marketing municipal bonds and other problems of municipal finance were examined at the 41st annual meeting of the Municipal Finance Officers Association held in New York on May 26-28.

Conference speakers included New York's Mayor William O'Dwyer; Carl Chatters, comptroller of the Port of New York Authority; John S. Linen, vice president of the Chase National Bank; Mabel L. Walker, executive director of the Tax Institute; and Thomas F. Holden, president of the F. W. Dodge Corporation.

Public Relations in British Cities

Consulting Committees Set Up by National Government

THE NEED for telling the citizen what the local authority is doing is almost universally recognized. In Great Britain official support for an adequate public relations policy is now furnished at the highest level by the setting up of a consultative committee on local government publicity by the Ministry of Health and the associations of local authorities. Charles Key, M. P., parliamentary secretary to the ministry, is chairman.

The high value set on its work by the government itself may be gauged from recent words of Herbert Morrison. Mr. Morrison urged Labor councillors to maintain the closest contact with their constituents:

"Dim and pompous mystery is all right for those who want to hide what they are doing—or not doing," he commented. "The town halls belong to the people and the people have a right to know what their councils are about. Get people interested in what you are doing. Make sure that they understand why, and how. You will find that your work will run smoother and your successes will be strengthened by the cooperation of individual citizens and will come twice as fast."

An important application of these principles in the local field is reported by the National Association of Local Government Officers, whose advocacy of a vigorous public relations policy is well known. Typical of the trend is the decision of the urban district council of Urmston to appoint a public relations committee consisting of leading councillors, representatives of local organizations and the press, and certain interested citizens.

The committee will meet on the day following each council meeting and will disseminate—or if necessary elucidate—any matter considered suitable. Press conferences will be held at regular intervals with senior officers and the chairman and secretary of the public relations committee meeting with representatives of the press. At the conferences news of council decisions and of progress made in implementing them will be released. Committee minutes, too, are to be released to the press in a fuller form than hitherto.

Another favorable sign for the improvement of local government publicity is the enthusiastic collaboration of the Newspaper Society, the Institute of Journalists and the National Union of Journalists in the preparation of the NALGO report on this subject published earlier in the year.

The Institute of Journalists has given further support to a policy of publicity in a memorandum urging that local authorities should respect both the letter and the spirit of the admission of the press to meetings act, 1908, which provides for public reporting of local authority meetings. According to the institute there is much diversity of practice, particularly about admission to committee meetings, while some authorities restrict their business at full open council meetings to formalities which reveal little of the nature of the council's activities.

The institute would like to see legislation removing all hindrances to full publicity. It believes that the demand for their local paper by men and women serving abroad is because of a real interest in what is happening in home towns, particularly in regard to administration and postwar planning. That demand should be met.

The press generally is willing to help. Over a hundred newspapers responded to a NALGO circular offering informative material about local government as part of a scheme to educate new electors in their civic responsibilities. Many papers accepted articles on the scope of local authority work; some followed these up by more detailed accounts of the particular activities of the municipal work in their own areas. The *Bedford Press,* for example, interviewed the chief officers of the borough council, wrote and published articles on their work, and subsequently published the series in pamphlet form.

Another branch of public relations is referred to in the Ministry of Health circular 197/45 advising local authorities to establish a permanent local information service comparable with that which proved so valuable during air raids.

"The minister feels," the circular reads, "that it would be a misfortune if the valuable experience gained were now to be lost, and he considers that an adequate information service should be built up and maintained by local authorities and should take the form of the provision in every area of an information center, to which inquirers seeking information on local government services could apply." Such service might well be based on an existing voluntary organization such as a citizens' advice bureau.

A. J. Mortimer, of the Brighton branch of NALGO, records the varied forms of public relations developed in that town. There are so many possibilities, he says, it is difficult to list them:

"Briefly, the aim is to make every local government officer public relations minded, every citizen local government conscious, and to obliterate apathy. A good start would be made by including the study of civics in the curriculum of all senior schools. In Brighton this is done in the senior section of one school and has proved most successful. The students run the class as a committee, the master being present only to offer advice if asked. There are visiting speakers drawn from the various departments of the local authority, local newspapers, large undertakings, and so on. The class has been running for a year, and I found its members efficient, businesslike, and ready and able to express their views far more lucidly than the average school child. Youth organizations and clubs enable public relations work to be done among adolescents, and the adult can be reached through Rotary clubs, women's guilds, and similar organizations."

LAURENCE WELSH, *Editor London Town*

Japan Holds Local Elections

The Japanese, voting in local elections for the first time on April 5, 1947, elected approximately 11,000 officials including governors, mayors and village heads. This election was the first of four in April including parliamentary elections. Slightly more than 50 per cent of the voters turned out. A heavy vote was cast in the small towns where the head man controls the local economy.

Occupation authorities observed the elections and reported that no fraud or violence had occurred.

About as many women as men voted. This was the first time that Japanese women could vote.

The results of the election showed a trend toward the conservative Japanese parties and independent candidates of conservative outlook.

The home ministry, to bring out the electorate in parliamentary elections, recommended that local officials run fire trucks through the streets on election day to call attention to the polling, establish ration distribution centers at the polling places, and even distribute free motion picture tickets to voters.

Neighborhood Associations

The neighborhood association, one of the devices used to achieve and maintain centralized control during the war years, continues strong as an agency for the distribution of commodities and the official rationing system, according to a recent study.[1]

The neighborhood association consists of a number of levels. The lowest is the *tonari gumi,* composed of all households in an area, about ten to twenty. In rural areas a number of *tonari gumi* make up the *buraki-kai* (hamlet association) which is based upon traditional units of rural community government within the village. In urban areas the *buraki-kai's* counterpart is the *chonai-hai* which is under the direct supervision of village and town headmen and city mayors.

The neighborhood associations form a chain reaching from the central government to the householder, causing, it is claimed, a maldistribution of supplies which can be diverted to the black market at each level.

The people, dependent upon the officials for food, are unable to demand more democratic selection of leaders.

Canadian Officials Plan Conference

The tenth annual conference of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities will be held in Winnipeg July 8 to 11. The general subjects tc be discussed will include municipal finance, housing, town planning, unemployment relief and recreation, including war memorials.

Municipal Government Costs in Canada

A Tax Conference Report of the Citizens' Research Institute of Canada on the cost of municipal government from 1929 to 1943 reveals that per capita net expenditure by Canadian municipalities decreased consistently from 1929 to 1943 when there was an increase of 3.5 per cent over 1930.

Debenture debt decreases of 16.2 per cent since 1939 and 22.1 per cent since 1930 resulted in the reduction of debt charges but, the report warned, postponement of improvements during war years will mean an increase in debt and undoubtedly in taxation.

The report concludes that "a long term budget of capital improvements and estimated capital expenditures is a must for any municipality which desires to control the growth of its debt and its annual debt charges."

Puerto Rico Seeks Streamlined Government

Governor Jesus F. Piñero has asked the legislature of Puerto Rico for a reorganization of the government to prevent duplication and to promote economies. The governor also requested a five year hospital building program and construction of 400 new schools during 1947 and 1948.

---

[1] "Neighborhood Associations in Japan," by John W. Masland. *Far Eastern Survey,* November 20, 1946.

Books in Review

Elements of Public Administration. Edited by Fritz Morstein Marx. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946. xxiv, 637 pp. $6.65.

This book, says its preface, is "a demonstration of teamwork." Its fourteen contributors are all "engaged in the practical business of public administration." Principal aim of the volume is "to deepen the reader's understanding of the administrative process as an integral phase of contemporary civilization. . . . Its focus is on the fundamental problems of public administration—the problems that assert themselves at countless points within the framework of governmental effort. Contributors are James W. Fesler, George A. Graham, V. O. Key, Jr., Avery Leiserson, Milton M. Mandell, Harvey C. Mansfield, John D. Millett, Fritz Morstein Marx, Don K. Price, Henry Reining, Jr., Wallace S. Sayre, Donald C. Stone, John A. Vieg, and Dwight Waldo.

The Future of Housing. By Charles Abrams. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1946. xix, 428 pp. $5.

This is a comprehensive and up-to-date study of the housing problem. Mr. Abrams, a pioneer in the movement for better housing, discusses the question of home ownership and home building, the operation of the real estate and construction industries as well as the conflict between government control and private interests. He offers a program for housing reform which should be of interest to those concerned in the solution of the housing problem.

A History of Local Government. By K. B. Smellie. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1946. 192 pp. $1.75.

This little book in its opening chapter covers the span of English local government up to 1832, describing in succeeding chapters its development down to this time. Chapters cover the making of the new structure and development of central control, 1832-1888; changes in area and functions and development of central control, 1888-1929; response to new conditions, structure and finance, 1929-1945. The last chapter is devoted to the "three Londons: city, county and greater London."

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Education

General Education in a Free Society. Report of the Harvard Committee with an Introduction by James Bryant Conant. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1946. xix, 267 pp. $2.

Forestry

Forestry in the States. By Earl Snell, etc. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* April 1947. 30 pp. 50 cents.

Housing

How to Buy a House. By L. Douglas Meredith. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1947. 176 pp. $2.50.

Juvenile Delinquency

Report of the Legislative Commission to Investigate the Causes of Juvenile Delinquency. Trenton, New Jersey, The Commission, 1947. 45 pp.

Municipal Government

Improving the Government of Cumberland. A Report to the Mayor and Council of Cumberland, Maryland. By Joseph M. Ray. College Park, University of Maryland, 1947. 32 pp.

A Review of 1947 Legislation Affecting Cities. Olympia, Association of Washington Cities, 1947. 20 pp.

Special Assessments

Bibliography on Special Assessments. By Herman Gerald Berkman. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1946. 25 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Balances in State General, Highway, and Postwar-Reserve Funds in 1946. By N. B. Gerry. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 12 pp.

Report of the Commission to Reexamine the Field of Governmental Operations, the Cost of Governmental Services, and the Tax Structure of the State to His Excellency, John O. Pastore, Governor of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Providence, The Commission, 1947. Variously paged.

Traffic Regulation and Safety

Motor Vehicle Driver Licensing. Recommended Principles of Driver Licensing in the Interest of Accident Prevention. Washington, D. C., American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, and New York City, National Conservation Bureau, 1947. 16 pp.

Report of Committee on Transit Operations. New Haven 11, Institute of Traffic Engineers, 1947. 16 pp.

A Uniform Enforcement Policy. A system for Providing Uniform Enforcement of Traffic Regulations. By Maxwell Halsey. Reprint from *American Journal of Police Science*, July-August 1946.

Utility Rates

Statement Presented to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on H. R. 2185. (Matter of rate reductions under Natural Gas Act.) Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors and National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1947. 11 pp.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 348)

The second letter, published April 14, was from George H. Hallett, Jr., of this department, secretary of the New York Citizens Union.

The letter points out that the number of Communists elected to the council was in no way disproportionate to the votes cast for such candidates and that P. R. assured other minorities, such as the Republican party, the fair representation which they did not obtain under the previous system, do not obtain now in the board of estimate under the old system and would not obtain on the proposed plan for election of councilmen by senate districts in mayoralty years. "In the last mayoralty year," the letter points out, "Mayor O'Dwyer carried every senate district in the city and in all but four of the 25 districts he received more votes than Goldsmith and Morris combined."

One paragraph of this letter was quoted by the *Boston Herald* on April 21 in an editorial entitled "In New York and Boston," supporting submission of P. R. and the manager plan to the Boston electorate:

> What bothers you, obviously, is that there are two Communists on the council, 8.7 per cent of the whole body, and we all know that no such percentage of the voters is actually Communist. The fact remains that these particular Communists amassed 138,498 votes, which is 8.2 per cent of the total valid vote cast for councilmen in the city. You couldn't get any closer to accuracy without cutting councilmen up into fractions.

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The League's Business

Financing Program Launched

The program to finance the League on a more adequate scale was launched at a meeting of the Executive Committee May 23. The following members were present: Charles Edison, president; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council; Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer; George Arents, Frederick L. Bird, Henry Bruere, Philip H. Cornick, Arnold Frye, C. G. Hoag, Joseph D. McGoldrick, Lawson Purdy. Also present were: Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary; John Rich, consultant; John E. Bebout and William H. Russell, of the staff; John Venable, assistant to Governor Edison.

Major developments were as follows:

1. Members pledged a total of $8,750 in personal, corporate or other subscriptions.
2. President Edison was authorized to appoint a chairman and members of a finance committee.
3. Members of the Committee pledged themselves to cooperate in obtaining bona fide prospective contributors and to work toward the New York area's share of the total budget goal of $110,000.

What the League Means to Me

by Charles Edison, *President*

Remarks before the Executive Committee meeting of the National Municipal League, May 23, 1947.

LET me begin by saying I think we have about the most vital civic job in the country. I have spent a good deal of time with organizations that deal with national problems and world problems, but the more I have had to do with people and organizations spending all their time and energy on some global issue the more convinced I have become that they are working largely in a vacuum. They are too remote for citizens to appreciate fully the importance of what they are driving at and to accept personal responsibility for what has to be done.

Most of us still live in something that can best be described as a home town. The most important people to us are the people we meet every day in our homes, where we work, where we play. It is just as true today as it was 150 years ago that if we are going to make democracy work we have to make it work where neighbors share concrete problems and can talk them over face to face. I don't see how we can reach sound conclusions on global questions if we cannot deal effectively with the problems in our own backyards.

The solutions of world problems must be understandable and acceptable to the people, not as citizens of the world but as citizens of "Home Town, U.S.A."

The politician who said the tariff is a local issue wasn't anywhere near as dumb as the professors have painted him. From a human point of view he was right. Whether or not we will raise or lower economic barriers will depend on how the people in their home towns think it is going to affect them in their work and their pocketbooks. The same thing is true of the expenditure of large sums of money for rehabilitation of broken down countries in Europe and Asia. It is true with respect to the handling of displaced persons.

We found out during the war and also during the depression that great national projects and programs fell down badly if we tried to run them strictly by directives from Washington. They became workable almost in direct proportion to the amount of local initiative and responsibility that went into their planning and execution. Furthermore, the effectiveness of such local planning and participation depended to a considerable extent on the kind of local government and on the habits of citizen responsibility that already existed in different places.

Since the war we have been experiencing the greatest revival of local civic interest and responsibility in our lifetime. In my travels around the country I find people still believe in their home towns and are more anxious than ever to make good on that faith.

I am reminded of a trip I took back in the early 1930s. That was when brokers were jumping out of Wall Street windows and leading bankers were about ready to turn everything over to the great white father in Washington if not back to the Indians.

But I found that ordinary businessmen, labor leaders and citizens in the cities and towns around the country still believed in the future and were ready to dig in and do something about it. To be sure, they needed some guidance, some assurance that others in other sections were bearing their share of the load, some assistance which would not destroy personal and local initiative but would give it an opportunity to get the wheels in motion.

I am not comparing our present situation with that of the depression. In some respects it is more serious. The way we meet it may have infinitely more effect for better or for worse on the future of the country and the world.

Ever since I began to devote a considerable amount of my time to public affairs I have been looking for the most effective ways to repay my personal debt to the American system. We all owe a great deal for the privilege of being Americans. We thought it was worth fighting two world wars for. It is certainly worth every ounce of any other kind of effort required to preserve and strengthen it.

That is where the National Municipal League looms very large in my picture. I think I have found the organization which more completely than any other provides the tools needed if we are to pass on to the next generation anything like the opportunity and benefits we have enjoyed.

There is considerable hope in the character of the present civic revival. Not only are more people than ever interested in problems of government, but their interest is on a high level of intelligent thinking. Only a few years ago there was a general tendency to solve all our problems by emotion. We wanted a brightly-colored, sugar-coated pill that would relieve us of any earnest consideration of facts. Government by emotion certainly has not disappeared, but there is a remarkable tendency of many, many citizens today to face the facts, and to act on the basis of facts.

It is in such an atmosphere that the patient work of League volunteers and staff pays off in a most constructive way. The League is the only organization I have been able to find that has the reputation, the skill and the blueprints required to meet the current demand for real live ammunition for the civic battle. There is a world struggle of political ideologies and let us not make any mistake. This local civic battle may be the pay-off.

> **As I have looked into the League's record, I have been impressed by the way in which it supports the principles of initiative, self-help — democracy in action. It has never lost its original character as an organization of citizens, created by citizens, to help them help themselves to better state and local government.**

I am glad that in this age of multi-billion-dollar public budgets and multi-million-dollar organization budgets the League has continued to rely more heavily on the work of volunteers than on the magic of dollars.

It is a most impressive record that over the years the work which went into our arsenal of model laws and administrative systems represents at least three dollars worth of volunteer expert effort for every dollar in the budget. Actually, that is an understatement of the proportion of volunteer to paid work. I say that because the League's real work, the real effort generated by the League, is local volunteer effort by citizens stimulated and guided by the League to correct abuses and to make their state and local governments more effective and more democratic. The value of this guided local effort, immense as it is in dollars, cannot be measured only in such terms.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A City Efficiency Bureau

THE city of New York, blushing a bit over its first billion dollar budget, is establishing a new bureau to keep continuous check on the efficiency of operations in all departments.

It's a safe guess that millions of dollars of waste could be cut from a budget this size and that thousands of the nearly 200,000 employees could be dropped without injury to services. No operation, public or private, is immune from the development of bad habits. And the officials of even a well run city (which New York has been for some years) are subjected continuously to so many anti-efficiency and selfishly based pressures that a tendency toward diffusion and disintegration is inevitable.

A check, either continuous or periodic, certainly is in order not only in New York but in every other governmental operation of any size.

The question has been properly raised, however, whether the desired ends can best be achieved by establishment of a new bureau. It has been pointed out that the city's bureau of the budget is supposed to be equipped to prune departmental waste, that the mayor has quite a staff in his own department, that he has a commissioner of investigation who has been pretty successful in turning up evidence of corruption now and then.

There are other pertinent questions. Would an efficiency bureau appointed by the mayor be handicapped in taking stock of other of his appointees? Would such a bureau, no matter how appointed, be able to be completely objective and severe in its judgment if it were part of the administration at all?

Experience elsewhere, at all levels of government, suggests a negative answer. Even some state departments which are supposed to exercise close control over operations of their municipalities seem inclined to tread softly and keep in mind the discomfort which might arise from inviting the resentment of one local official after another.

City councils and state legislatures once were looked on as the natural guardians of the public purse but they have turned out to be weak watchmen too sensitive to the urgings of self-seeking pressure groups.

In some places a comptroller or other financial officer has power to control spending and the tools with which to do it. In the city of New York, for example, the city comptroller used to have a bureau of municipal investigation and statistics which helped him be a fairly effective curb on administrative extravagance.

Then New York, like many other cities, went to the executive budget, which concentrates responsibility where the people can see it, and was developed as a brake on reckless spending. Now, as is apparent from the laudable effort being made by New York's mayor, it is not enough either.

New Yorkers might be startled by the suggestion that the nation's biggest city could learn something from Kalamazoo. Many of them wouldn't even know that Kalamazoo is a notably well run community of 55,000 in Michigan.

This is the lesson Kalamazoo can teach New York: Efficient as its government has been for the last 30 years, Kalamazoo calls in *outside* consultants periodically to look operations over, check methods against best practice, expose sloppy procedures before they become bad habits, recommend improvements.

Outsiders have no inhibitions, personal or political. They have reputations to preserve. The best of them would welcome the opportunity to do a real job on a big city where spectacular results would be obtained. Their criticisms would be less embarrassing to the administration than they would be coming from its own appointees. In the long run they would be less costly than a permanent bureau.

This is not to say the mayor *can't* get good results with his new bureau. But better results would be more likely if he called in the doctors from outside the family.

A Good Piece of Education

TOLEDO is telling its taxpayers, interestingly and in effective detail, what they are getting for the local income tax enacted last year.

For example, a recent issue of *The Toledo City Journal,* published by the city's Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, points out with text and pictures that rubbish collection is a newly established service paid for from the one per cent levy on income earned within the city. The city does the job more cheaply than those hired privately by householders used to do it.

Subsequent articles are promised about other improvements, services and rehabilitation of equipment.

This is a smart and constructive idea.

Back in depression days the taxpayers of one city howled so loudly that the city council cut taxes by eliminating garbage collection. The health department promptly threatened to arrest anyone who permitted garbage to accumulate. Private contractors reaped a rich harvest and cost householders much more—until the service was restored.

When taxpayers know how and for what their money is being spent they are less resentful over the tax burden, especially if they realize they are receiving benefits which would cost them more on any alternative basis.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GOVERNMENT
will be held in
NASHVILLE
November 12, 13, 14, 1947
SAVE THE DATES! **PLAN TO COME**

City-County Merger Proposed

Citizen legislative advisory commission uses effective plan to study Birmingham and Jefferson County problems.

By **ROSCOE C. MARTIN***

HERE in Birmingham, Alabama, people are talking about the problems of local government as never before. They aren't all saying the same thing about these problems, to be sure, though considering the subject discussed currently there is an astonishing measure of agreement. That subject concerns the extension of the limits of the city of Birmingham, then the consolidation of the governments of Birmingham and Jefferson County. The extension of municipal limits and city-county consolidation are, of course, separable subjects, though the people of Birmingham are inclined to give the two joint consideration.

The occasion for all this discussion is the report of a citizens commission, made public April 14, which recommended: (1) that the city limits of Birmingham be extended to cover all contiguous and adjacent urban territory, incorporated and unincorporated, residential and industrial, subject to a vote of the entire area affected; (2) that the government of Jefferson County and Birmingham, with its limits as extended, be consolidated, subject to a county-wide vote; (3) that the school system of Jefferson County and the school system of Birmingham, with its limits as extended, be consolidated into one system with a tax rate for school purposes equivalent to that levied by Birmingham.

The legislature of Alabama in 1945, at the request of the Jefferson County legislative delegation, passed an act "to create a commission to study and report to the legislature on certain questions with respect to the government of counties having a population of more than 400,000," and the municipalities and school systems contained in such counties. Inasmuch as only one county in Alabama answers to the legal description, the measure was in effect a local act applying to Jefferson County.

The act provided for a legislative advisory commission, to consist of 24 citizens of the county serving ex officio. Among others included as members of the commission were the presidents of the bar association, the two local colleges, the county medical association, the chambers of commerce and the junior chambers of commerce of the cities lying within the county, the county-wide organization of the American Legion and the parent-teacher associations in the several cities; representatives of labor organizations; two citizens chosen by the county commission; and one citizen chosen by the commission of the largest city in the county.

As will be clear from this partial enumeration, the commission members were selected in such a way as to make the body as a whole independent of control by any one group or any likely combination of groups.

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*Dr. Martin is professor of political science at the University of Alabama and director of the university's Bureau of Public Administration. He has been serving as executive secretary of the commission whose work he describes here.

Pursuant to the statute, the legislative advisory commission met early in November 1945, selected a chairman and an executive secretary, and otherwise perfected organization. As executive secretary it named the director of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama who, serving without pay, proceeded forthwith to set up a research staff. This staff, which operated under the direction of a full-time, paid director of research, varied in size from time to time, but was sufficient to give the director approximately the equivalent of two full-time research assistants for the duration of the study.

Commission Begins Work

The commission was financed by an appropriation (provided by the legislature) of $6,000 from the general fund of the county, an appropriation of a like sum prorated among the municipalities of the county on a population basis, and sizeable (though not accurately computed) contributions from the university's Bureau of Public Administration in the form of staff time, funds for travel and stenographic service.

The legislative act provided that the commission should meet "not less often than once each 30 days" until its final report should have been made; and meet it did once a month, and toward the end oftener, from November 1945 to April 1947. Average attendance for these approximately twenty meetings was about seventeen out of a total membership of 24, and when a particularly important subject was to be discussed as many as 22 of the 24 attended.

The law had directed the commission to find the answers to three specific questions, but that body concluded, on the advice of its technical staff, that it could not answer the three questions specifically asked until it had placed itself in a position to answer many more besides. It instructed its staff, therefore, to make as wide and intensive a study of government in Jefferson County as limitations of time and funds would allow.

With this charge in hand, the research staff blocked out a survey which would cover with reasonable thoroughness every important aspect of local—city as well as county—government save only the courts, which as state agencies were omitted.

The research staff adopted the practice of drawing up and mimeographing one memorandum, dealing with one important problem of local government, per month, and the commission then made that memorandum the subject for discussion at its monthly meeting. These subject matter memoranda numbered 25 all told. The discussion of one memorandum —toward the end it was sometimes two or even three—each month by the commission had the effect of keeping that body close to its research staff both in information developed and in its thinking as to possible solutions of the problems treated.

The research staff made its summary report of findings and recommendations to the legislative advisory commission on February 28, 1947, and the commission thereupon began a series of open public meetings on the staff's report. In a matter of six weeks the commission concluded that the point of diminishing returns had been reached on its program of public hearings, and on April 14 it made its recommendations to the Jefferson County legislative delegation and the legislature of Alabama.

Findings, Recommendations

Briefly, the story developed was the familiar one of a county dominated by an industrial metropolitan district, and indeed by a single large city; of "fringe" clusters of population, incorporated and unincorporated; and of inadequate measures for coordinating the efforts of the county's 25 units of local government.

Everywhere the staff turned it came face to face with these inescapable conclusions: first, Jefferson County and the city of Birmingham dominate the local governmental scene, in services rendered, in numbers employed, in money spent, and in the thinking of the citizenry; second, the Birmingham metropolitan district is a readily recognizable cultural, social and economic unit whose natural boundaries in many instances cut squarely across the artificial legal limits of the cities; third, the county and the city for half a century have maintained the tradition of examining and settling their problems on a broad-gauged rather than a purely local or partisan basis; and fourth, if on the one hand it is not too late for the Birmingham district to avoid the evils which beset such larger and more populous communities as Boston and Chicago, on the other it is not too early for the citizens of Jefferson County and particularly of the Birmingham area to bestir themselves to a critical examination of their many problems. These problems, the staff repeatedly urged, can be solved now; 25 years from now they may be, or may seem, quite beyond solution.

The recommendations of the research staff to the commission called first for measures which would improve existing governmental structure and practice without instituting basic changes. Among these the improvement of county government—specific recommendations were made—and the extension of Birmingham's boundaries may be mentioned.

A major proposal would be more far-reaching in its effects. Basic to all serious thinking about local government in Jefferson County is and for years has been the problem of the relationship between the county and the city of Birmingham. The research staff early recognized this as a fundamental problem and examined with care the various alternatives available. It went over in detail, first on its own responsibility and later with the commission, the possible application to the Jefferson County-Birmingham problem of city-county separation, the creation of a city-county covering substantially the Birmingham metropolitan district as defined by the census, institution of the "federated city" plan, and consolidation of the county and the city, either "as is" or with extended limits.

The staff came to the conclusion that, of the alternatives examined, the last was the most tenable, and it presented a proposal to the commission calling for the consolidation of the governments of Jefferson County and the city of Birmingham.

While the legislative advisory commission was not able to accept in their entirety the recommendations of its research staff, it did approve many if not most of the essentials. Its major recommendations have been summarized above. It is sufficient to note here that the three chief resolutions of approval were adopted by votes of nineteen to three, nineteen to three, and twenty to two.

Publicity Good

The commission's recommendations received wide and immediate notice. The three metropolitan daily newspapers, which had given the commission and its work strong support from the beginning, came through with vigorous endorsements of the whole plan. Speakers discussed the program, pro and con, before luncheon clubs and other civic groups, and before radio audiences as well. The program received the enthusiastic approval of such divergent groups as the Birmingham Industrial Council of the CIO and the Birmingham Junior Chamber of Commerce. Public reaction was of course not uniformly favorable, though beyond question a very large percentage of the voices heard favored the proposed program.

Meanwhile, the Jefferson County legislative delegation, comprising seven representatives and one senator, had followed the work of the legislative advisory commission closely and had devoted a great deal of time and study to that body's conclusions. The impression which this work had made on the delegation became clear when the legislators requested the commission to prepare, for study by them, bills and proposed constitutional amendments which would effectuate its recommendations. No promise of action, of course, was implied in this request, though it was clear that Jefferson County's legislators were deeply interested in the proposals.

If the Jefferson County experience contains lessons of general interest, they would seem to flow principally from the role played by the legislative advisory commission, a citizen group, in approaching solutions to the problems of local government.

The commission, many of whose members were unacquainted among themselves at the outset, welded itself into a working organization through the device of monthly meetings and detailed discussion there of carefully prepared memoranda. It retained the services of a research staff to do its technical work, and it approached a concert of opinion by going through the detailed problems step by step in consultation with its staff. Yet, in the final analysis, the commission exercised its own judgment in determining which of the staff's proposals to adopt and which to reject.

The net result is a series of recommendations, approved by all but unanimous vote, which are neither so mild as to be of no value nor yet so far out in front as to stand no chance of adoption. The acclaim heaped upon the members of the legislative advisory commission proves that a prophet can serve with honor even in his own country.

If at First You Don't Succeed

Citizen efforts to secure increased funds for St. Paul schools and teacher salaries rewarded on fourth attempt.

By **WILLIAM P. TUCKER***

MUNICIPAL reform is not dead—only sleeping fitfully. This was shown in St. Paul by the four charter amendment campaigns carried on by its citizens in the twelve months ending April 15, when opposing sides spent some $50,000 to sway voter opinion on the question of providing adequate funds for city services. Vested interests and civic lethargy played their parts, with lethargy in the lead.

St. Paul is unique in several ways. Its public schools have languished under administration as a regular department of the city government. All services have been hampered by a $30 per capita charter limitation on spending—not taxing.

The crisis deepened last summer, when it became evident that many school rooms could not open with regular full-time teachers in the fall. In July the first of four elections was held. Five amendments were presented by petition under the stimulus of the PTA and other groups. Proposed were a $34 per capita limitation—up from $30, a change in the ceiling on bonded indebtedness, a shortened work week for firemen, and improvement of status for the superintendent of schools.

A sixth amendment was presented by the charter commission,[1] giving the city power to levy new taxes and spend $4 per capita from such sources. Many regarded the sixth amendment as a red herring; its effect was to confuse the issues and aid in defeating all proposals.

A second election was held on November 5, seeking a $34 limit on spending, and an $11,612,000 bond issue for major improvements. This time teachers and sympathetic groups, incensed at the apparent major emphasis being placed on capital expenditures and aided by public apathy, again caused the amendments to fall far short of the 60 per cent favorable vote required for passage.

By this time the school administration presented the alternatives of a teacher pay-cut or closing of kindergartens or some other school service. This announcement, plus rising prices, depression-level salaries and grossly inadequate school plant and supplies, lent encouragement to strike plans among the city's 1165 teachers, a majority of whom were unionized in the American Federation of Teachers.

From November 25 to December 28 St. Paul presented the nation's first large-scale teachers' strike, which closed all schools and aroused much local citizen support and comment throughout the nation.

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[1] Minnesota cities are unusual in having continuous charter commissions which are appointed every four years by the district judges.

While the teachers demanded better pay—$2400 to $4200 for those with a bachelor degree—they also called for adequate equipment, buildings, supplies and more teachers to eliminate the overload. Then followed four weeks of negotiation, seeking emergency funds for the rest of the current year and a charter amendment to provide permanent financial relief.

Spearheaded by the more active Protestant ministers, the PTA and leaders of organized labor, a series of overflow public hearings with the city council urged that body to provide emergency funds for the schools and other city services. After numerous tumultuous hearings the charter commission agreed to call an election on a $4,700,000 emergency bond issue and a $12 per capita increase in the limit on spending. In return the teachers suspended their strike on December 28. Eighteen dollars of the per capita maximum would be available for education and $24 for other departments.

Then came the six-weeks campaign for approval of the amendment and the bond issue under the leadership of the Citizens Committee for School and Civic Improvement—a group that gives promise of furnishing permanent and constructive leadership in a continuing program of municipal progress. Starting in the early days of the strike, under the leadership of a few liberal ministers, the citizens committee soon had more than 700 dues-paying members, many of whom were unofficial representatives from a wide variety of civic organizations. The committee has functioned as an action group in its own right and served as a central coordinating agency for the other groups favoring a charter change.

After exercising influence in securing an end to the strike and presentation of the amendment, the citizens committee and associated groups led the campaign for adoption of the measure. Prominent among these organizations were the American Legion, its auxiliary, the League of Women Voters, the PTA, the Methodist Ministers Association, the St. Paul Council of Churches, Jewish groups, the AFL, the CIO, local college faculties and college teachers' organizations.

Committee Organization

The citizens committee, which is broadly representative of the community's interest groups, has an executive board of about 30, which has a smaller steering committee, including the officers and principal committee chairmen.

Chairmen and committees were established on finance, membership, organization, research, general publicity, speakers, radio, strategy and house-to-house campaign.

Some $8,000 in membership fees and donations was raised to support the February 11 campaign. The research and publicity committees collected and compiled the latest data from cities throughout the country, and prepared pamphlets, broadsides and numerous newspaper advertisements.

The speakers committee provided for numerous talks and debates before a variety of organizations. Six or seven hours of free radio time were secured by the radio committee for similar representations on the air.

Most dramatic of all was the house-to-house campaign of some 3,000 volunteer workers under a director, four division chairmen and some 60 school neighborhood chairmen. Regular training sessions were held for the block workers, where methods and procedures were suggested and voters' questions anticipated.

One special interest section was established, a business and professional men's group. Weekly luncheons were held to which members brought their friends who were potential supporters.

Ways and Means

Many of the well known propaganda devices were used by the citizens committee and allied groups in their radio, newspaper advertising, speaking and pamphlet publicity. Both the "testimonial" and "plain folks" devices found frequent use, as well as the call to climb on the "band wagon." The "glittering generalities" device, naturally, found frequent use. The "chamber of horrors" device was used most effectively, because physical and other conditions in the city's schools lent themselves admirably and legitimately to its use. Commendably little use was made of "card stacking" (unfair selection of data presented).

Newspaper advertisements gave varied presentations, including financial comparisons with other cities, the "testimonial" device—giving the broad backing of the committee, and some human interest approaches—"Your Children Deserve a Chance." To business there was special emphasis on the point: "Can You Run Your Home or Your Business on a *1923* Budget? Can You Expect St. Paul to Do So?" While the ethics of the opposition was occasionally impugned: "Should the Profits of This Small Group Obstruct the Progress, Welfare and Education of our City and its Children?"

Allied groups, such as the Teachers Joint Council and the American Legion, placed considerable newspaper advertising. The teachers spoke to labor effectively in terms of their small weekly "take home" pay. The legion used both the patriotic theme and comparative teacher salary data in its ads. Announcements and short talks were given in the churches, especially on the Sunday preceding the election.

Like most reform movements, the citizens committee has had its share of individualists who have not always contributed to the smoothest sailing. A decided shortcoming on the proponents' side was lack of effective liaison between the Teachers Joint Council and the citizens committee.

Among the proponents only one group made a regrettable descent into dealing in personalities, and there may have been some justification for this action.

Sentiment among business and property-owning groups was divided on the question of organized opposition to the February amendment; so little came from that quarter until two weeks before the election. Then, the president of the Real Estate Board urged each member of that body to contribute one per cent of his 1946 tax bill to a fund to defeat the amendment.

Two days later a "Committee on Facts," whose chairman was also president of the Real Estate Board, published a two-page advertisement in the *St. Paul Shopper*: (1) listing the current and "proposed" salaries of each school teacher, (2) labelling proposed salaries as excessive, (3) alleging that teachers work only 180 short work-days yearly, (4) alleging that these salaries would be permanent and "guaranteed"[2], (5) declaring that the estimated 25 per cent increase in taxes would be excessive [although rates would still be below those of other cities], and (6) alleging that no funds would be provided for capital improvements. This advertisement and its reprints invited invidious comparisons (1, 3 and 4) by voters, and indulged in "card stacking."

Four days later, eight days before the election, the Association of Commerce joined the opposition and called for support of a future amendment to provide substantially less for schools and other services, plus a bond issue for new school buildings and class rooms.

Meanwhile, the Committee on Facts' published salary list had taken its toll among lower income voters. Thousands knew some teacher whom they begrudged a higher income than their own. A week before the election the teachers agreed to a substantially lower salary schedule but opponents labeled this a subterfuge and the damage had been done.

Fourth Campaign Planned

The fiscal amendment finally submitted by the charter commission for the April 15 election followed rather closely the recommendations of the Association of Commerce and the Real Estate Board. The $42 per capita spending limit of the February proposal was reduced to $37; the ratio of other services to education of $24—$18 plus state aids—was reduced to $22—$15 plus aids; and a $27.50 ceiling was placed on real estate taxes.

In a surprise move the charter commission submitted a second amendment to establish an advisory committee on naming a school superintendent. This was opposed by the citizens committee groups on the ground that the existence of such a halfway measure would hinder the achievement of an elective school board with full autonomy; but, to avoid injury to the prospects for the fiscal amendment, the committee did not campaign against the second amendment.

The campaign for the April vote, being free from organized opposition, had mainly to combat civic lethargy; and the high proportion of favorable votes would seem to indicate that both voter abstention and voter conversion were important factors at work. A fusion committee of leaders from former proponent and opponent groups coordinated support for the April 15 election.

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[2] Teachers' salaries, unlike those of other city employees, are not on a cost-of-living index pay schedule; but there is some discussion of including them. Under this plan, salary changes are normally made annually to correspond with each cost-of-living index change of two points or more. The Bureau of Labor Statistics index covering the nearest comparable large city (Minneapolis) is used. See "St. Paul's Adjustable Salary Scale for City Employees," by Samuel E. Turner, the REVIEW, December 1938, page 583.

It is estimated that some $50,000 was spent for newspaper advertising in the four campaigns—July, November, February and April—with the bulk of it spent in July and February. Proponents in the four campaigns probably spent somewhat more than half the total, at least three-fifths of which was spent in July and February; and the expenditures by the two sides in these campaigns were approximately equal. While the July and November elections showed an overwhelming sentiment against the proposed measures throughout the city, the last two elections showed a progressive change in the picture.

'Pattern' of Voting

Forty-five per cent (65,189) of the registered voters took part in the February 11 election and 35 per cent (50,262) in the election of April 15. The favorable vote in February was 54 per cent of the total, and in April it was 74 per cent and 64 per cent on amendments 1 and 2, respectively.

In February eight of the city's twelve wards returned 50 per cent or more favorable votes. In April all wards gave more than a 60 per cent favorable vote—the percentage necessary for adoption— to the fiscal amendment (no. 1); and nine of the twelve wards gave more than 60 per cent to the administrative amendment (no. 2). In all cases the precincts voting against the amendments in April were also among the unfavorable ones in February.

The pattern of "favorable" wards was virtually the same in the two elections, with greater increases in the favorable vote in the wards that were formerly unfavorable. In both elections a majority of the favorable wards also had a higher than average percentage of registered voters who voted on these measures.

In the February election one of the most obvious facts was that the so-called working-class sections of the city (as determined by social survey maps, census tracts, etc.) were the ones which voted most heavily against the amendment. Many of these precincts swung over to the favorable column in April; still, five of the seven unfavorable precincts in the April election were working class areas. Appeals against real estate tax raises had special effect in those areas characterized by higher than average proportions of home ownership and lower median home values, per capita incomes and average length of schooling.

Since St. Paul has about a third of its school children in Catholic schools, it was only natural that a certain percentage of Catholics would vote against substantial tax increases for public schools—even though many other Catholics were strong supporters of the amendments. This was especially true in February, when five and one-half out of eight heavily Catholic areas voted against the amendment; and comparison with the "labor" areas indicates that strong opposition to the amendment came where Catholic and labor areas coincided. However, sentiment on

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What Ails County Justice

Scrambled judicial and executive duties of independent local officials have resulted in confusion and inefficiency.

By RALPH R. TEMPLE*

ADMINISTRATION of justice is one of the most important activities in the county. Local officers involved include sheriffs, bailiffs, prosecuting attorneys and solicitors, county judges, probate judges, county clerks, coroners, clerks of court, constables, surrogates, justices of peace, recorders, registers, county commissioners, county highway patrolmen, jury commissioners and many others.[1] All these officers are regarded as county officers but they are quite independent of the county government in any proper sense of the word.

One source of confusion and inefficiency in county government is the mingling of the law enforcement and judicial duties of officials with administrative duties. The fiscal transactions of these independent officials are intermixed with those of the county in such a manner as to make it extremely difficult for the average citizen to know who is responsible for what portion of the so-called county budget.

The double character of their functions, judicial and administrative, makes it hard for the public to place responsibility for important phases both of judicial business and of purely county business. Thus steps needed to strengthen the administration of justice in the county would also remove obstacles to a responsible and effective organization of county government itself.

Office of Clerk

The office of the clerk of the court is the center of the court's administrative system. It acts as a service agency, enabling the court to administer its business. The clerks of courts of subdivisions of most states are popularly elected for terms of two or four years. The movement to decentralize the courts in the last century was so thorough that, to all intents and purposes, clerks are independent officers over whom the courts have little or no control. Because they are elected they are also under no administrative control. Each clerk's office is independent of every other.

In many counties the duties of the court clerk include not only those relating to attendance at court sessions and preserving of records and proceedings but also many unrelated tasks. In Georgia the clerk keeps a record of land deeds and plats. In

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[1] See list of elective county officials required by state constitutions in Supplement to NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, August 1932, pages 537-39.

Alabama the circuit clerk is vested with non-judicial duties in connection with the conduct of elections and is also required, with the judge of probate, to inspect the jail once a week and to report to the grand jury.

In Mississippi the clerk of the chancery court is clerk of court, recorder or register of deeds, clerk of the board of supervisors, accountant, treasurer and auditor, and also has certain assessment, taxation and miscellaneous functions. In Cook County, Illinois, the county clerk is also clerk of the county court.

Legislative and constitutional limitations on their duties and freedom from executive and judicial control prevent many court clerks from carrying out the work of their office efficiently. Little attempt is made to determine whether their services are necessary or adequate, whether their functions are properly allocated or whether they conflict with or overlap those of other officers. In the same judicial system there is usually no requirement for uniformity in the offices of the clerks of the several courts. To a large extent modern business devices, such as card indexes, flat filing, photostating, microfilming and other mechanical equipment, are unknown. Few clerks have the financial activities of their office organized properly. Scant attention is given to the receipt of fees and control of expenses.

These instances are only a few of many which are the product of the complication of activities and the inadequate organization of the office of the clerk of the court. The present method of electing the clerk of the court should be abolished. He should be appointed by the chief justice of the court or the judicial council, to hold office at the pleasure of the appointing power. He should not be subject to statutory duties and thus be beyond the control of the judges. Proper supervision of the clerk by the judges cannot be made effective so long as the clerk exercises functions for which he is responsible to other administrative officers in the county or to no one in particular. As part of a unified court system, a county court branch could be established. There should be a central clerk's office instead of a separate one for the different courts.

Sheriff's Duties

Public Library
City,

Sheriffs and their deputies are an integral part of the administration of justice, their chief task being that of giving immediate effect to the decrees of the court. Today the sheriff is elected by popular vote in all states except Rhode Island—where he is appointed by the governor—for a term of from two to four years with a fixed salary or fee basis remuneration. He serves both civil and criminal jurisdictions.

Generally, the duties of the sheriff include those of preserving the peace and running the county jail. The sheriff's police duties, however, have disappeared in many states with the development of state police systems. As chief executive officer of the courts, he serves warrants and subpoenas, enforces judgments and appoints deputies. In carrying out his various duties, he has the assistance of deputy sheriffs, constables, court attendants, jailors and others, the number of whom depends upon the size and population of the county. In many states the constable is a separately elected official.

The sheriff has been saddled often with a variety of tasks, many of them totally unrelated to his primary functions as an officer of the court. In Cook County, Illinois, besides carrying out court orders, conserving the peace and having custody of the jail, he is required to perform the following duties: post election notices, deliver prisoners to the penitentiary, hold sales of businesses of employers delinquent in unemployment compensation contributions, act as tax collector ex officio, execute search warrants, and enforce the provisions of the animal disease act and of the game law.

In Mississippi the sheriff is the peace officer, executive officer of the courts, executive officer of the board of supervisors, tax collector, sometimes treasurer, jailor, county librarian, caretaker of county buildings, forester and investigator of fires. In Arkansas and Louisiana he is revenue collector.

An analysis of the functions of the sheriff's office in most counties would probably lead to the conclusion that there is duplication and overlapping of work, poor organization and excessive personnel. The miscellaneous functions assigned to the sheriff should be reallocated and his activities confined solely to those connected with administration of justice.

The sheriff should not be an elected officer. In most cases he should probably be appointed by the court or the governor after meeting certain standards through civil service examination or otherwise. He and his deputies should receive a straight salary and should not be dependent upon statutory fees as a source of remuneration.

Transfer of the sheriffs' duties to a department under the chief executive of a reorganized county government or consolidated city-county government has sometimes been advocated. In fact, article 20 of the Colorado constitution enabled the consolidated city and county of Denver to adopt a home rule charter abolishing the offices of the sheriff and coroner and vesting their functions in the heads of the Department of Public Safety and the Department of Health and Charity, respectively, both of whom are appointed by the mayor.

Abolish the Constable

Constables should either be abolished or, wherever petty police officers are necessary, they should be appointed by the sheriff and subject to his control. In states which seek strong and integrated law enforcement, a state department of law, headed by an attorney general appointed by the governor, could be responsible for coordinating and supervising the work of all law enforcement officers in the state, including county sheriffs and county attorneys or prosecutors.

This should mean in most states a change from local election of prosecuting attorneys to appointment, on a basis of fitness, by the governor or better still by the attorney general. Like United States district attorneys such appointed prosecutors should be full time officials. A single prosecutor could serve two or more small counties. The prevailing system of independently elected county prosecutors introduces local politics into law enforcement and largely nullifies the constitutional mandate that the governor "shall take care that laws be faithfully executed."

One indication of the inefficiency of the present system is the frequency with which state governments must resort to special statutory procedures to enforce the law where the regular county authorities have failed. The so-called one-man grand jury system of Michigan is a case in point. The establishment of an integrated state agency for law enforcement should eliminate the confusion and division of responsibility which now exist in many counties because of overlapping or parallel powers of sheriffs and prosecutors.

The Coroner

The coroner's duties are generally to hold post mortem examinations of persons who have died without getting medical assistance and to investigate and hold inquests in cases of deaths involving suspected criminal responsibility. The coroner is popularly elected in most of the states and appointed by the county board or supreme court in seven states.

Originally the coroner was the direct representative of the crown, as is evident by the name itself. His functions were to investigate all cases of sudden or violent death in order to protect the crown's interest with regard to such things as treasure-trove.

The American colonies adopted the institution and it became part of the system of judicial administration in practically all the states. It has undergone some changes chiefly with regard to the size of the jury and the effect of the jury's verdict. In several states no use is made of a jury at all and in others the coroner does not have to investigate industrial accidents causing death, this task being assigned to such agencies as railroad and industrial commissions.

In Alabama the coroner makes a preliminary investigation of violent and mysterious deaths and reports the facts to a judge of record or to a solicitor, and the latter in his discretion orders the coroner to hold an inquest. In some communities, as in Cook County, Illinois, when the sheriff is absent or the office is vacant, or when he is an interested party, the coroner may perform the sheriff's duties. When the coroner is absent or an interested party, any constable in the county may, upon issuance of process, perform the coroner's duties. A law of May 27, 1931, abolished the office of coroner in Jefferson County, Alabama, and transferred its powers and duties to the county commission, but the functions of the coroner in acting under certain circumstances as sheriff are performed by the president of the county commission.

Two types of duties are performed by the coroner, medical and criminal investigation. His criminal investigation duties are duplicated by other agencies of the city and county, usually the police or the office of the state's attorney. In most of the coroner's inquests in the United States, the type of examination conducted has been more harmful than beneficial to subsequent prosecutions. The medical aspects of the office, however, are so interwoven with the criminal investigative side that close coordination between the two is not only desirable but necessary.

Along with other evils there is the vicious fee system. This is highlighted when a local undertaker obtains and exploits the position of coroner to add to his undertaking business income.

The experience of New York, Massachusetts and Essex County, New Jersey, under the medical examiner system, justifies the abolition of the coroner system. The office of medical examiner should be substituted and made a subdivision of the office of the prosecuting attorney in a state general department of law enforcement. The personnel of the office of medical examiner should be selected by rigid scientific examination.

In all urban centers there should be vested in the medical examiner's office the duty of furnishing, to police, prosecutor and courts, expert medical assistance at every stage of the investigation, prosecution and disposition of criminal cases of every description.

In non-urban territory, medical examiner districts should be organized with a medical examiner's office for each district. Legislative provisions should be made for cooperation between those non-urban offices and those of the most convenient urban office, so that the facilities of the latter may, in proper cases, be available to the former.

There should be developed, at least in the larger urban communities, properly equipped medicolegal institutions under the control of the medical examiner. They should be affiliated, so far as practicable, with public hospitals, medical schools and universities.[2]

Conclusions

Judicial organization dovetails with the general administrative organization of the county. This fact contributes to the complexity of the problem of county government. As constitutions and statutes are at present, judicial administration affects in many ways the general administration of state and local governments. Since judicial organization overlaps and interpenetrates the county administrative structure, the reorganization of the latter must be influenced in certain respects by the maintenance or modification of the former.

So far as practicable, administrative functions should be removed from local officials acting as agents of the courts and transferred to others in a reorganized county government. Conversely, those functions dealing with judicial administration should be transferred to officers engaged in the administration of justice.

Attention has been concentrated in this article on specific court officers and their responsibilities, but there are other judicial officials, such as the judge of the county court in Pennsylvania and the judge of probate in Alabama, whose powers extend into many fields of county administration. These as well as the county officers discussed, except in so far as they perform duties that should be turned over to the administrative side of county government, should be adjuncts of and responsible to an integrated state court system. Modifications of these principles, of course, may have to be accepted as temporary measures in some counties.

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[2] Recommendations of Committee on Medical Legal Problems of the National Research Council, Washington, D. C. 1926, noted in *Illinois Crime Survey,* page 388; see also "A Physician Examines the Coroner," the REVIEW, October 1936, page 577.

One of the first things to be done is to remove obstructions to the establishment of an efficient judicial system by simplifying the provisions of state constitutions. The court should be given more power in general terms to set up the judicial organization.

Students of judicial administration are agreed that the most satisfactory system for the administration of justice could best be secured by welding all of the present scattered judicial units into a unified whole. Even if this cannot be achieved, much can be done to better the business administration of the courts. Good principles of management with responsibility centered in someone who has general direction, supervision and control, would strengthen the administration of justice in all counties and open the way to more responsible county government.

IF AT FIRST YOU DON'T SUCCEED

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the fiscal amendment by April had shifted into the favorable column in the Catholic areas, much as throughout the city.

Various reasons have been advanced for the favorable shifts: the fact that the April fiscal amendment provided for a lower ceiling on expenditures, a ceiling on real estate taxes, and would provide for smaller salary increases than the February measure; that no bond issue was presented in April; that more specific provision was made for allocating funds for school building construction and repair; that most of the business groups which opposed the February measure actively supported the April amendment and that no significant and organized opposition appeared in April; that the city's financial dilemma had become evident to a large majority of the citizenry; that continued nation-wide publicizing of this crisis would redound to the disadvantage of St. Paul, economically and otherwise; and that the local press shifted from qualified support in February to strong support in April.

A study of these four charter amendment campaigns underlines certain significant facts in the field of current municipal politics and government. Should Minnesota cities take the following steps: (1) join the more progressive cities in establishing the more democratic vote of 51 per cent for charter changes; (2) follow the usual procedure of electing charter commissioners? A large section of the electorate feels that civic groups should continue their drive for an elective school board with fiscal and administrative independence of the type found in most American cities.

Watchdogs of Local Finance

New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Missouri exercise varying degrees of supervision over city and county treasuries.

By **JOHN F. SLY, H. F. ALDERFER and VICTOR D. BRANNON***

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the second of a series of three articles, edited by Dr. Wylie Kilpatrick, of the Bureau of the Census, from a round table discussion on intergovernmental fiscal relations at the December 1946 conference of the American Political Science Association.

METHODS for improving financial relations between state and local governments have been evolved by the notable New Jersey Division of Local Government of the State Department of Taxation and Finance, working through modern codes and standards for fiscal administration; by Pennsylvania through a three-fold approach of cooperation between the State Bureau of Municipal Affairs, Pennsylvania State College and associations of local officials; and by a state supervision of rural county finance in Missouri that promises extension to other local units. In all three states appear the pressing problems of inadequate local revenue and prospective revision of state aid.

Dr. Sly on New Jersey

Perhaps the most significant supervisory feature of the New Jersey state-local financial structure, in the opinion of Dr. John F. Sly, is the cash basis form of budgeting for counties and municipalities. As applied under state supervision, cash basis budgets provide that cash expenditures be balanced by cash income. Each year municipalities and counties anticipate collection of their current property taxes according to the collection ratio actually realized during the preceding year. This is accomplished by including in the general property tax levy an "overlay" equal to that portion which experience indicates will not be collected during the current year.

Called a "reserve for uncollected taxes," the property tax overlay becomes a budget appropriation which determines the amount of taxes to be levied but one which does not have to be paid in cash. By providing for current tax collections sufficient to meet current expenditures, the budget also provides no prior claim upon delinquent tax collections. Thus, revenues realized from delinquent tax collections are available for current expenditure and may be anticipated in the budget according to past experience. This means that the "reserve for uncollected taxes" may be offset in whole or in part by anticipated collections of delinquent taxes and that the net overlay amounts only to the excess of the "reserve" over anticipated collections.

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Although seemingly involved, this procedure is nothing more than the application of the "reserve for bad debts" principle to municipal finance. Similar to business firms, which count their risk of loss as part of their revenue requirements in the normal course of operations, municipalities in New Jersey count their anticipated tax delinquency as part of their tax revenue requirements. This procedure keeps them on a cash basis and free of current or floating debt which plagues so many local units.

Administration of the cash basis act[1] is by the State Department of Taxation and Finance, Division of Local Government. This division also prescribes budget forms and certifies municipal and county budgets. It supervises annual audits of municipal accounts and certifies "registered municipal accountants" who may perform them. Annual tax sales are required in each taxing district and the commissioner of local government must conduct such sales if the local authorities fail to do so.

Under the fiscal supervision act[2] the state may assume the duties of administering the financial affairs of "hardship" municipalities which meet prescribed tests of poor financial condition. Following the enactment of this 1938 law, 61 municipalities were subject to a temporary state control that, under the law, was terminated when their finances showed sufficient improvement according to specified criteria. The upward turn in economic conditions, coupled with state supervision, has now freed all municipalities from this control.

The New Jersey Local Government Board acts as a funding commission to approve local refunding schedules and to protect municipal credit. It also acts as a municipal finance commission to effect the settlement of claims and the financial rehabilitation of debt defaulting municipalities under court order. The finances of eleven municipalities are controlled by this commission at the present time. The statutory net debt limit for municipalities is 7 per cent of average assessed valuations of real property for three years and for counties it is 4 per cent. A few local units have debts in excess of the limits and may incur new debt only under emergency conditions.

Municipalities and counties which can afford it are encouraged to accumulate "capital improvement funds" as prepayments of capital costs. Under chapter 85, laws of 1944, the state matches local expenditures for engineering costs of planning public works projects. All local public works projects involving state or federal aid, or statutory exceptions to municipal fiscal standards, require clearance and approval of the commissioner of economic development.

Within the New Jersey fiscal structure the general property tax is exclusively a local tax. Following abandonment of the state school tax, effective in 1947, no state tax is levied upon general property. Counties, municipalities and school districts, however, are largely dependent upon property taxes for revenues.

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[1] Ch. 60, L. 1934; Ch. 122, L. 1938.
[2] Ch. 127, L. 1938; Ch. 75, L. 1941.

Unlike many states, New Jersey has no general sales tax or income taxes and the amount of money available for distribution by the state to local governments is small in relation to their total budget requirements. Municipalities collect all general property taxes levied by themselves and by counties, school districts and special districts. The entire burden of property tax delinquencies appears in the municipal tax overlay.

A tax upon the capital of banks and competing financial businesses is divided equally between counties and municipalities. The proceeds of these taxes, however, amounted only to $1,500,000 in 1946 or slightly more than half of one per cent as much as the general property taxes levied. Taxes upon the gross receipts of certain utilities are levied by the state and certified to the municipalities for collection. While this is the largest source of non-property taxes for local use, it provided $19,800,000 or only 7.4 per cent as much as the general property tax in 1946.

The state levies and collects taxes upon railroad property and franchises. The tax upon second class property—all railroad property except "main stem" and rolling stock—and half the franchise tax is paid to the municipalities. This source of local revenues declined from $11,200,000 in 1943 to $7,400,000 in 1946 and will probably decline still further in 1947. Total state aid to municipalities, school districts and counties amounted to about $51,000,000 in 1944, including $11,000,000 of railroad taxes. General property taxes levied in 1944 totaled $256,000,000 or five times state aid.

Effective in 1947, New Jersey has adopted a new state aid program for local schools. This program is based upon the elimination of the state school tax on general property and the distribution of about $13,000,000 to school districts toward a foundation school program in which the local share is measured by the number of pupils, valuation of property taxable, and population. About $6,300,000 of the $13,000,000 represents "new money," and the remainder represents a redistribution of funds which were available in prior years.

Wide variations in local assessment practices exist among the 565 general property taxing jurisdictions in New Jersey. The legal responsibility of the State Department of Taxation and Finance to supervise and to equalize assessed valuations has not been fulfilled in practice. The average general property tax rate for the state was $5.15 for each $100 of valuation taxable in 1946 and will probably be around $5.65 in 1947. Pressures for increased local revenue and rapidly increasing property tax rates are the basis for a growing movement to modify state-local fiscal relations in New Jersey so as to provide greater support for local services and to protect the cash basis budget.

Dr. Alderfer on Pennsylvania

State-local revenue problems in Pennsylvania, points out Dr. H. F. Alderfer, parallel but do not duplicate New Jersey. Pennsylvania long preceded New Jersey in withdrawing from state taxation of real property, the state retaining only a small levy on classified securities. State aid to schools is being reexamined as to adequacy and equity; an increase in aid is predicated upon the imposition of a general sales tax or an individual income tax. Public assistance in recent years has been state-financed. The entire highway program has been geared to rural rather than to urban needs. In consequence, urban highways are relatively neglected. The question of allocating the gasoline tax is linked to the rehabilitation of the county as a road-building unit.

Federal grants to the state for health would make it impossible, under the Hatch act, for officials of the State Department of Health to engage in political activities. This requirement resulted in the state refusing to accept federal aid. Federal-state relations in the administration of unemployment compensation have resulted in civil service status for this class of employees. Although certain other grants have also had a salutary influence on administrative procedure, general reliance on subsidies—with or without administrative conditions—is a dubious development.

This conclusion is illustrated by the alternatives of state aid or state-shared taxes to assist in eliminating stream pollution. The need for extensive sewer works to implement the clear streams program of the state is stymied by an apparent lack of local financial resources. This function is entirely a local responsibility in the financing of which the answer should be increased sharing of state-collected revenue with all municipalities rather than state grants for sewage treatment works.

Turning to administrative supervision, Pennsylvania affords a contrast, at least in terms of emphasis and degree, to state-local relations in other states. It is true, Pennsylvania regulates local financial affairs by constitutional and legislative prescription. The municipal debt limit, for example, is 7 per cent. Like other states, Pennsylvania has established administrative supervision through the Bureaus of Municipal Affairs and Statistics of the Department of Internal Affairs. A specific authority of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs is to pass upon the legality of all local bond issues, except those of the three largest cities. This bureau, however, has neither power nor desire to pass upon the purposes or amounts of local borrowing, a subject for community decision.

In 1935 the state required all local governments annually to prepare budgets and financial reports according to state forms. Copies of the budgets and reports, the forms for which were drafted in consultation with local officers' associations, are filed annually with the State Department. Similar to borrowing, the purposes and amounts of local budgets are free from state departmental dictation and are subject only to state statutory prescription of procedures.

Consistent with this approach to relationships, Pennsylvania is emphasizing a broader program in which the State Bureau of Municipal Affairs is one of three types of organization; the other two are the Institute of Local Government of Pennsylvania State College and the various associations of local government officers. Functions of the Institute of Local Government are to train students for public service, provide educational service to local officers and their organizations, and conduct research in local government problems.

The Bureau of Municipal Affairs has a number of direct responsibilities with the local officers' associations—Association of Boroughs, Association of County Commissioners, Association of Township Commissioners, Chiefs of Police Association, and State Association of Municipal Authorities. The director of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs is an officer in a number of the associations. For instance, he is secretary of the State Association of Boroughs and keeps in touch with the needs of the various boroughs. The Bureau of Municipal Affairs is the Harrisburg headquarters for the legislative activities of the various associations; information, service and space are provided by the bureau, which in no way enters into legislative lobbying.

If a personal note is permitted, the writer is director both of the Institute of Local Government and of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs, as well as an officer of a number of associations. Perhaps by "happenstance" his work embodies the tripart nature of the Pennsylvania program—college, state bureau, and officers' associations.

Although this arrangement facilitates integration of the activities of these agencies, a cooperative relation among the organizations is feasible under separate directors if the "sights" are aimed at an interrelated and mutually helpful program stressing education and self-improvement of officials. To the officials must be added citizens and civic organizations. The Bureau of Municipal Affairs has recently established a Committee on Pennsylvania City Problems to mobilize colleges, civic organizations and state agencies in a program for discussion of city problems.

Dr. Brannon on Missouri

The principal forms of intergovernmental fiscal relations in Missouri, declares Dr. Victor D. Brannon, are state supervision of county finance and state aid for schools. The state government makes grants to local governments for purposes other than schools, but the amounts involved are relatively small. Present indications are, however, that state grants and shared taxes may be used more extensively in the future.

In Missouri the state officer responsible for supervising local government finances is the elective state auditor. His supervisory duties extend chiefly to the 109 counties with populations of less than 50,000—commonly called "rural" counties. The state exercises little administrative supervision over the other five counties—commonly called "urban."

Each of the 109 rural counties must file a copy of its annual budget as adopted with the state auditor and obtain his receipt before any warrants may be paid. The state auditor prescribes an accounting system for all officers in a rural county, and he approves the accounting system prescribed by the county auditor in an urban county. He audits the accounts of all officers in rural counties at least once during their term of office, at no cost to the county. He audits the accounts of other political subdivisions only on petition of 5 per cent of the qualified voters, the cost of such audit being paid by the political subdivision.

The state auditor prescribes the form of the annual financial statement published by each county, both rural and urban. Before bonds of any local government in the state are valid, the state auditor must register them and certify that they are issued in compliance with the law.

Although the budget law, interpreted literally, does little more than vest in the state auditor the clerical duty of acknowledging receipt of the budget as adopted in a rural county, this state officer has undertaken to exercise more extensive supervision over budgeting. He has devised budget forms and a listing of county expenditures that should be included under each of the budget classes prescribed by law. He has interpreted his powers to include the refusal to give a receipt for a budget that does not conform to law.

The program of state supervision of rural county finance was inaugurated in 1933. Missourians generally concede that a great deal has been accomplished through the program. A budget is prepared in every rural county today, whereas few prepared formal budgets prior to 1933.

When the first audits were made under the 1933 law, the state auditor found that some officers handling county money actually kept no accounting books. He also found that many county officers were disregarding statutory provisions relating to fees and expenditures. Accounting records now kept show vast improvement. Periodic audits have caused most officers of rural counties to be more careful in their handling of and accounting for public moneys. The audits have also helped well meaning officials in their interpretation of laws that are not always clear.

At the same time, the program of state supervision has fallen far short of the standard that might be expected. The state auditor, responsible for the program, is elected on a political basis and his staff of auditors is appointed on a political basis. Auditors have been appointed largely from former county officers. For the most part they are not qualified to work out modern systems of budgeting, accounting and reporting.

The state auditor has also been handicapped by detailed provisions of state laws prescribing the forms of budgets and financial statements for rural counties. Many provisions of these laws are unsound. It would be better if the legislature established certain standards and vested the state auditor with ample authority to work out the detailed regulations.

Members of the Constitutional Convention meeting in 1944 and 1945 were convinced of the success of the program of state supervision of rural county finance. They wrote into the new constitution provisions designed to assure its continuation for rural counties and to extend it to other local governments. The constitution provides that all "legal subdivisions of the state shall have an annual budget, file annual reports of their financial transactions, and be audited." It also provides that the state auditor "shall establish appropriate systems of accounting for the political subdivisions of the state, supervise their budgeting systems, and audit their accounts."

In each case the clause "as provided by law" is added, and the last session of the legislature interpreted this clause to leave the matter entirely to its discretion. The present state auditor is a Democrat and the legislature is now Republican. State supervision of local governments was extended only to the extent of requiring the state auditor's approval of accounts prescribed by the county auditor in an urban county, and providing for the state auditor to audit the books of any local unit on petition of 5 per cent of the voters.

The degree of success attained through state supervision of rural county finance indicates that financial supervision might justifiably be extended to other local governments. Such supervision would definitely help the smaller cities and the special districts in the rural areas. It it doubtful, however, whether the state supervisory agency in Missouri has developed its staff and procedures to a point where worthwhile supervision could now be given to local governments in the urban areas.

As noted above, the only large program of state grants or shared taxes in Missouri is that of school aids. State school moneys are distributed largely on the basis of an equalization formula which has undoubtedly enabled the rural districts to furnish a higher quality of education than they could have provided otherwise without burdensome property taxes. On the other hand, it has enabled many rural school districts to reduce property taxes to absurdly low levels.

State aid has had the effect of subsidizing uneconomic units of local government—the school districts with small enrollments and one-room schools. The equalization formula has also failed to take into account the higher costs of schools and the local tax problems in the large cities where the bulk of the state taxes are collected.

The last session of the legislature provided for a program of state aids for local libraries, half the funds to be distributed on the basis of an equalization formula and half on a per capita basis. The legislature also provided for a program of state aids for county roads, the funds to be apportioned half on the basis of the county road mileage and half on the basis of rural land valuation in each county. Although the attorney general has held that the appropriation for county highway aids is in an unconstitutional form, the legislature will probably correct this defect.

Because of their present financial difficulties, city governments are demanding that the state share its mounting surplus with them. City officials have enlisted the aid of county officials by proposing that both counties and cities participate in a program of state-collected locally-shared taxes. School districts are also likely to insist on participation in the proposed tax-sharing program. The distribution formula, yet to be worked out, may be equitable to all parts of the state. Past experience with school grants indicates, however, the difficulty of obtaining a formula that is fair to the big cities.

Letter to the Editor

No Tenure for Manager

To the Editor
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

I've just read the exchange of correspondence with Mr. Lanigan in the May issue. You make one statement in your reply to him which gives me great concern.

I am a strong advocate of the manager plan, and when you say "we believe qualified technicians and administrators should not be kicked out for political reasons," it seems to me that you strike directly at the basic theory of that form of government.

The manager plan is in essence the election of a policy-making board by the voters which, in turn, *selects* an administrator of policies fixed and determined by the board. A right to select such an administrator must in all logic carry with it the untrammelled right of removal. Obviously, if the board isn't competent, intelligent, honest or unselfish, a removal of a good manager will injure the community, but isn't that the fault of the voters and a normal result of the democratic process?

In the corporate form of business organization stockholders never attempt—at least to my knowledge—to insist that a company president be retained over the objections of the board of directors. The job of hiring and firing executive management is entirely delegated to the directors. Were this not so you couldn't get competent men to serve as directors. And why should it be different in the manager plan of government?

I'm very much disturbed over your statement, and if it reflects the thinking of the League's Council, I feel the question should immediately be reviewed and a statement published of the reasons for and against any position taken.

B. H. FAULKNER, *Director*

Department of Revenue and Finance
Montclair, New Jersey.

We meant technical employees and department heads such as police chief, finance director, etc. Although, in practice, a city manager *should* not be dismissed "for political reasons" (his office and conduct of it should not be political), the power of the city council to dismiss him should be absolute, as Mr. Faulkner says, for a city manager *must* carry out the council's policies. A city manager is a controlled executive. That makes it safe to concentrate in his office the administrative responsibility which makes the council-manager plan more effective than any other form of government. The council's unhampered power to dismiss the manager makes it the most democratic form, as Woodrow Wilson and many other authorities have long recognized.

EDITOR

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Constitutional Convention Voted in New Jersey

Revision Considered in Minnesota, Oklahoma

THE holding of a convention to revise the 103-year-old constitution of New Jersey was authorized by a five to one vote at the state primary election on June 3. As there was little opposition and as no high public positions were at stake in the primaries, the total vote was relatively light. Over 250,000 approved the convention, with little more than 50,000 against. At the election 81 delegates to the convention were chosen, most of them bipartisan nominees.

In contrast to the strong opposition of the Democratic organization of Jersey City and Hudson County to constitutional reform in 1943 and 1944, Hudson this time gave the largest vote —some 61,000 to 4,000—of all the 21 counties of the state. Mayor Frank Hague, prior to his recent resignation in favor of his nephew, Frank Hague Eggers (a member of Jersey City's five-man commission) bestowed his approval on the convention idea. Newark and Essex County also gave strong support by a vote of about 40,000 to 4,400.

The delegates convened on June 12 at Rutgers University, in New Brunswick, to start work on their task, which must be completed by September 12 to be submitted to the electorate in November.

Governor Alfred E. Driscoll, like his predecessor, Governor Charles Edison, vigorously advocated the calling of a convention and thorough revision of the state's ancient constitution, which has been amended only four times since its adoption in 1844.

Major changes proposed by Governor Driscoll and other political leaders include: revision of the state's antiquated judicial system, with abolition of the separate Court of Chancery; a four-year term for governors after the present incumbent, with the right to be reelected for a succeeding term, instead of the present three-year term without such right; four-year instead of three-year terms for senators and two years instead of one for assemblymen, with limits on the length of legislative sessions and an increase of annual compensation from $500 to $2,000 or $2,500; strengthening of the governor's veto and appointive powers; and rigid restrictions on lobbying. Equitable legislative reapportionment cannot be a result of the convention's work since the question on which the people voted authorizing revision specifically forbade any change in legislative representation.

Minnesota Looks Toward Constitutional Revision

The Minnesota state constitution, adopted in 1857, is badly in need of revision. Evidence in support of this statement is found in some 40 proposals for constitutional changes in the two houses of the Minnesota legislature during the 1947 session.

A proposal to call a constitutional convention to undertake the job was introduced at this session and received some attention, but the long time required to secure constitutional changes by this method led proponents of revision to decide in favor of a simpler method. Companion measures were introduced in both houses providing for setting up an interim commission to study the constitution and to recommend amendments to and revisions of the constitution at the next regular session of the legislature.

This bill, as finally passed by both houses and approved by the governor, calls for a commission of 21 members—eight from each house of the legislature—to be appointed by the speaker of the House and the committee on committees of the Senate, respectively, one member from the Supreme Court appointed by the chief justice of the court, one member from the executive branch appointed by the governor, and three citizens of the state also appointed by the governor.

The commission is authorized to elect its own chairman, and may appoint committees and employ clerical and professional aid, though the appropriation of $12,000 from which its travel and other expenses must be paid will not permit much of a staff.

To facilitate action by the voters upon any constitutional changes recommended by this commission and acted upon favorably by the 1949 state legislature, a constitutional amendment also was passed at this session which, if adopted by the people at the 1948 state election, will permit voting upon two or more amendments en bloc. The present amending section of the constitution is interpreted to require that each amendment must be submitted and voted upon separately.

Lloyd M. Short
University of Minnesota

Constitutional Revision Considered in Oklahoma

The 1947 Oklahoma legislature enacted a bill requiring the question of holding a constitutional convention to be submitted to the electorate at a special election in November, but it was vetoed by the governor on the grounds that it did not provide an adequate appropriation for holding the convention and contained some indefinite provisions. The legislature failed to provide the two-thirds vote in both houses necessary to override the veto.

The bill provided for election of delegates in January 1948 if the November referendum were favorable, and also would have set up a convention survey committee of fifteen delegates designated by the governor, to carry on research to aid the convention, which would have met in September 1948.

As matters now stand the Oklahoma Legislative Council, an ex officio body consisting of members of both houses, plans to conduct a study and prepare a tentative draft of a new constitution to submit to the 1949 legislature.

W. V. Holloway
University of Tulsa

Wisconsin Considers Legislative Reapportionment

A joint legislative committee on reapportionment has presented to the Wisconsin legislature six bills concerning revision of that state's unproportionate legislative districts. Although the state constitution calls for reapportionment after every federal census, opposition from various over-represented rural areas has blocked revision on the basis of the 1940 census. The present proposals include the addition of four assemblymen and one senator in Milwaukee County, and one assemblyman in Dane County (Madison).

Congressional Reapportionment Voted in Illinois

A bill reapportioning congressional districts in Illinois giving Cook and Lake Counties three additional congressmen has finally been passed by the Illinois legislature.

Efforts to redistrict the state according to constitutional mandate have been flouted for 36 years, encountering stubborn opposition from down-state legislators, determined that Chicago and Cook County should not have their proportionate share of representation. This year's bill met with a four-hour filibuster in the House of Representatives. As reported by Louther S. Horne in the *New York Times* on June 1, "yells, cat-calls, boos and pounding of desks, which resounded through the state capitol at Springfield, marked Wednesday's filibuster by the down-state Republicans, who are traditionally against reapportionment. It stymied action on all 200 bills on the house calendar. The hubbub ended when a roll call was finally completed at the end of four hours. The house adjourned amid threats by the filibusterers to tie up the legislature for the rest of the session, scheduled to close June 30, unless the bill is sent to committee."

Minnesota Creates Legislative Research Committee

The 1947 Minnesota legislature established a Legislative Research Committee of eighteen members, nine from each house, to assemble and to study information for the use of the legislature in its work. Bills for a research council or committee had been passed by the House of Representatives in the 1943 session, but the Senate refused to concur; and by both houses in the 1945 session, when a conference committee failed to reach an agreement.

Favorable Senate action at this session was secured through changes in the original bill which provide that Senate members shall be chosen by caucuses of senators from the nine congressional districts instead of by the committee on committees which selects other Senate committees, that the functions of the committee shall be restricted to fact-finding and shall not include the formulation of legislative proposals, and that the life of the committee shall be four years.

The research committee is directed to appoint a research director and may employ such other persons and obtain the assistance of such research agencies as it deems necessary. The research director and other employees of the committee are placed in the unclassified civil service. The salaries of the director and staff are to be fixed by the committee, the members of which are to receive only their actual expenses incurred in attending meetings and in performing other official duties —members of the Minnesota legislature receive biennial salaries of $2,000. Seven thousand dollars was made immediately available for the work of the committee and $25,000 was appropriated for each year of the biennium 1948-49.

The bill had powerful backing outside the legislature. Governor Luther Youngdahl advocated such a measure in his election campaign and in his inaugural and budget messages. The League of Women Voters, the Good Government Group of business and professional men and the Junior Association of Commerce actively supported the proposal. Speaker Lawrence Hall of the House of Representatives introduced the bill in all three sessions and was its principal legislative proponent.

The membership of the new committee includes many of the ablest leaders in both houses of the legislature. Holding its first meeting on May 10 for purposes of organization, the committee appointed six of its members to proceed at once in the all-important task of finding a qualified research director. Several legislative problems were referred to the committee for study by house resolutions before the legislature adjourned, including the state tax system, needs of state institutions, and a long-term program of higher education. Prospects that the committee will justify its establishment during the trial four-year period provided in the act appear good.

Lloyd M. Short
University of Minnesota

More Legislative Research Councils Established

Recent legislative action in five states has created legislative councils, or committees, to advise on policy and suggest new laws in advance of legislative sessions. This brings the total to at least twenty.

Besides Arkansas, Minnesota, Oklahoma and Washington, to which reference has been made in this or earlier issues, Utah has established a legislative council this year consisting of five senators, five representatives and three persons to be appointed by the governor, the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House, respectively. Besides conducting research and preparing a legislative program the council takes over the duties of the interstate cooperation committee. A biennial appropriation of $40,000 has been made.

A legislative council authorized in Oklahoma before the recent war was activated by the 1947 legislature with a biennial appropriation of $53,500.

Texas Outlaws Public Union Contracts and Strikes

Collective bargaining agreements between cities or other political subdivisions of the state and any labor organization, or recognition of such an organization as a bargaining agent for public employees, has been declared to be against public policy by a statute recently adopted in Texas. Strikes against the state or any of its political subdivisions have likewise been declared against public policy, and any employee participating in such a strike shall forfeit all civil service and reemployment rights.

The right of an individual to cease work is not to be abridged so long as he is not acting in concert with others in an organized work stoppage, and existing rights of public employees to present grievances as to wages, hours or conditions of work, individually or through a representative not claiming a right to strike, are not to be impaired.

Some Public Strikes Forbidden in Minnesota

The bill passed by the Minnesota Senate to prohibit strikes of public employees and to provide conciliation machinery for handling labor disputes between public employees and administrative officials (noted in the Review, April 1947, page 204) failed to get out of committee in the House of Representatives, presumably because of the probability of an executive veto. A somewhat similar bill was vetoed by Governor Thye in 1945.

The legislature did pass, however, a bill to bar strikes in hospitals, including public hospitals, which has received the approval of Governor Youngdahl. Conciliation and arbitration machinery is set up by this act for the settlement of any labor disputes which may occur in such institutions.

New York City, State to Analyze Services

On June 3 Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York City announced the formation of the Mayor's Executive Committee on Administration and the creation of a Division of Analysis in the Bureau of the Budget, to increase the efficiency of the city government and to supervise policies, procedures and activities in the various city departments (see editorial, page 365). The committee is headed by William Reid, assistant to the mayor and a veteran of the preceding administrations of Mayors LaGuardia and Walker; the other members are Thomas J. Patterson, director of the budget, and Benjamin Fielding, commissioner of licenses.

The new Division of Analysis is headed by William F. Shay, chief examiner of the Budget Bureau, who will be assisted by a staff of about 25 accountants and investigators from that bureau and other departments. Reports of this division are to be forwarded to the new committee through the budget director.

Governor Thomas E. Dewey on May 22 approved a state-sponsored program for specialized training in public administration for men and women graduate students and New York State employees, including also fifteen one-year internships to be established this autumn in state departments for graduate students specializing in public administration. The training courses will be offered this fall by members of the faculties of the Graduate Division for Training in Public Service, New York University, and of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.

Survey of Dayton Shows Good Government

A recent investigation of the government of Dayton, Ohio, a manager city since 1914, while revealing various detailed situations calling for improvement, resulted in conclusions by Griffenhagen & Associates, of Chicago, that the city officials are conscientiously giving their best efforts to render the most effective service city finances will permit; that no evidences of dishonesty or extravagance appeared; and that although opportunities for savings had been discovered, they represented only a small fraction of total expenditures.

The report states: "Few cities are as free of what is usually best understood under the label of 'political pressure.' To a marked degree the administrative officials and employees are secure in the knowledge that they can do their work impartially without fear that their actions will be overruled for reasons of political expediency. There is no evidence of the pernicious practice, so common in many cities, of withholding enforcement of the law or ordinances until a check can be made to determine whether the violator is entitled to special consideration because of political affiliations.

"The foregoing achievements have not come easily. The greatest weakness of democratic government lies in the difficulty it has in maintaining standards such as those just listed. The city of Dayton has maintained them and has done so without sacrificing its responsiveness to popular opinion."

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Citizens of the town of **Saugus, Massachusetts,** (16,696 population) voted almost four to one on June 2 for the Plan E form of government (manager and P. R. council). A total of 3,252 voted in favor and 816 against. Saugus now has the representative form of town government with three selectmen. A special election will be held in January to choose five selectmen, who will appoint a town manager. On March 3 Plan E had also been overwhelmingly approved but the total number voting on the question was somewhat less than half of all registered voters, as required by a special enabling act. Subsequently, the legislature removed this restriction. Approval of Plan E was strongly advocated by Frederick B. Willis, of Saugus, speaker of the state House of Representatives.

The town of **Farmington, Connecticut,** voted 1079 to 214 on June 9 to adopt a council-manager charter recently approved by the state legislature. The charter will consolidate activities of five taxing units within the town. Voters of the borough of **Farmington** favored the charter 426 to 74 and voters of the borough of **Unionville** 328 to 72. The other two taxing units are school districts. A council of seven, three from each of two voting districts and one at large, will be elected on October 13. As a device to insure some minority representation, a voter will not be permitted to vote for more than two candidates as district representatives. The town meeting is retained and will pass on the budget each year. The plan takes effect in November. Farmington is the seventh Connecticut town or city to adopt the council-manager plan.

Windsor, Connecticut, on June 11 voted overwhelmingly in favor of a new charter providing the council-manager plan. The vote for the charter, previously passed by the 1947 legislature, was 1298 to 149—better than eight to one. The town will elect a council of seven on October 6, which will chose a manager to have general charge of town affairs. It will have authority also to appoint the town attorney, treasurer, tax collector, public building commission, board of tax review, zoning and town plan commission, zoning board of appeals and public library directors.

Montevideo, Minnesota, voted 477 to 137 on June 17 in favor of a newly-drafted council-manager charter.

A county manager charter granted to **Anne Arundel County** by the Maryland legislature became effective on June 1.

Interest in the manager-P. R. council form of government (Plan E) continues high in **Massachusetts.** In **Pittsfield** the League of Women Voters has endorsed the plan and representatives of the league, the Taxpayers' Association and others championed it at a public discussion. In **Medford** the Plan E Charter Organization has been organized and arranged a public discussion. In **Quincy** the Taxpayers' Association took the lead in organizing a city-wide committee to circulate petitions for placing a Plan E proposal on the ballot in November. The Taxpayers' Association in **Newton** is furthering the movement there, where a committee is seeking to bring the question to a vote. In **Newburyport** the Kiwanis Club has sponsored public discussion of the plan. **Worcester** voters are planning a campaign to place Plan E on the November ballot.

A Citizens Advisory Committee appointed in 1946 recommends adoption of the manager plan in **Jamestown, Rhode Island.** The committee's recommendations will be voted on at an August town meeting.

The **Clearfield** (Pennsylvania) *Progress* has collected information on the borough-manager plan in order to publicize it for that municipality.

In **Columbia, South Carolina,** a movement in favor of the council-manager plan is in progress, with the support of *The State,* local newspaper; an amendment to the present enabling statute will be necessary as the act does not apply to cities of over 50,000 population.

The city-parish charter commission, provided by a constitutional amendment adopted at the polls on November 5 last year after passage by the legislature, has announced its tentative plan for consolidating the major functions of the city of **Baton Rouge** and the parish of **East Baton Rouge** under a manager form of government. (See also page 413, this issue.)

The **Trinidad, Colorado,** Chamber of Commerce has gone on record as favoring the manager plan and has prepared petitions.

Greeley, Colorado, defeated a manager proposal on April 29 by a vote of 954 to 772.

The charter commission of **Goose Creek, Texas,** recently appointed by the city commission, has decided to follow the council-manager plan in drafting a new charter.

In **California** the legislature has adopted a law to permit cities of less than 6,000 population to establish the manager plan by ordinance and sent it to the governor. Popular vote is now required for adoption of the plan.

Carrying out a pre-election pledge, the city council of **Modesto, California,** on May 7 decided in favor of submitting to popular vote a revised city charter to include the manager plan. A freeholders group will be chosen to draft the charter.

A fifteen-man board of freeholders, elected on May 6 in **Santa Cruz, California,** to rewrite that city's 36-year-old charter, is reported to be sympathetic to the council-manager plan, but intends to investigate and consider other plans as well. Its work is to be completed within a year.

The **Manhattan Beach, California,** Chamber of Commerce unanimously adopted a resolution asking the city council to place the question of the manager plan on the ballot at the next regular election.

Councilman J. H. O'Boyle of **Monrovia, California,** favors a charter change to the council-manager form and hopes that the question can be placed on the April 1948 ballot.

In **Vancouver, Washington,** a campaign for the manager plan has been instituted with the support of the *Sun.*

Denver Votes For Charter Convention

On May 20—coincident with the overwhelming victory of Quigg Newton for mayor over Ben F. Stapleton, the incumbent for twenty years—voters of Denver, Colorado, approved a proposal for the election of a charter commission, 55,062 to 52,659. The vote on this question, 107,721, compares with a total vote of 139,224 in the election as a whole.

The proposal calls for the election of 21 taxpayers as convention delegates. No date for their election is specified. The council, which is to set a date by ordinance, may delay it in order to permit ample time for preliminary charter study, inasmuch as the law requires the convention to complete its work within 60 days after convening. Appointment of an advisory committee of representative citizens to consider charter changes, including possible consideration of the council-manager plan, has been suggested. Denver now has the strong mayor plan.

Survey of Public Purchasing Methods

The first large-scale national survey of public purchasing practices and procedures supported by a national organization has been announced by former New York City Purchase Commissioner Albert Pleydell, president of the National Institute of Governmental Purchasing.

Questionnaires have been sent to 750 public purchasing agents throughout the country.

The institute's questionnaire covers a wide field of public purchasing methods, among the topics being procedures in making awards at public lettings, short order forms, contract bids, specifications, inspection and testing, qualifications of bidders, discounts, liquidated damages, payments and warehousing.

The survey is planned to provide data for a complete report to be made at

(Continued on page 417)

Researcher's Digest . . . . • *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Warning: Higher State, Local Tax Bills Ahead

Larger Budgets Foreseen Improved Methods Urged

VIGILANT attention to governmental costs and operations will pay back returns in terms of more efficient government as well as in terms of better living standards for the people," prefaces the **Tax Foundation**, in *Facts and Figures on Government Finance 1946-1947*, 144 pages. Factual information is given regarding federal, state and local governmental finances including war finance, public debt and the costs of public administration.

Many reports deal with rapidly increasing expenditures for state government and state aids. The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council**, Carter W. Atkins, executive director, in *News and Views, Your State and Local Government,* analyzes the "Recommended 1947-49 General Fund Budget" and the means of "Financing 1947-49 General Fund Requirements." The council warns that "the level of expenditures foreshadowed makes it imperative that every possible economy be effected at this time and that sound and long-range fiscal policy be developed to insure wise and economical operations in the future."

California's first annual state budget proposal is only $42,000,000 less than the total biennial budget for the years 1945-1947. A recent issue of *The Tax Digest,* published by the **California Taxpayer's Association,** Jessie K. Grant, editor, summarizes the governor's spending proposal by examining the "where's," "what's," "why's" and "wherefore's" of budget increases.

Effective budget-making is hampered in Maryland by the outmoded budgetary and accounting system which prevents precise estimating of revenues and expense requirements, declares the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy,** D. Benton Biser, director, in a recent number of *Your Tax Dollar.* The state's tentative biennial budget is analyzed by major classifications and compared with the appropriations for the 1940-1941 and 1946-1947 bienniums.

Departmental expenditures since 1939 are examined by the **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey,** Edward Staples, executive director, in *Where the Missouri State Government Dollar Goes,* in an effort to show the pattern of expenditures which has resulted in an overall increase in government expenses from $189,500,000 in the 1939-40 biennium to an estimated $314,800,000 in the 1945-1947 biennium.

A Good Report

Setting forth the financial summary for the biennium 1947-1949, the **Wyoming Taxpayers Association,** Percy F. Jowett, executive director, in *News and Views—State and Local Government,* finds it "encouraging to contemplate that a balanced financial position for the general fund may reasonably be expected."

In order to encourage its economic growth a "state must keep its spending program and therefore its policy of taxation in line with other states in its area, observes the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research,** Harold L. Henderson, executive director, in a *Comparison of Costs of Government in Minnesota and Six Neighboring States.* This 64-page booklet contains a detailed analysis of expenditures in Minnesota and six other states, a brief survey of postwar budget problems in

Minnesota and a considerable number of tables, charts and maps.

The **Bureau of Business Research** and the **Bureau of Government Research** at the **University of Kansas** have jointly produced *Fiscal Kansas* by J. D. Morgan, a 98-page pictorial summary of finances during the last several years. The author draws no conclusions because he feels the discerning citizen, on the basis of facts presented, can draw his own sound conclusions. However, he points out that Kansas is in a "relatively enviable financial position as compared to many other states." The problems of the existing financial system in Kansas are outlined in the "State Budget: Financial Control," a recent issue of *Your Government*, published by the **Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas**, Ethan P. Allen, director. The four outstanding weaknesses in the system are the patchwork character of the financial organization, special funds into which over 80 per cent of state funds go, the need for an allotment system extending to all state agencies and a post-audit independent of the executive.

Improve State Government

Possible Improvements in the Operation of State Government, Ten-Year Analysis of State Expenditures has been issued by the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research.** The expenditure side of government in Minnesota does not present a "rosy picture," and changes looking toward more responsible and effective management of the state are discussed. Suggestions include strengthening the department of administration, returning accounting and pre-auditing powers to the executive office and consolidating numerous agencies. Legislative reorganization is also urged to provide a better staff for the legislature, consolidate the committee system, improve the liaison between executive and legislature, and reapportion the house and senate legislative districts.

The **Bureau of Research of the University of Arkansas** has published Number 8 in its research series, *The Organization and Function of State and Local Government in Arkansas.* The 201-page book concentrates on a consideration of the constitution, the election process, the legislative, administrative and judicial processes, county and municipal government, improvement districts, school districts, townships, government regulation, government services and financial administration.

Two more research reports have been issued by the **Utah Foundation,** Stanley J. Stephenson, managing director, entitled *Legislative Control of Public Funds in Utah* and *The Tax Burden in Utah.* The first reports on the decrease in revenues expendable without control by legislative appropriations from 80 per cent before 1947 to 43 per cent for the years 1948-1949. The second report finds that the $139,000,000 in federal, state and local taxes collected in Utah in 1946 exceeds by $15,000,000 the total income from agricultural products marketed in the state and exceeds the total value of minerals produced.

A statistical account of the existing financial structure is contained in *Financing State Government in Massachusetts,* 36 pages, published by the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations,** Norman MacDonald, executive director, in order to "facilitate an understanding [by the legislature] of the intricate operations" of the revenue structure and to assist in the solution of the problems of state financial administration and state aids to localities."

The **Kentucky Tax Research Association,** George T. Holmes, secretary, has issued a study of the *Tax System of Kentucky and Comparison with Neigh-*

boring States in an effort to show that if Kentucky is to afford its citizens the services that other states do, the tax base must be broadened and taxes should be based upon the "extent of services rendered the taxpayers by the government."

Assessment Problems

"The Colorado Property Tax" is seriously defective, reports the **University of Colorado** in *Taxation in Colorado,* by Earl C. Crockett. Among the problems considered most serious are the assessment of property at not more than 30 per cent of true value, the dubious value of fixing the tax rate limit at not more than 5 per cent in excess of the previous year, tax delinquency, the loopholes in exemption of property and personalty, the weakness of the office of county assessor.

The **Nevada Taxpayers Association,** Dryden Kuser, director, presents in *Nevada Tax Review* a digest of a "Study of Assessed Valuations." The study finds that assessments are not uniform, are far below true value and if valuations were adjusted on a statewide level three-quarters of a million dollars of additional revenue could be collected.

For the purpose of improving the tax and budgeting laws, providing necessary funds for government operation, eliminating tax inequalities, and reducing taxes consistent with efficient governmental operation, the **Oklahoma Legislative Taxation Committee,** L. D. Melton, secretary, has issued a *Report and Recommendations.* The results of the study of state tax laws, state financial administration, ad valorem tax administration, school reorganization and finance, and workmen's compensation costs are outlined in the 27-page pamphlet. The committee recommends creation of an adequately staffed legislative council.

State Aid vs. Local Taxes and Revenues

State Payment to Localities, an analysis of the local assistance (Moore) plan and its potential effect on tax rates, prepared and published by the **Citizens Public Expenditure Survey of New York State,** Walter O. Howe, executive vice president, provides a background summary of the chief sources of New York State local revenue and local tax and governmental cost trends. General local assistance will replace the former system of shared taxes, a long range effect of which will be that most municipalities will receive more unearmarked revenue than they would otherwise expect to receive. "The dollars-and-cents effect of the local assistance plan on real estate taxes will depend largely on the extent to which local taxpayers succeed in persuading public officials to use the increased assistance for tax reduction rather than for additional spending."

The **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** George G. Sipprell, managing director, the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research,** W. Earl Weller, director, and the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research,** George L. Nichols, managing director, have all devoted recent bulletins to a discussion of the new local tax law which extends to New York counties and cities permission to levy certain sales, excise and license taxes to help defray increased school and city costs.

Permissive Local Taxes as a Possible Alternative to the Proposed Sharing of State Revenues with Local Government Units is a remedy suggested by the **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey.** The **Missouri Municipal League's** plan for sharing state sales and income taxes with municipalities and counties would "violate the fundamental principle that responsibility for raising money should accompany the spending of it." The permissive local tax plan would provide for lower state taxes and the difference could be levied by cities for local purposes. Collection would be by the state, thus saving the cost of duplicating collection machinery.

In a recent issue of *Research Brevities,* the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** considers "State Aid vs. Broadening the Local Tax Base." The facts on both sides of the question are presented so that the citizen can form his own opinion.

Local License Taxes

Two reports on municipal license taxes have been issued by the **Alabama League of Municipalities,** Ed E. Reid, executive director, and the **North Carolina League of Municipalities,** Mrs. Davetta L. Steed, executive secretary. The former, *Manual on Municipal License Taxes in Alabama,* discusses the legal status and operation of the Alabama system of licensing businesses, trades, occupations and vocations which provides 40 per cent of all municipal operating revenues. The latter report is a *License Tax Schedule for North Carolina Cities and Towns,* prepared by George C. Franklin.

In another publication Mr. Franklin reports on *Municipal Participation in Profits from Alcoholic Beverage Control Store Operations in North Carolina,* listing total county receipts and profits, municipalities which receive a percentage of profits, those that receive financial assistance for law enforcement in lieu of a percentage of profits and those that receive no division of profits or other financial assistance.

The **Joint Committee on Municipal Finance of Massachusetts,** Hon. Charles G. Miles, chairman, has issued a report on a *Further Investigation of the Laws Relating to Municipal Finance* which includes laws dealing with the authority of cities and towns to appropriate money by by-laws and purposes for which cities and towns may borrow money. It also investigates the subject of parking meters and legislation authorizing cities and towns to participate in the payment of life insurance premiums for their employees.

Cost and Conduct of Public Education

A report on national and state financial aids to public education in Minnesota made by the **Research Project on Intergovernmental Relations in Minnesota,** Dr. William Anderson, director, points out that of the 7,600 school districts in the state many are so small as to have inadequate local resources for the maintenance of satisfactory programs of education. Reorganization and consolidation of districts are held to be essential to obtain the best financial and educational returns from the tax dollar.

A Manual for the School Board and School Board Members has been prepared for the **Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico,** by J. W. Diefendorf. This 26-page pamphlet describes the kinds and functions of school boards in New Mexico and the qualifications and duties of board members.

Data compiled by the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** on teachers salaries, presented in a recent *Bulletin,* indicates that the superintendent's proposed salary schedule "will provide the highest minimum and highest maximum of any major metropolitan school district in the United States."

"It Pays to Have a Nest Egg" says the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director, in a recent *Newsletter* devoted to the story of Allegheny County's 1947 budget. High income and low expenditures during 1946 place the county's

1947 operation "in the clear." In considering the per capita school tax in Allegheny County, the league finds it is "hit or miss taxation." School districts in seeking legislative assistance to meet higher pay scales and higher costs are neglecting an estimated million and a half that could be obtained if the per capita tax were levied properly.

Municipal Finances Are Tough All Over

The city of Pittsburgh, saddled with a limited tax base and declining valuations of real property, may have new burdens added to the city budget according to the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division.** Payroll bills under consideration by the legislature would increase the cost of operation $2,000,000 a year. These bills are reviewed in a P.E.L. *Newsletter* entitled "Local Government by Directive."

Reports on budgets and tax rates from cities throughout the country all reflect the trend of the increasing cost of government. The **Mayor's Tax and Finance Commission of Minneapolis,** Roy G. Blakey, chairman, points out in a recent bulletin that efficient use of the taxpayer's dollar cannot be realized without a unified and coordinated budgetary, accounting and purchasing control and a sound fiscal program for the entire city government.

"Providence is trying to meet service demands of 1947 with a tax structure that was insufficient for the needs of the 30s," says the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director, in a recent bulletin. Four possible solutions with arguments for and against are outlined: greater local taxing authority, supplemental tax system, proceeds of state taxes earmarked for local purposes, and lump sum appropriations to local governments.

The **Department of Governmental Affairs of the Dayton Chamber of Commerce,** John R. Kerstetter, manager, discusses "The City's 'Million Dollar Deficit' a Part of the Cause—and a Measure of Its Meaning," in two issues of the *Dayton Government Digest.*

The "1947 Budget Provides New Pay Raises" and reflects the increased price for materials, states the **Woonsocket Taxpayers Association,** Joseph A. Kelly, executive director, in its monthly report.

A bulletin entitled *Background for Budgeting, a Pictorial Review of City Budget Trends* has been issued by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director. It is designed to furnish "background for value judgments on the operations of Detroit's city government."

Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore, compiled by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy,** records increases in the city's budget, net debt and tax levy.

Reasons for Higher Costs

"Increased personal services constitute a major problem," reports the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director, in a summary analysis of departmental budget requests for 1947-1948. The major factors affecting increased expenses are measures approved by the voters in the November election providing for price and salary increases. A ten-million-dollar tax levy increase is indicated for 1947-1948.

The **Jasper County Tax Economy Association,** Gerald N. Hardy, executive secretary, estimates a 57 per cent rise in Carthage (Missouri) taxes in 1947, based on a study of the proposed levy for city, state, county and school districts and the estimated revenues necessary to make payments on bond issues.

"Let's Save Ten Million Dollars," suggests the **Utica Municipal Research**

Bureau, William R. Coates, executive director, in a recent issue of *Your City.* Reduction of the debt and adoption of the pay-as-you-go plan are suggested.

A memorandum issued by the **Committee on Governmental Affairs of the Trenton Chamber of Commerce** demonstrates how variations of the three factors which influence the tax rate—estimated expenditures, estimated revenues and total assessed valuation of property—have combined to produce a 40-point rise in Trenton's tax rate.

The **Governmental Research Bureau of Duluth,** Harry R. Reid, executive secretary, points out that while Duluth taxes have risen 13½ per cent since 1945, that does not "reflect the true increase in the tax cost of operating local governments." Decreases in debt cost help to conceal increases in operating costs.

A series of *Just A Moment* bulletins of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau** deals with city finances. The final 1947-1948 city budget as adopted will reduce the tax rate from $29.75 to $29.51.

Ways and Means to Municipal Progress

The Summary Report on Administrative Survey, City of Minneapolis, issued by **Public Administration Service,** H. G. Pope, executive director, sets forth conclusions drawn from studies of individual departments, applies accepted principles of municipal government organization to the Minneapolis situation and analyzes the cost of municipal government in Minneapolis. Three long-term objectives recommended in the 43-page report are: (1) clear separation between legislature and administration, (2) an administrative organization headed by one official to whom all department heads are responsible, and (3) establishment of boards and commissions only for activities which require advisory support or quasi-judicial review.

Local Government and the Fringe Problem, by H. L. Brittain, director of the **Citizens Research Institute of Canada,** outlines the legal means by which "fringe" communities can be satisfied in their need for additional public services. The author favors annexation to neighboring city or town because "there is no sound reason why political boundaries should be so immovable that they cannot be extended."

To Change or Not to Change

"The present San Francisco charter, with little or no changes, [is] adequate for all current and foreseeable future conditions San Francisco might face," is the conclusion reached by the **Bureau of Governmental Research** in its report to the charter revision committee, summarized in its *Research Bulletin.* The bureau believes that personnel and civil service reform is the most needed of the suggested changes.

Professor Joseph M. Ray of the **University of Maryland** suggests many changes for *Improving the Government of Cumberland,* chief among which are abandonment of the present commission form, adoption of a council-manager charter, adoption of the principles of the executive budget, and establishment of a system of centralized purchasing and central fiscal control.

The **Lackawanna (New York) Tax Research Bureau,** James J. Kirkwood, executive secretary, gives a brief resume of the development of cities in a recent issue of *Comments.* It traces their history from early Greece up through the home rule city of today.

Seattle ranks lower in police department employees than the national average for cities in its population class while its crime incidence is worse than the average city. The **Municipal League of Seattle,** C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, recommends an increase in the personnel and efficiency of the existing police force in a recent issue of the *Seattle Municipal News.*

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Campaign Groups Plan Permanent Organizations

Yonkers Leagues Will Merge to Strengthen Civic Action

THE campaign in Berkeley to secure certain amendments to its council-manager charter and elect a "reform" mayor pledged to support the principles of council-manager government, which was successfully concluded on May 6, may lead to formation of the campaign group into a permanent organization.

Berkeley's fracas at the polls began with the appointment by the council—later declared illegal—of its presiding officer and mayor of the city, Fitch Robinson, as city manager. The **Berkeley League of Women Voters,** which had protested the council action, sponsored two charter amendments on the ballot—one to remove a limitation on the salary of the manager, the other to make it impossible to appoint a mayor or other member of the council as manager until at least a year after the expiration of his term of office.[1] These were both adopted without any organized opposition.

Because of the threat to the manager plan, the candidacy of Laurence Cross, minister for 23 years of a large community church and president of the Red Cross for seven years, was endorsed by a group of prominent citizens headed by August Vollmer, well known as an authority on police organization. The cry of "Communism," raised by incumbents, so aroused and outraged citizens that before the end of the campaign there were a thousand volunteers at work. The 28,000 votes cast were nearly double the vote of recent city elections, that for Mr. Cross being approximately 17,000 to 10,000.

An interesting development of the campaign was the conduct of two sample polls by a group of University of California students under the leadership of Dr. Joseph P. Harris, an active worker in the campaign. Results of both polls coincided with the final results of the election. A post-election poll on why people voted as they did is in progress.

With its victory a matter of history, the group is considering formation of a permanent citizens' organization which would have the following objectives: (1) to promote effective and representative municipal government; (2) to conduct studies and research on civic problems; (3) to develop and maintain a high level of citizen interest and participation in civic affairs.

Hartford Plans

The **Citizens Charter Committee of Hartford, Connecticut,** which conducted the successful campaign to secure a council-manager charter for the city, has refused to accept the resignation of its honorary chairman, former Mayor William H. Mortensen, and has issued a declaration indicating that the group will continue its existence to lend support to the new government. A meeting of the entire membership of eight hundred is planned for the near future to discuss municipal election affairs.

Says the statement in part: "the Citizens Charter Committee will continue in operation for the following purposes: (1) to promote the efficient and orderly transition from the old to the new form of government; (2)

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1947, page 331.

to encourage Hartford citizens to take an active interest and to participate in city affairs; (3) to encourage and support as candidates for public office competent men and women who favor the council-manager charter, who will work for the principles of the charter as their primary commitment, and who can be counted on to exercise ability and judgment to promote the interests of the community as a whole."

Yonkers Merger

Two developments in Yonkers' civic organization picture place the new **Yonkers Municipal League** (see the REVIEW for May, page 280) in an excellent position to play an important part in the affairs of that New York community: (1) The league has selected Eugene A. Buzzell, former newspaper and public relations man, as its first executive secretary; (2) the membership of the **Yonkers City Manager League**, Bertha Smith, chairman, whose efforts were responsible for adoption of the city's council-manager and P. R. charter, has overwhelmingly supported the recommendation of its executive committee to consolidate with the Municipal League.

At its organization meeting several months ago the Municipal League set forth six purposes: (1) investigation, discussion and inprovement of municipal, economic, social and educational conditions and affairs in the city of Yonkers; (2) dissemination of information for the purpose of securing the most able public servants and increasingly efficient municipal government responsive to the needs of the people; (3) to study, assist and promote civic and community activities and planning, including the fields of education, health, recreation and social service; (4) to encourage broad and continuing participation of the citizens of Yonkers in its civic and public affairs; (5) to provide a medium for persons who desire to cooperate in the accomplishment of these purposes; (6) to engage in any public activity designed to further the general welfare in Yonkers.

'How Good Is Your City?'

Someone has said "comparisons are odious." But they have a vital place in local government affairs. *How Good Is Your City?*—"a graphic picture comparing Seattle's government with other cities"—is a 32-page special report issued by the **Seattle Municipal League,** C. A. Crosser, executive secretary. It should be an eye-opener to that city's citizens.

Well illustrated with sketches and graphs in brick red on white, the pamphlet is attractive, readable, clear and informative. Prepared and edited by Paul Seibert, editor of the *Seattle Municipal News,* and Lorin Peterson, research director of the Seattle league, it compares services rendered by twelve cities of similar population with those of Seattle: Cincinnati, Columbus, Denver, Indianapolis, Kansas City (Missouri), Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Oakland, Portland (Oregon), Rochester (New York), St. Paul and Toledo. Compared are fire and police protection, schools, health, transit facilities, water supply, light, parks, libraries, engineering, number of employees and ports.

The booklet, which is also the organization's annual report to its members, lists results of the league's endeavors over the past year as well as goals to be attained. A major accomplishment was passage of a constitutional amendment giving Washington counties the right to draft their own charters; one goal: adoption of the amendment by the voters at the 1948 general election and a new home rule charter for King County.

Seeking the 'Wherewithal'

The 1947 annual spring campaign of the **Minneapolis Civic Council,** Allen H. Seed, Jr., executive vice president and secretary, to raise funds for the council's seven civic agencies, came to a successful conclusion with $350,000 pledged and 1,135 new members on its rolls. "The campaign just reached its goal," said George M. Jensen, general chairman of the drive.

A sales pamphlet issued by the civic council during the drive was called *Your Civic Investment Pays Dividends.* It contained 24 "coupons," each describing a phase of activity of the agencies supported by the fund.

The **Cincinnati City Charter Committee** is conducting a fund-raising drive to assure adequate financing of its activities. Harry J. Gilligan has been designated general chairman. In appealing for support of the drive, Charles P. Taft, president of the organization, stated that: "The situation in Cincinnati today cries out for change, for a different kind of thinking in our city government. But effecting that change will not be easy. It will require the persistent effort of intelligent and able men and women to do the job. That's where the City Charter Committee comes in. In its 23-years history—from the overthrow of a bungling, wasteful, political machine down to the recent fight for a better smoke elimination ordinance — the charter committee has been constantly on the side of solid progress. . . . Interested good citizens must share the responsibility for continuing this work—and must do it now. If sharing such responsibility is not democracy in action, then what is democracy?"

"Wanted—A Committee of 100 to get 1,000 new $10 members," advertises the **Citizens Union of the City of New York,** George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary, in *Citizens Union News.* Increased prices make it necessary for the union to raise additional funds, says the *News.* It is hoped the fund will be completed before the union's 50th anniversary dinner next fall.

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Airing Our Views

If We Want to Air Our Views! (nine pages) issued by the **National League of Women Voters,** Anna Lord Strauss, president, discusses the "know-how" in the use of radio programs on the air. While angled toward the local league of women voters, other local groups could well profit by its suggestions. Price ten cents.

According to a recent survey, 195 citizens have appeared during the past year on the radio program, "Build for Tomorrow," sponsored by the **Community Service Division of the Kansas City (Missouri) Welfare Department.** Programs are presented each week by the various community councils which represent all sections of the city.

A series of radio broadcasts called the "Civic Forum" is in charge of the **Public Affairs Committee of the Macon (Georgia) Chamber of Commerce.** Scheduled weekly over a local station, the broadcasts are divided into four classes—local, state, national and international. Typical subjects cover issues before the city council, public improvement projects, the chamber's city-county merger plans, etc. Prepared scripts are discouraged. Time is contributed by the local station which declares that the program has a good listener rating. The chamber feels that the civic forum "pays off" in a better informed public, more interest in governmental affairs, more public activity in support or opposition to governmental policies.

"It isn't often," says *Taxegram,* published by the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association,** A. R. Everson, executive vice-president, "that a program is halted because of its success." But the work generated by "Taxpayers Meeting of the Air," the association's weekly broadcast, has so swamped the central office staff with work that it has been decided to suspend them somewhat earlier than usual in order that the staff "catch up" with the demand for services.

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Women Seek New Constitutions

The **Illinois League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Walter T. Fisher, president, devotes an entire issue of *The Illinois Voter* to the need for a new constitution for Illinois. Among the subjects discussed are reapportionment, blighted areas, schools and funds, public welfare, civil service, courts and taxation. "Whose constitution is it anyway?" asks Gertrude H. Beggs, discussing "It Is the People's Constitution." "On the basis of general citizen interest and understanding, a workable revision can be achieved."

The **Florida Nonpartisan League of Women Voters** is also plugging for a new state constitution. A broadside issued for statewide distribution lists a six-point program which a constitutional convention or commission should consider: one-house legislature, uniform court system, unification of taxing agencies, fewer overlapping boards and bureaus, abolishment of statewide vote on local issues, and provision for consolidation of local government units. "A modern constitution, streamlined and geared for modern times," says the broadside, "will make for economy and efficiency in our state government. Tell the 1947 session of the state legislature that you want a new constitution."

A second publication of the Florida league, *Florida Needs a New Constitution* (five pages), discusses "some points which might be considered" for a new constitution, including the bill of rights, suffrage and elections, the legislature, executive and judiciary, finance, local government, civil service, public welfare and constitutional revision.

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Hold That Line

Threat in New York City to place on the fall ballot a referendum on the abandonment of proportional representation for election of the city council has already brought action from various citywide civic groups. The **New York City League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Walter Neale, president, issued a statement that "proportional representation has proved to be the most democratic electoral procedure, and the League of Women Voters will campaign to maintain it." Richard S. Childs, chairman of the **Citizens Union of the City of New York,** issued a statement for his executive committee reaffirming the union's support of P. R. and urged all the forces of good government to rally against the proposed return to district elections as almost certain to produce a near-monopoly like that in the old board of aldermen.

Facts and figures disproving criticism leveled at Toledo's method of electing councilmen — proportional representation—are included in a survey recently completed by the **Toledo Municipal League** research staff, reports *Toledo Municipal News,* published by the league. Among the matters analyzed were the votes of councilmen on ordinances during the past six years, the number of voters represented by the council under the P. R. system, comparison of results of the P. R. system with those under the ward system as well as majority voting at large. Ronald E. Gregg is secretary of the organization.

Small Community Activity

The **Extension Division of the University of Virginia** is publishing a "New Dominion Series" describing "experimental approaches to democratic living that are being tried effectively in various communities." Titles published in recent months include "Taking Stock of the Community—Study, a Basis for Action"; "Medical Care in the Country—A Country Doctor Shows His Community the Way to Health"; "People Like to Talk—Women Foster Responsible Citizenship Through Study and Discussion"; "Helping Parents Help Themselves—An Educational Approach to Delinquency Based on the Faith in Parents"; "The Schools Can Help—A Rural Church Institute Trains Local Leadership"; "The Community Can Do—A Citizens Association Does Not Wait for 'George' to Do It".

One recent bulletin, titled "Observed But Not Reported—Some Non-Success Stories for Samples of Which Readers Have Asked," suggests some of the pitfalls to be avoided in community organization—whatever its aim.

The **Montana Study**, begun in 1944 by the **University of Montana**, is a program of adult education "devoted mainly to discussion of the regional, social and cultural problems that underlie life" in the state's small communities. Some of the results of the program are described by Ruth W. Robinson, acting director of the study, in an article in *Montana Education* for January 1947. *Life in Montana As Seen in Lonepine, a Small Community* (112 pages) has been prepared for the use of study groups.

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Combatting Juvenile Delinquency

The **Atlanta Citizens Crime Prevention Committee**, which recently completed its organization, will sponsor a city-wide program of recreation, education and guidance in an effort to attack the problem of slum areas. Paul Webb, new solicitor general of Fulton County and organizer of the group, pointed out in a recent statement that "an overwhelming percentage of the nation's crimes may be attributed to ignorance, crowded living conditions, inadequate recreation facilities. . . The Columbians were born in Atlanta's underprivileged section," he said. The committee is composed of 35 citizens including representatives of all religious faiths.

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Remember Cocoanut Grove?

Asking this pertinent question, the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy**, Harry K. Butcher, secretary, approaches the problem of "What happens to law enforcement in Philadelphia when the spotlight is not on?" The committee points out, in *Civic Affairs*, that following such tragedies as that at the Cocoanut Grove in Boston, as well as numerous disastrous fires in Philadelphia hotels, local authorities give vent to "praiseworthy but non-productive bursts of activity," which soon "die down." "We wonder," says the bulletin, "how many more lives must be lost, how many more people must be injured, and how much more property must be destroyed before we get adequate law enforcement. . . . This year you should study law enforcement as never before. In 1947 most of your city officials will be up for reelection. . . . Keep score—and when November comes—you'll know whom you want to vote for to administer the affairs of this city."

Following through with its suggestion that citizens keep an eye on the activities of officials coming up for reelection, the committee's *Civic Affairs* discusses the question, "Why do we have primary elections in Philadelphia?", the second in its series of six "Civic Affairs Letters intended to help you understand the history and purpose of our present system of obtaining and electing candidates to political office."

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Opinion Polls

Apropos of its recent excursion into the realm of public opinion polling (see the REVIEW for June, page 341), the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director, has issued "Report to Citizen Research Agencies Describing the Bureau's Experience in Citizen Opinion Measurement," prepared by William Johnson. The six-page mimeographed statement is accompanied by samples of the materials used in making the survey as well as copies of the three issues of *Bureau Notes* reporting results.

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New Groups

First meeting of the **Forward Alameda County League,** at which officials were elected, is reported by the *Oakland* (*California*) *Tribune.* Purpose of the league is "to advance civic and economic progress in Alameda County without regard to the special interest of any group, and to inform the people of the facts which will serve as a basis for the formation of intelligent public opinion." Virgil J. Wolfe is executive director of the new organization.

The **Federation of Dutchess County (New York) Taxpayers and Civic Associations** recently held an organization meeting attended by representatives of various local groups in the county. J. Otis Benton, of the **Poughkeepsie Tax and Rent Payers Association,** was elected president. It is hoped eventually that all groups within the county will become affiliated with the county organization.

This Is Your Miamisburg describes the recent organization of the **Miamisburg, Ohio, Community Civic Association.** Citizens of this city of 5,500 persons have banded together to work out the problems of both the city dweller and the farmer. Included in the sixteen-page booklet are the association's constitution and by-laws.

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Veterans Active

The **Milwaukee Area Council of the American Veterans Committee,** H. L. Kastrul, chairman, is urging adoption of a long-term program for the Milwaukee area. The *Milwaukee Journal,* commenting on the new organization, says: "The AVC steps boldy into the Milwaukee civic picture. It wants effective county government, freed from the hampering 'uniformity clause' in the state constitution. . . . It asks elimination of duplicating activities. . . . It discusses an extended civil service. . . . It insists on ward redistricting, housing and blight elimination, use of master plans by both city and county, the two to be coordinated."

The **Laconia (New Hampshire) Chapter of the American Veterans Committee,** E. James Allard, Jr., chairman, is interested in a study of its local government.

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Strictly Personal

The Seattle Municipal League has unanimously elected **Donald Yates** as president for the coming year, succeeding **Lawrence Bates,** president for the past two years.

James Kerney, Jr., editor of the *Trenton Times,* has been elected president of the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision, succeeding **Winston Paul,** of Montclair.

Reginald W. Bird has been elected president of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations for the sixteenth consecutive year.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Saugus, Mass., Adopts P. R.

Boston Proposal Blocked Wheeling's P. R. Election

BY THE overwhelming vote of 3252 to 816, at a special election on June 2, Saugus, a municipality of 16,696 population, became the first town in Massachusetts to adopt a charter providing for the election by proportional representation of five selectmen—instead of the traditional three—and appointment of a town manager by the selectmen. This form of government is similar to that available to Massachusetts cities under the name of "Plan E," now in operation in Cambridge and Lowell. The first P. R. election in Saugus will be held at the town meeting on January 3, 1948.

Saugus is represented in the Massachusetts House of Representatives by Speaker Frederick B. Willis, who has taken an active part in promoting the use of this type of government by towns as well as cities. A previous attempt this year to establish it in Saugus failed because of a technicality.[1] The recent referendum was under an enactment of the legislature requiring the selectmen of Saugus to designate a date for a special election on the matter.

The *Boston Herald* of June 4 called the Saugus vote "a triumph for all Massachusetts citizens who are interested in increasing the efficiency of our municipal government," and the *Boston Traveler* of the same day commented:

"The little town of Saugus enjoys a freedom which its big cousin Boston lacks. By a vote of almost four to one its citizens have registered approval of the Plan E form of government. . . . Thus a small municipality shifts to better politics. . . . Boston is entitled to exactly the same referendum process of determining the will of its voters.... Eventually we are going to follow the road of little Saugus in winning our civic rights."

Boston Bill Killed

Without a word of debate the Massachusetts Senate voted 23 to 16 on May 15 to kill a measure to permit Boston to adopt by referendum the Massachusetts Plan E form of charter (city manager plan with P. R.). Previously the bill had been approved overwhelmingly by the House of Representatives on May 12.

In the Senate the bill was opposed by the Democratic minority, representing the majority party in Boston, and by seven Republicans, including senators from Springfield, Northampton and Worcester, where P. R. has been given some consideration for local adoption. All cities except Boston are free to adopt Plan E by petition and popular vote; Boston was excluded by special exception in the original enabling legislation. This is the second time the Senate has refused to go along with the House in extending to Boston the privilege enjoyed by other cities.

Five of the Republican senators who turned the scale against P. R. were appealed to fruitlessly by name a few days before in a *Boston Herald* editorial, which said: "We cannot believe that their constituents would want them to stand in the way of an honest, home rule vote for Boston, or to prevent the people of Boston from at least striving to cure their own troubles."

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1947, page 221.

The recent upholding of Mayor James M. Curley's jail sentence for using the mails to defraud is dramatizing Boston's need of municipal improvement and the adverse vote in the Senate has by no means killed the agitation for the manager plan and P. R.

New Faces on Wheeling P. R. Council

On May 22 Wheeling, the largest city in West Virginia, elected its city council of nine by P.R. for the fourth time. Wheeling councilmen are elected for four-year terms instead of the usual two years, and always at a special municipal election in the spring. As in many other elections where major national and state offices are not involved, the vote this time was light, a little more than one-third the maximum possible.

Eight of the nine sitting councilmen presented their names for reelection, but only half were successful. Three of the five newcomers, however, had had previous experience in public office and a former city manager led the poll. There were 51 candidates in all.

The nine councilmen who take office July 1 will include almost as many occupations. In order of election they are: Robert L. Plummer, city manager from 1941 to 1943, former newspaperman; Carl G. Bachmann, lawyer, former congressman, councilman and member of the state liquor commission, who was elected to the first P.R. council in 1935; Jack R. Adams, railroader, veteran of both world wars, former state legislator; Paul G. Duffy, florist, member of the council continuously since the first P.R. election; John J. Gast, proprietor of a bakery, who came up from the twelfth place by transferred ballots; Russell B. Goodwin, lawyer and mayor during the term of the outgoing council; James R. Flynn, banker, member of the outgoing council; Jerry J. Donovan, druggist, a new candidate; Everett W. Miller, superintendent of the *Wheeling News-Register* engraving plant, also a newcomer to political life, who defeated Councilman Donald C. Dietrich for the ninth place in a photo finish by eleven votes.

Partisan considerations seem to have played little or no part in the campaign.

The count was conducted expeditiously under the experienced guidance of Frank Camiletti, who has conducted all four of Wheeling's P.R. tallies. Less than twelve hours were spent in actual counting of the 17,302 ballots for first choices and the 42 transfers of ballots of defeated candidates, though several more were consumed in deciding disputes as to validity at the end of the first count. The official results were known Saturday afternoon after the polls closed Thursday evening.

After the election there was considerable criticism of P.R. on the ground that 647 voters invalidated their ballots and 1304 other ballots became exhausted during the transfers because they had no choices marked for candidates still in the running. No one seems to have pointed out that an invalid vote of 3.7 per cent is not generally considered excessive even when different methods of balloting are not used at the same election, as they were here,[1] and that the exhausted ballots are simply valid votes for losing candidates, which would be much more numerous under any other method. Adding the ballots of the runner-up to the exhausted ballots gives a total of 2491, or only 15 per cent of the 16,655 valid ballots, which failed to help elect someone to the new council. This means that 85 per cent of the valid ballots and 82 per cent of all ballots did help elect someone.

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[1] Three bond issues and the question of daylight saving were voted on with x's on separate ballots. Many of those who spoiled the council ballots marked x's on it too.

Plurality elections customarily give all the representation to 60 or 70 per cent of the voters, often less, leaving the rest without any spokesman of their own choosing.

Councilman-elect and former Manager Plummer, who said he was standing by P.R. till he could be shown a better way, declared: "I am definitely opposed to a return to ward and machine politics."

The *Wheeling News-Register,* to which we are indebted for most of our information about the election, commented editorially on the spoiled ballots and the light vote but added (May 25): "Proportional representation, however, has much in its favor. During the twelve years it has been in operation it has brought into council citizens of high standing and responsibility, representatives who had the confidence of the people. In any government that is greatly to be desired and particularly in a municipality. The same cannot be said of some other systems Wheeling has tried out."

During the campaign the city auditor pointed out that during the twelve years of the P.R.-manager regime the city had never once ended a fiscal year in the red.

Long Beach Vote Postponed

Handing down decisions on two related actions on May 29, Supreme Court Justice Henry G. Wenzel ruled (1) that the local law for a referendum on the repeal of P. R. had been validly passed by the Long Beach (New York) city council even though it had been on the desks of the members one day less than required in the city home rule law, and (2) that the petition to postpone the referendum referred to in this department last month was also valid. Neither decision was appealed. As a result the special election set for June 17 was not held and the referendum is scheduled for the general election in November.

Petitions Not Out in Yonkers

The statement in this department last month, that "In Yonkers petitions have been put in circulation to place the repeal of P. R. on the ballot at the fall election," proved to be premature. There has been persistent talk of such petitions in certain limited circles, which at this writing has not been translated into action.

Venezuela Using P. R. List System

Under the electoral law promulgated by the revolutionary government March 5, 1946, the National Constituent Assembly of Venezuela was elected on October 27, 1946, by a party list system of proportional representation.

Each state and territory and the capital district formed a single district for the election, with one member for each 25,000 inhabitants according to the 1941 census and an extra member for a remainder of 10,000 or more. Regardless of population each district elected at least three.

Nominations were made by the legally recognized parties and by independent petition of 100 or more voters authorizing a committee of five to act for them. Each party or group was supposed to name twice as many candidates as the number to be elected, so as to allow for alternates to fill vacancies. The names were arranged by the nominators in an order of priority which the voters were not permitted to change.

Votes were cast by putting a card containing one of the lists in an envelope to preserve secrecy of voting and depositing the envelope in an urn. For convenience to the voters and the counters each list was assigned a distinctive color or emblem.

When the votes had been canvassed for a whole district, each list was assigned a number of the district's seats in proportion to the number of its valid votes. The calculation was made by the d'Hondt method; that is, each seat was assigned in turn to the list which could show most votes per seat if assigned one more than it already had. The particular candidates elected from each list were those at the top of the list, the rest serving as alternates in the order of their nomination.

A candidate might not run in more than one district, but might be nominated on more than one list. In such cases if he would normally be elected on more than one list he was assigned to the first seat that became available to him in the d'Hondt assignment, and passed over on any other lists on which his name appeared.

A feature of special interest is a device to give representation to small parties with enough votes to deserve a place considering the country as a whole but too few to win in any one district. A national quotient was determined by dividing the total valid vote by the total number of members assigned to all the districts. If a party or group having candidates in at least seven districts polled as many votes in all as the national quotient and at least 100 votes in at least five separate districts, it was assigned one seat. This seat was filled by the first candidate on its list in the district in which it received most votes.

'Episcopalians Vote by the Hare System'

Under this title the *Herald Statesman* of Yonkers, New York, published the following editorial on May 28:

"At this particular time, when old-time politicians and their henchmen are beginning to beat the tomtoms for a new attack on proportional representation as a method of electing councilmen, it is of special interest to note that the 164th annual diocesan convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, meeting in New York, used the Hare system of P.R. to choose the trustees for the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

"That P.R. tends to unify voters and to blend democratically expressed wishes under a truly American spirit is demonstrated in the fact that among the trustees elected is the Rev. Dr. John Howard Johnson, rector of St. Martin's at Lenox Avenue and 122 Street, Harlem, who is the first Negro named to the board in its 74 years of chartered existence. This was no special choice of Negro delegates to the convention, for there were but twenty such delegates, both clergy and laymen.

"P.R. so efficiently speaks the wishes of a group that it is sometimes surprising that more organizations, aware of its high potentialities, do not utilize it in picking their boards."

Senator Walsh Dies

Hon. David I. Walsh, U. S. senator from Massachusetts almost continuously from 1919 until last year and twice governor of the state, died on June 11. A staunch supporter of proportional representation for many years, Senator Walsh has been a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League since 1928.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Baton Rouge City-County Plan Submitted

Consolidated Government, Manager Recommended

THE nine-man City-Parish Charter Commission, appointed by authority of a constitutional amendment passed by the 1946 Louisiana legislature and adopted at the polls in November,[1] has made public its tentative proposals for consolidation of Baton Rouge and the parish of East Baton Rouge. These include merging of the major functions and activities of the city and parish under the council-manager form of government.

The plan is being submitted to the public in a series of hearings at which voters will be asked for suggestions. Some of its provisions, as reported by the *Baton Rouge Morning Advocate,* include:

1. East Baton Rouge Parish would be divided into three areas—rural, urban and industrial. The urban area, containing the present city and subdivided communities, would constitute the city of Baton Rouge with an area of some 30 square miles instead of the present 4.6 miles and with an estimated population of 106,000 compared to the present 35,000.
2. The entire parish would be governed by a council of nine, seven of the members elected at large from the urban area or city. The council would select from its own number a parish president, to preside over the council and be the ceremonial head of the city and parish governments, as well as a parish clerk and treasurer, which two offices may be combined.
3. The parish council would select a city-parish manager, who would be a person trained and experienced in public administration, as the chief executive officer of the parish and city. The manager would act also as purchasing agent for the city and parish until and unless the council establishes such office.
4. The city council would consist of the seven members of the parish council elected from the city and would have authority to adopt the city budget, pass city ordinances and adopt policies relating to the city.
5. If the proposal is adopted the parish council would take office at the expiration of the terms of the present police jurors (county governing body), whose functions they would take over, and prepare for the transition to consolidated government on January 1, 1949, on the expiration of the terms of the present Baton Rouge commission council.

The plan has been prepared by the commission with the assistance of Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, who have been making a survey of all governmental units in the parish.

Maryland Legislation Affects Counties

The Maryland governor has signed some legislation and vetoed other bills affecting counties. A significant measure approved is an act creating a state fiscal research bureau to investigate and compile data on the financial and tax status of counties and municipalities. The governor also approved a constitutional amendment establishing additional restrictions on the formation of new counties and changing county boundary lines.

Most of the legislation affected only

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1946, page 615.

specified counties. Some gave county commissioners the right to set the salaries of some of their employees. Other laws gave certain counties the right to issue bonds for a specified purpose, prescribed the duties and obligations of specified officers of the counties named, or authorized the playing of games on Sunday in the three counties listed. Other laws continued to fix salaries of county officials. SB282 provides that all school roads in the county shall be made part of the Charles County road system, and SB477 authorizes St. Marys County to adopt zoning regulations.

The governor vetoed the measure giving Prince Georges County the right to approve establishment of airports because it would conflict with the authority of the State Aviation Commission and Civil Aeronautics Administration.

Tennessee County Developments

White County, Tennessee, plans to develop a novel combination of useful public facilities to be identified as a "fairport," which will combine airport, fairgrounds, and city park and playground facilities. Sponsored by the White County Court, the County Fair Association and civic organizations of Sparta, the new project would require between 75 and 100 acres of land. It is expected that the federal government will allot up to $100,000 for the airport, with the state contributing an additional $25,000. The interested agencies estimate that additional county and city funds of $25,000 will be necessary for completion of the project.

The Cumberland County Court recently appropriated $45,000 as a token payment for the property—twenty acres of land and about eight buildings—of the Pleasant Hill Academy, well known educational institution of the Cumberland Plateau. Plans to make the school part of the county school system must next be approved by the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Church, owner of the property. Alternatively, the school, which has operated without either county or state aid, may be forced to close because the church agency may withdraw its support.

Giles County plans to construct a $250,000 community center located at Pulaski as a memorial to its war dead. Fifty businessmen of the community and county met recently to hear a discussion of the proposal. Funds would be raised through popular subscription and government aid.

Colquitt County Council Reports

The Colquitt County, Georgia, Council on Intergovernmental Relations has issued a 65-page progress report as representative of a predominantly agricultural county under the plan formulated by the federal Council on Intergovernmental Relations. The essence of the council's findings are as follows:

Members of the council have studied various aspects of government as it functions in the county. They believe that initiation of workable schemes at the "grass roots" level may well tend to reverse the present trend toward centralization of authority on higher levels of government. They have therefore devised a plan which in their judgment will tend to blend more harmoniously the powers and interests of the federal, state and local government.

A practical project for a predominantly agricultural county, this plan revolves about the relations between the farmers and the governmental agencies which affect agricultural planning procedures. It is believed that a thorough demonstration of the program will greatly accelerate progressive agricultural practices and lead to a better economy through better application of governmental influences.

The council is aware that dissatisfaction with these agencies has been expressed by many farmers. They complain that there are so many agencies they are confused about which one to consult for information on a specific subject, and that in some cases conflicting advice is given.

The council therefore decided to consider initiation of an annual agricultural program in which, through a county agricultural committee, better coordination with all agencies responsible for agriculture might be accomplished and a sound working agricultural plan for the county established. A salient feature of this plan would be an educational program to give citizens a complete understanding of the responsibilities of each agency. Such a program would not only clarify the position of each organization in the minds of the people, but would increase the efficiency of the agencies by accurately defining their functions, enabling each to carry out its part most efficiently.

As a first step in the investigation, the council analyzed the services rendered by each agency active in the county. It appears from this analysis that the principal difficulty evidently lies less in their number than in a lack of understanding by farmers of what services are available and what each department is set up to do. Responsibilities of these departments are reasonably well defined and include a definite set of desirable functions.

One desirable feature is a basic county-wide agricultural plan, including recommended production, amount and type of conservation measures. If all governmental agencies and the farmers themselves could agree upon such a plan, all services could easily focus their energies to achieve it. The council recommends the organization described below:

Proposed Program

The County Agricultural Committee: It is anticipated that this committee will be composed of approximately five members, unpaid, probably representative farmers. This group would be given official recognition by government officials on all levels. The committee would help to give practical, local application of improved farming practices.

Agricultural Agencies' Round Table: This would be composed of the local representatives of the various governmental agencies. It would meet whenever desirable to coordinate plans and information received, to work out complications regarding local application of these plans, and to consider complaints or problems presented by the coordinator on behalf of the committee.

The Coordinator: The county agent would act as coordinator between these two bodies. He would pass on to the committee any pertinent information received from higher levels or through the other agencies, answer complaints or refer them to the department involved.

City-County Health Consolidation Recommended

An engineer's report to the city commissioners of Dayton, Ohio, recently recommended consolidation of the health departments of Montgomery County and the cities of Dayton and Oakwood. Similar recommendations were made in 1940 by the Montgomery County Public Advisory Committee and in 1946 by a study sponsored by the Community Chest, Chamber of Commerce and other civic groups.

Similar consolidation of the health services of Lucas County and Toledo, Ohio, also has been discussed recently.

Indiana Provides City-County and Multi-County Cooperation

The 1947 Indiana legislature has adopted legislation permitting county unit school administration, joint city-county planning, multi-county conservancy flood control districts, and city-county and multi-county health units, reports the Henry County Council on Intergovernmental Relations. Newly codified and improved planning legislation for Indiana communities specifically encourages government administrative planning as well as physical planning by local boards.

California County Rejects Manager Charter

The voters of Siskiyou County, California, on May 27 rejected a proposed charter providing for the manager form of government by a vote of approximately two to one. Both favorable and unfavorable votes followed quite definite geographic lines.

Washington Grand Jury Reports

After study of the King County, Washington, grand jury report, the Municipal League of Seattle has issued a release recommending the following eight corrective steps:

1. More care should be taken in keeping an inventory of all county equipment. Although state law requires commissioners to keep an inventory records are incomplete and improperly maintained.

2. Auction sales of obsolete, worn-out or surplus county equipment should be held semi-annually. Evidence of sales of county property at prices far below their true value has been excused as poor judgment or poor business practice in the past. While state law requires public auction of all items valued in excess of $200, there is evidence of illegal sales.

3. An immediate 20 per cent deposit of earnest money should be required of each successful bidder at tax-title property sales. While this has been the established rule in the past, there are indications that the practice has been violated.

4. King County should discontinue construction of roads, buildings and other physical facilities and contract all projects as is the general practice by public bodies.

5. Greater care should be taken in releasing performance bonds on new plats to make certain that sewers, roads and other improvements are made and meet specifications. In the past the county has accepted new plats only to find that it must expend large sums bringing roads and utilities up to standard.

6. County commissioners should make an effort to collect costs of road construction and other work done in the past few years for the benefit of private individuals.

7. Improvement is needed in road district bookkeeping so that accurate unit costs of producing gravel, bituminous surfacing, etc., may be made as a basis for charging other public agencies for materials or services supplied.

8. A closer check on time-keeping should be provided as a guarantee that payroll padding is not practiced, and that the county is not paying employees for time spent in political activity.

Wisconsin County Officers Hold Annual Meetings

Several Wisconsin associations of county officials are meeting this spring and summer, some resuming their annual meetings interrupted by the war.

The County Veterans Service Officers Association held a four-day institute at the University of Wisconsin the latter part of May. The meeting covered administration, legal problems, insurance counseling and public relations.

The 1947 summer road school was conducted early in June under auspices of the Wisconsin County Highway Commissioners Association.

The Joint Association of County Treasurers, Registers of Deeds and Clerks of Court will meet 30 days or more after adjournment of the state legislature in accordance with a resolution adopted at last year's meeting.

The Wisconsin County Boards Association met in March in its first postwar convention. The meeting went on record in opposition to the mandatory features of the pending legislative bills relating to county finance officers, county purchasing agents and abolition of the fee system, but it approved the measure involving codification of county laws.

Local Highway Research Proposed

The Highway Research Board of the National Research Council is planning to study highway administration, including that of counties and local highways. Suggested areas of inquiry and objectives include a comparative study of performances under contrasting administrative plans, a review of obstacles such as constitutional provisions, political opportunism or public inertia, studies of handicaps faced by the smallest road units and studies of achievement in selected counties with minimum resources but which have utilized engineering skills.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 396)

the annual conference of NIGP at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City, September 8 to 10, 1947. At that time, David Joseph, special survey director, will make his report to 750 public purchasing agents who are expected to attend the convention. The report will also be discussed at the conference and it is expected that the institute will create a special committee to recommend action on the findings.

Awards for Political Science Studies

The American Political Science Association, through President Arthur W. Macmahon, has announced the creation of a Committee on Awards, to supervise competition for three memorial awards for publications in the field of political science. Its general chairman is Robert D. Leigh, director of the public library inquiry of the Social Science Research Council. The three awards, for the best publication each year in the fields stated, are: The Woodrow Wilson Foundation award, in government and democracy; the Willkie Memorial Building award, in international relations; and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Foundation award, in government and human welfare.

The chairmen of the corresponding award panels are Professor Francis W. Coker of Yale University, Dean Payson S. Wild, Jr., Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University, and Dr. Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago.

The winner of each award will be presented with a scroll at the annual meeting of the association. For the first award works published in the period February 1946-September 1947 will be considered and should be in the hands of the committee by October 1, 1947.

New York Airports Change Hands

Now under Direction of New York Port Authority

TRANSFER of the operation of New York City's three airports—La Guardia Field, Idlewild Airport and Floyd Bennett Field—was accomplished at 12:01 A. M., June 1, when the Port of New York Authority took over operation from the city. The last formality had been completed a few days earlier, when the authority had filed with the city releases from the airlines for contracts signed with the city.

Under the terms finally agreed on, the authority leased the fields for a 50-year period. It will pay the city $350,000 annually until 1957 and $450,000 annually for the remaining 40 years, and in addition will give the city three-fourths of the net profits from the operation of the airports. The authority assumes responsibility for rehabilitating LaGuardia Field, some of whose runways have sunk below original grade and whose administration building also needs shoring up; for completing Idlewild Airport; and for reconverting Floyd Bennett Field—now operated by the Navy—to civilian use. The authority's total capital expenditure is estimated to approximate $200,000,000.

A few days after New York City's airports were taken over by the authority, announcement was made of the authority's third offer to the city of Newark for the Newark airport and port of Newark. The proposal was described as including a 50-year lease for both facilities, on which the authority would spend $70,000,000 within five years for improvements and expansion. The city would receive $100,000 annually the first ten years and $125,000 annually thereafter, plus three-fourths of the net returns, until the original investment of the city was repaid, after which the percentage would be reduced to half the net. The authority estimates the city's investment to date at a little over $18,000,000. According to press reports, a majority of the Newark city commissioners favor acceptance of the plan, but opposition is expected.

Iowa Increases State Aid

The 1947 session of the Iowa legislature earmarked 10 per cent of the gross sales from state liquor stores for division equally between cities and towns on the one hand and the counties on the other. The city and town share will be distributed on a per capita basis, the county share for soldiers' exemptions on real estate.

The legislature also authorized cities to install parking meters, and provided for the use of receipts in excess of traffic enforcement costs, etc., for general fund purposes.

Arkansas Abandons Property Tax

The Arkansas legislature repealed the state ad valorem property tax, bringing to nineteen the number of states which by law or administrative action have abandoned such levies.

The other eighteen states are California, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont and Virginia.

City Voters Uphold Sales Taxes

During May voters in four California cities having municipal sales taxes voted down proposals to abandon the excise levies—Berkeley, Huntington Park, Lynwood and Santa Barbara, each with a tax of one-half of one per cent except the last, where the tax is one per cent. The Santa Barbara tax was the first to be adopted in California, dating from April 1945. At last report a total of 53 California cities have city sales taxes. The taxes are in most instances closely patterned after the state 3 per cent sales tax, but are locally collected.

Pennsylvania Court Rules on 'Specials'

A 1943 act of the Pennsylvania legislature which purported to make special assessment bonds a general obligation of a city was ruled unconstitutional recently by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in *Harbold* v. *Reading*. The bonds had been issued as so-called limited obligation special assessment bonds, the only security for their repayment being the assessments levied against the benefited property. The statute attempted to make them general obligations, payable from general city taxes and revenues, but the court held the law contravened at least two constitutional prohibitions—one which forbids the giving of additional compensation after the making of a contract and the other prohibiting the legislature from authorizing a city to lend its credit to a corporation or individual.

Gas Tax Receipts Top 1941 High

Gasoline and motor fuel gross tax collections last year reached $1,137,000,000, according to the Federation of Tax Administrators, setting an all-time record. This is a 33.9 per cent increase over 1945 and a 13.7 per cent increase over the billion-dollar auto fuel tax collected in 1941, previous record year.

Greatest factor in the increase was the lifting of wartime driving restrictions. Another was the increase in gasoline tax rates by four states during 1945 and by two states in 1946.

California topped the list of state collections with a $79,100,000 last year. Collections in Texas were $72,900,000, in New York $72,500,000, in Pennsylvania $62,900,000 and in Ohio $61,800,000. Eight other states collected more than $30,000,000 each in gasoline and motor fuel taxes.

Boom Times for Parking Meters, Too!

More and more cities are installing parking meters, reports the Municipal Finance Officers Association in a *Supplement to Where Cities Get Their Money,* just issued. According to the supplement, 451 cities installed parking meters in 1946, setting an all-time record and boosting to 924 the number of cities with metered parking.

During 1946 the average annual collections per meter increased from approximately $80 to $100, largely because of the removal of wartime driving restrictions and availability of new cars.

Some 300,000 meters were sold in 1946, 190,000 of which were delivered for installation during the calendar year. Thirty-eight cities over 25,000 population installed their first meters in 1946, as did many smaller cities.

In some cities collections account for a sizeable portion of municipal revenue. San Diego's 2,422 meters collected $279,000, Denver's 3029 meters collected $269,000, Seattle's 1,799 meters $190,000, and Dallas' 1,500 meters $190,000. Meter revenues are secondary to traffic control, however.

Of the fourteen United States cities over 500,000 population, Buffalo, Pittsburg, Cleveland and Washington have parking meters. Other large cities using meters include Minneapolis, Kansas City, Newark, Providence, Houston, Portland (Oregon), Oklahoma City, Dayton, Rochester (New York) and Wichita.

Among smaller communities, 177 cities under 5,000 population use meters, while 222 cities between 5,000 and 10,000 and 288 between 10,000 and 25,000 have installed them.

Urge States Help Curb Inflation

A strong five-point state tax program designed to curb inflation and bolster state fiscal structures against severe economic fluctuation is urged by the Tax Committee of the Council of State Governments. The committee in its report suggests this state action:

(1) Maintain tax rates more or less as they are, and defer all except urgently necessary capital expenditures until inflationary pressures are eased especially in the construction industry. Continue anti-inflationary policies in general.

(2) Adopt long-range balanced programs of state finance constructed so that higher tax rates may be maintained in periods of prosperity while lower rates apply during periods of recession. The program should join together all elements of the state fiscal machinery.

(3) Provide for a unified annual executive budget covering all revenues and expenditures of the state including state aid to localities. This budget should be prepared by a permanent budget office responsible to the governor.

(4) Integrate all aspects of financial administration, except post-audit, into a single department of finance responsible to the governor. Authority to assess and collect all state taxes should be vested in a single department of revenue, also responsible to the governor.

(5) Establish a balanced combination of taxes to provide adequate average revenues through cycles in employment and business activity.

The suggested state program is coupled with the committee's programs for interstate, state-local, and state-federal tax relations.

Minnesota Increases Aid to Cities

Minnesota local governments got mixed treatment from state legislators in 1947. Most important was increased state aid estimated to return about $3,500,000 to municipalities. Disappointing to the cities was a halving of the requested $1,800,000 state aid for airports and defeat of proposals to return part of the liquor license fees to the place of origin.

Cities and townships will share on a per capita basis in increased liquor taxes. Chapter 601 provides for raising the state tax on spirits from $1 to $2.50 per gallon and the sharing of 30 per cent of the increase with local units, to provide about $1.20 per capita. Chapter 619 imposes a three-cent state cigarette tax allocating one cent to municipalities and counties on a population basis, expected to yield about 80 cents per capita.

The cities' hopes for a share of highway revenues appear to have been vitiated. The legislature authorized an interim highway revenue study but provided for submission of a constitutional amendment to divide the state gas tax between the state and the counties on a 50-50 basis. If the amendment is adopted cities will be barred from sharing in the gas tax for street purposes.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

France Organized on Regional Basis

Vichy - created Divisions Continue in Present Setup

DIVISION of the country into regions, begun by the Vichy government to facilitate the handling of local administration, has been continued, with some variation, by the French government. "After the defeat of France in 1940," reports *Public Administration*,[1] "the Vichy government succeeded in retaining the loyalty of the prefects, who naturally looked to the government as the center for their orders, and by using to the full the hierarchical system, the administration of Marshal Petain controlled the life of the population in occupied and unoccupied France.

"But difficulties of communication, accentuated by the frontier between the zones, and the large number of the prefects, led to the institution of regional prefectures to enable the Vichy government to handle a smaller and more manageable number of immediate subordinates."

The intention was for the regional prefects to act as coordinators, but they quickly gained a wider scope of functions. "Next," continues the report, "there arose the practice of a monthly conference of prefects in each region, convoked by the regional prefect and with him in the chair." Later under a law passed August 11, 1944, the regional prefects were given power to suspend all officials within their regions.

The principle of creating *ad hoc* regional areas for specialized purposes continued after the armistice. "New and overlapping regions were established for youth, sports, health, the family, industrial production, etc. The new services however, adopted the regional prefectures area. Even some regional areas of long standing, like those of the gendarmerie or the prisons, were put into the framework of the regional prefectures."

After the reoccupation regional commissioners replaced the regional prefects in the seventeen areas, and an eighteenth was appointed for two Alsatian departments previously under direct German control. The areas were changed to form a more natural grouping with their centers roughly in the middle of each region.

Regional Planning in South Australia

The South Australian Regional Planning Committee has recommended the division of South Australia into twenty regions, according to the *Australian Municipal Journal* for February 1947.

The committee had no difficulty in determining the regions. "The chief difficulties were due to man-made influences," says the report, including: (1) The capital as the dominating center of the population; (2) roads and railways which radiate like a network from the dominating capitals; (3) the arbitrary and illogical straight line boundaries which separate the states; and (4) the boundaries of the local government areas composing each region have caused some anomalies."

Local Government Developments in New Zealand

An article on the future of local government in New Zealand, published in

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[1] Journal of the Institute of Public Administration, London, Spring 1947, page 34.

Board and Council,[2] lists the more important local government developments during the past year in New Zealand: (1) local government commission act, which provides flexibility for the local government structure; (2) alteration in the incidence of hospital taxation, which changed the inequalities of the previous arrangement; (3) setting up of the Institute of Local Body Administration Officers; and (4) the national provident fund amendment act, 1946, which provides for a uniform standard and transferable retirement plan for the local bodies.

Local Statistics Bureau Proposed

A recent proposal by a public health department official of the London county council points out that there should be a consultant service available to local authorities on economic matters. The government departments collect statistics but their collection is not large or current. A collection of data would be useful to the local bodies for waging battles with the departments. "Allied with the problem of a central bureau of statistics is the question of research," says an article in *Local Government Finance.*[3] It is doubted, however, that local government will show much interest in the problem.

Voters of New Zealand City Protest Loans

Citizens of Palmerston, New Zealand, have raised strong opposition to provision by the city council for two loans without taking a poll of the taxpayers. Belief was expressed that there is a tendency to give the taxpayers as little voice in the administration as possible.

The mayor explained that the council had approved purchase of buses and a plant. If the loan were turned down by a poll the money would have to be found by a large increase in taxation; whereas under the action taken it could be spread over a number of years.

Health Centers Proposed for Britain

An important feature in the English national health service bill is the proposed establishment of health centers. These are to be provided by the local health authorities to form a "base" for general medical and dental services and for clinic services. The emphasis is upon the curative functions but the terms of the bill do not seem to rule out the possibility that they may also be used as part of the preventive organization by providing regular health examinations, health education and other measures designed to sustain or improve the health of the country.

Hence, it is possible for local authorities to maintain health centers with functions of the broadest character, covering positive social health as well as therapeutic services. The linking of health functions with social and educational amenities under the education act of 1944 should make possible the provision of community services for all sections of the population, based on the family and local residence in close association with schools and other communal establishments.

LAWRENCE WELSH

Brazil Plans a New City

A completely new community, planned according to scientific, sociological, and industrial principles, is being built in Brazil. Named Cidade dos Motores—City of Motors, the city is situated on a 12,000-acre site about 25 miles from Rio de Janeiro. A ten-year development is to be financed by the Brazilian government.

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[2] Auckland, New Zealand, January 8, 1947, page 3.

[3] "Actuaries and the Local Government Service," *Local Government Finance,* London, April 1947, page 97.

Books in Review

The Fifteen-Mill Amendment: What it is, how it operates, and the results of the first twelve years of its operation in one typical Michigan city. By Carl J. Faist. Saginaw, Michigan, 1947. 30 pages. Fifty cents.

At the general election of November 1932, Michigan voters wrote into their constitution a provision limiting property taxes for all purposes, except for payment of obligations theretofore incurred, to fifteen mills. The courts subsequently held that the limitation included taxes for state and all local units of government except home rule cities or villages which had fixed limits on their own taxes. Subsequently a number of Michigan home rule cities amended their charters to embrace the constitutional limit and placed themselves in the position of having limited taxes for operating purposes and service on new bonds to an over-all total of 15 mills.

Saginaw was one of the cities which voted itself under the state amendment, relinquishing a charter limit of twenty mills for city purposes alone to take pot luck with state, county and schools in the division of an over-all rate 25 per cent less than the former limit for city taxes. Mr. Faist, an accountant by profession and director of finance in Saginaw, has written and published this short but provoking pamphlet to lay on the record the city's experience since it amended its charter in 1935.

If Saginaw taxpayers have wondered how their city was getting by while the tax rate was cut from about $45 per thousand in 1931 to $28 in 1932 and less than $20 the last nine years, they will find the answer here. Mr. Faist shows that it has gotten by by living on its fat—in this case delinquent taxes. And he shows that the fat is now almost gone and the city is soon going to have to raise more revenue the hard way or pretty much close up shop.

So far as this reviewer recalls, this is the first study prepared for general distribution showing in detail the effects of an over-all tax rate limit on a given community over a considerable period of time. It should be read by everyone who has ever entered the lists *pro* or *con* over-all tax rate limitation, and certainly by anyone interested in local finance to whom over-all tax rate limitation is still just a phrase.

W. S. S.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments.)

City Reports

Chicago's Report to the People, 1933-1946. Chicago, The Mayor, 1947. ix, 372 pp. illus.

Annual Report of the City of Mason City, 1945-1946. Mason City, Iowa, the Mayor, 1947. 24 pp. illus.

Civil Service

City of New Orleans, Department of City Civil Service, Biennial Report 1945-1946. New Orleans, the Department, 1947. 19 pp.

Annual Report 1946, Civil Service Commission, County of Wayne. Detroit, Michigan, the Commission, 1947. 37 pp.

Constitution

The Constitution and Civil Rights. By Milton R. Konvitz. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1947. x, 254 pp. $3.

Council-Manager Plan

Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of Council-Man-

ager Cities. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1947. 20 pp. $1.

Elections

Vote Cast in Presidential and Congressional Elections 1928-1944. By Bureau of the Census. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1946. 171 pp.

Fire Prevention

A Public Relations Manual for Fire Departments. Boston 10, National Fire Protection Association, 1947. 30 pp. illus. $1. (Discounts on Quantity Orders.)

Report of the International Association of Fire Chiefs' Committee Appointed to Formulate Recommendations for Fire Prevention and Protection in Hotels. Arlington 74, Massachusetts, International Association of Fire Chiefs, 1947. 11 pp.

Housing

Housing and People. Annual Report of the Memphis Housing Authority 1945-1946. Memphis, The Authority, 1947. 32 pp.

Rehousing Urban Slum Areas. An I. S. O. Forum. Edited by Francis J. Corley. St. Louis 8, Institute of Social Order, 1946. 36 pp.

Labor

Human Relations—the Way to Labor-Management Adjustments. By Edward L. Bernays. State College, Pennsylvania State College, 1947. 12 pp.

Labor Dispute Settlement. By Paul H. Sanders, etc. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University School of Law, *Law and Contemporary Problems,* Spring 1947. 190 pp. $1.

Parking

Bibliography on Automobile Parking in the United States. Compiled in the Libraries of the Federal Works Agency. Washington, D. C., Public Roads Administration, 1946. 51 pp.

Parking Manual. How to Solve Community Parking Problems. Washington 6, D. C., American Automobile Association, Traffic Engineering and Safety Department, 1946. viii, 181 pp.

Parking Meters in the United States. Year Ending December 31, 1946. Canton 5, Ohio, Vehicular Parking, Ltd., 1947. 24 pp.

Planning

City Planning to Meet the Problems of San Francisco. San Francisco, City Planning Commission, 1947. 8 pp.

Communitas—Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life. By Percival and Paul Goodman. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947. x, 141 pp. $6.

Community Planning Report, Town of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Raleigh, North Carolina State Planning Board, 1947. 19 pp.

Comprehensive City Plan. St. Louis, Missouri, City Plan Commission, 1947. 77 pp. maps, illus. $5.

A Master Plan for the Borough of Verona. By Harold M. Lewis, Verona, New Jersey, Planning Board, 1946. 31 pp.

A Plan for La Jolla. By Glenn A. Rick and Charles W. Eliot. San Diego, California, City Planning Commission, 1946. 43 pp. illus.

A Program of Town Development to Find Areas of Agreement for Constructive Action. Montclair, New Jersey, Development Board, 1946. 77 pp. illus.

Proposed State Plan for New Jersey. Trenton 7, New Jersey Department of Economic Development, Bureau of Planning, 1947. 6 pp.

Thirtieth Annual Report of the City Plan Commission. St. Louis, Missouri, the Commission, 1947. 49 pp. maps.

Public Health

Milk and Food Sanitation Practice. By H. S. Adams. New York City, The Commonwealth Fund, 1947. xi, 311 pp. $3.25.

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The League's Business

William Collins Chosen as Finance Chairman

William Collins, president of Walter Kidde Constructors, Inc., has been enrolled by President Charles Edison as finance chairman for the League's program for a minimum budget of $110,000 to service the civic revival which has been sweeping the country since the war.

A resident of Yonkers, Mr. Collins has been associated with the Walter Kidde firm for 30 years during the last four of which he has been president. He has been active in Yonkers civic affairs. For several years he headed the Community Chest and the Welfare Federation. Two years ago he resigned from the Board of Education to lead a successful campaign for election of a common council pledged to support Yonkers' council-manager and proportional representation charter. He was reappointed to the board after the election.

Coincident with the appointment of Mr. Collins the League began distribution of a 24-page brochure giving highlights of the organization's 53-year crusade for better local government. Entitled *They Come by Night,* the pamphlet summarizes the story of a southern city's long campaign to get rid of a corrupt political gang. It also tells how the council-manager plan was born, how the League's experts draft model laws that have saved huge sums in local and state administration, how 3,662 separate calls for assistance were answered last year, how the League has worked to improve state government, and how the League was formed in 1894 by Theodore Roosevelt, Louis D. Brandeis and other civic leaders throughout the country.

"The United States, notorious only 50 years ago for the worst local government of any modern nation, is being caught up in a rising tide of civic reform," the pamphlet begins. "A band of Tennessee war veterans captured the front pages in 1946 by emptying Athens of political crooks. Less spectacular assaults on greed or the more prevalent evil of sheer inefficiency have been made by angry voters in such cities as Hartford, Richmond, Ypsilanti, New Orleans, Hoboken, Denver, Steubenville, Hot Springs, Berkeley, Chicago, Augusta and Boston."

Former Governor Charles Edison of New Jersey, president of the League, warns in the pamphlet: "The corrupt influence of the little governments will work up into national and even international affairs. Senators and judges who are the products of local political machines cannot be expected to rise above the ethical level of the environment that produced them when they are given new and greater authority. They are likely to think they can run the nation or the world as they ran the Third Ward."

Copies of the booklet may be had upon request to the League.

N. M. L. Called to Hoboken

The new commissioners elected in Hoboken, New Jersey, in the revolt of independent citizens against the notorious McFeely machine have retained the League's Consultant Service to make an administrative and financial survey of the city.

Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed have been retained by the Consultant Service to conduct the survey.

William P. Lovett Dies

William P. Lovett, secretary of the Detroit Citizens League and acting president of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, died suddenly July 7 while vacationing with Mrs. Lovett in Asheville, North Carolina. Prior to his civic work in Detroit, in which he was credited with many accomplishments, Mr. Lovett had been a clergyman for seven years and a newspaper reporter for ten years. He was 74 years of age.

(Continued on page 446)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Prophet Is Honored

WHEN Manchester, Connecticut, adopted the council-manager form of government recently few of the voters knew, in all probability, that the manager plan was "invented" by a man who was born right there in Manchester.

The Manchester movement for adoption of the plan was well on its way last fall when a speaker from the National Municipal League surprised an audience of 300 there with the information that one of their own native sons was the father of the plan they were considering. It apparently was news to everyone present.

Richard S. Childs, who was to become an industrialist and prominent civic leader, was only a few years out of Yale when he ferreted out the now widely recognized fact that many of the weaknesses of the old ways of running communities could be overcome by concentrating administrative responsibility in a professionally trained man who was controlled by a small, popularly-elected city council.

In addition to being sound in theory, the manager plan had the highly attractive virtue of working, and its use spread, particularly among cities which had been sloppily or crookedly run. As well over 750 American communities adopted it and thrived during the ensuing 35 years, its use spread to Canada, Puerto Rico and Eire. Its basic principles were aped to a degree even by many cities which wouldn't go all the way and take the plan whole.

The "father" of the council-manager plan, still strenuously active in business and civic affairs today, can look out over a broad expanse of the world with the knowledge that he has done something fundamental for his fellow taxpayers and for the ideal of making a self-governing system efficient.

As a dramatic aftermath of the recent war, municipalities of all sizes are adopting the council-manager plan at a record rate. It has been embraced even in places which, except for the inevitable inefficiencies which come from bad administrative organization, were quite well run. Manchester appears to have been among these. Indeed, for some years Manchester has had an official who was informally given many of a city manager's responsibilities.

Manchester's distinguished son would probably want no better monument to his memory in his old home town than an efficiently operating government that is designed to be sensitive and effective in carrying out the wishes of the people.

Houston Drops Out

JUST about everyone who believes in democracy will grant that the people will usually vote soundly and intelligently IF they have the facts and know the truth.

Those whose faith in and adherence to a self-governing way of life is firm can see clearly the false manner in which democracy is attacked abroad; but many need to open their eyes to some of the distressing situations here at home which, in the long run, may do every bit as much violence to the ideals to which we adhere.

Houston, Texas, is a case in point. What happened there this summer is deserving of thoughtful consideration.

Late in July the voters of Houston decided 13,432 to 11,159 to abandon the council-manager form of government which they had adopted in the summer of 1942 by a vote of 15,776 to 12,888. Less than one-third of the 90,000 qualified voters expressed themselves.

The 1942 campaign against adoption of the plan and the 1947 campaign to scuttle it both were marked by so much falsity, misrepresentation, half-truth and cynical effort to distort the democratic processes that it is not possible to record the entire story here.

The 1942 crusade for the plan was launched by women seeking primarily to rid the city health department of politics. The opposition threw every possible obstacle in the way, not hesitating to try to raise even racial and religious "issues." Finally, when petitions forced the question before the people, the bosses played their last card by setting the election date in August when most people wanted to go vacationing or swimming.

Despite all this and much more, the charter forces won. They "drafted" nine prominent businessmen for the city council, who carried out their pledge to employ an outstanding professional city manager.

The accomplishments were dramatic. In the new regime's first year it lived well within its budget and had an operating surplus of $1,000,000, even though it spent $80,000 to repair hurricane damage. The city was put on a sound cash basis, patronage politics was eliminated (something brand new for Houston), the health department was rejuvenated with the results that the state health department gave the city the highest milk supply rating it had received in ten years and it was put on the 1943 honor roll of the American Public Health Association. The decrepit water system was completely revamped and a new source of water developed. Despite wartime priorities and manpower shortages, millions were spent on other public improvements neglected by preceding political wastrels.

Most significant of all, if the people had only understood, was the fact that the city manager administration gave Houston a postwar program of scope and excellence not surpassed by that of any other city. The voters approved $96,000,000 in bonds to finance it.

But the opponents of the plan

were not only powerful, resourceful and determined but, unhappily for the people who needed the facts, they controlled the two newspapers with the largest circulation.

The people just didn't get the facts as they would have in most cities. The truth was constantly, cleverly distorted and slanted in the largest newspapers. Any credit due the administration was minimized. Small difficulties which might discredit it were consistently played up. Four years of this constant pounding convinced many intelligent Houston voters that little had been accomplished.

Although the voters turned down an attempt in 1944 by four to one to kill the manager plan, the city manager, in accordance with his high professional code, resigned less than a year later when influential people told him his resignation would save the form of government. These very important people were wrong. The newspapers had a field day distorting this situation, too.

This year's referendum was again set for midsummer, when as few as possible of the voters might be expected to go to the polls, and the machine used various effective devices to poison city employees against the manager plan and to drive them to the polls. This meant a substantial block of 4,000 or more votes.

There were other factors which confused both the people in general and intelligent, well intentioned leaders. There did not appear, for example, to be adequate understanding of the basic differences between the council-manager plan and what had preceded it. The fact that the mayor continued to be elected at large instead of being chosen by the council as its presiding officer kept the people from becoming aware that full responsibility for administration was the city manager's.

Only one newspaper, the Scripps-Howard *Houston Press,* has consistently sought out the facts and made a real effort to help the people understand them.

The struggle for good government looks difficult in Houston, but it will go on; and perhaps some of the powerful leadership of the city will begin one day to wonder why, if the council-manager plan is as undesirable as many of them seem to honestly think it is, Houston is only the thirty-third city whose people have voted it out in 35 years, while around 800 places have adopted it and seem quite satisfied.

* * *

By way of contrast: When the people of Denver recently voted for a charter convention to revise the city charter, the *Denver Post* assigned some of its best men to analyze the old charter and disclose its defects, to describe alternative forms of government available, and to visit and report on cities which used these various forms.

There's a CONSTRUCTIVE example of civic leadership by a newspaper. Denver seems to be fortunate in more than its climate.

Working Together on Airports

Cooperation of all levels of government, not special 'rights', needed to help solve aviation problems.

By **J. HAROLD DE NIKE***

ABOUT twenty years ago the federal government created an agency to regulate and foster civil aviation. Up to the passage and approval of the federal airport act of May 1946, the Civil Aeronautics Administration engaged primarily in building emergency landing fields as adjuncts to the airways system of navigation aids, in advising on expenditure of relief and public works funds on airports, and in administering a program of emergency airports during the war. The federal airport act thus represented the first planned national effort to develop a civil airport system.

This federal legislation will give effect to the so-called national airport plan which the Civil Aeronautics Administration had been formulating in cooperation with appropriate state and local agencies even before the legislation was passed. The act authorized the appropriation of $500,000,000 in federal funds to be used for airport construction over a seven-year period, which funds were intended to be matched by funds provided by sponsoring municipalities and other public agencies under a formula established in the act.

Since all the projects were for the establishment or improvement of public airports and since most of those airport projects would be sponsored by municipalities, the federal airport act brought into clear focus the problem of federal-state-local relationships which has been chronic for many years. In the field of aviation some have questioned whether the states have any responsibilities. In fact the State of New York once came close to declaring officially that the federal government should occupy the whole field and that the state would enact legislation "along similar lines," in an assembly resolution passed in February 1920. On the whole this policy has been followed in matters pertaining to the licensing of airmen and aircraft and in defining safety standards. More recently, however, CAA has been urging the states to take on the active enforcement of air traffic rules and even to engage in the licensing of airports. Economic regulations, at least to date, remain almost exclusively a federal function.

The field of airport establishment, operation and maintenance, however, remains one in which federal-state-local relationships are least clear and in which the responsibilities of the three levels of government are least well defined. One school of thought looks upon the states' interest in airport development as resulting from the predominant ownership and operation of public airports by municipalities, which in turn are "wards of the state." To this group the states' interests are at best indirect, stemming from the fact that the interests of the municipalities of the states collectively are "indirectly" the states' interests and the prime responsibility of state governments, particularly in terminal type airports, is that of "furthering the interests of local communities."[1]

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*Dr. De Nike, formerly director of the Bureau of Aviation of the New York State Department of Commerce, is now director of that department's Bureau of Distribution.

Each Level Plays a Part

However, in the actual airport planning there is a clear indication that the CAA, the state aviation agencies and the municipalities have each played an essential role. In airport planning it has been demonstrated that the whole is something different from the sum of its parts and that the state has as much interest in facilitating travel within its boundaries as the federal government has in facilitating travel into and out of the state. Besides playing *paterfamilias* to its municipalities in airport development, the state has assumed a responsibility for the promotion and development of a sound system of airports as part of its responsibility for promoting and developing its commerce and industry. Competition among communities for air service and airports, without any coordination at the state level, could easily degenerate into a waste of public funds at the local level which might well eventuate in increased demands for state aid to municipalities.

Upon the recommendation of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, in his annual message of January 8, 1947, the New York State legislature passed the Oliver bill providing for state channeling of federal aid to airport development under the federal airport act of May 1946. This new state law[2] provided for prior approval by the commissioner of commerce of New York State of all projects and project applications submitted to CAA under the federal airport act to insure fair and equal treatment for each section of the state.

Public Librar
Kansas City, M

The Oliver bill was based upon the model state channeling legislation developed by the Council of State Governments, which during the legislative stages of the federal airport act had vigorously opposed the principle of direct dealing between the federal government and the municipalities of the state on federal aid to airports or on any other local development. Under the banners of "federal supremacy," "states' rights" and "home rule" the halls of Congress had rung with a long debate over whether the federal legislation on airport development should permit direct dealing between the federal government and the municipalities. The final solution represented a compromise: that no municipality could apply for federal aid for airport development if such application were contrary to the laws of its particular state.

The rather legalistic debates on this issue have not altered the fact that a high degree of federal-state-local cooperation is essential to the sound development of public airports. Even before the federal airport act was passed the Bureau of Aviation of the New York State Department of Commerce had for many months been engaged in cooperating with the airport engineers of CAA and with local authorities in airport planning; and the pattern for New York State which finally emerged in the national airport plan was a result of those joint efforts. In this respect the state channeling legislation merely formalized a procedure which was already being followed with mutually satisfactory results for all concerned.

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[1] Lynn L. Bollinger, Allen Passen, Robert E. McElfresh; *Terminal Airport Financing & Management;* Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, Boston, 1946; see page 46, State's Responsibilities.

[2] Chapter 489 of the Laws of 1947.

Role of the States

All of the 97 communities in New York State finally included in the current revision of the national airport plan had been adjudged appropriate for airport development during the next few years by both the CAA and the State Bureau of Aviation. Similarly, the seven projects to which a tentative allocation of funds has been made by CAA under the current (1947) program also represent both federal and state views with respect to the relative urgency of projects in the class three and smaller category.

While it is premature to determine in any final fashion the primary contributions at the state level to the planning and execution of the national airport plan, experience indicates a few generalizations are possible.

To the extent that the state agency is prepared to promote air service and to develop sound research into the community of interest between cities within the state and between those cities and points outside the state, to that extent are the views of the state agency given serious consideration by the CAA in airport planning. In a word, "states' rights" in this field would appear to be as great as the area of responsibility for the development of the commerce and industry of the state which the state aviation agency is willing and able to assume. Among the functions thus undertaken by the Bureau of Aviation of the New York State Department of Commerce, in cooperation with other agencies of the department and the state, are those of studying the community of interest of its many municipalities, stimulating regional planning, providing technical engineering assistance to municipalities and helping municipalities assemble the economic data necessary to justify inclusion in the federal program.

Besides providing active liaison between localities and the federal government, the state agency has been active in promoting necessary enabling legislation not only to permit the establishment by municipalities of airports and seaplane bases but also to protect their approaches and maintain adequate spacing for safety.

The state looks to the federal government for the development of proper standards of construction, operation and maintenance. The federal government looks to the state for detailed information with respect to local needs, local desires and an objective appraisal of local fiscal capacity for further airport development. The federal government has come to recognize that, while its function in the field of aviation is comprehensive, it is by no means exclusive; and that it is to its own interest to maintain the vitality and responsibility of the state through properly established state aviation agencies. Similarly, municipalities have come to value the services of state agencies which can give them disinterested advice on the application of federal rules and regulations and their implications.

The pattern of cooperation which is thus emerging is one which throws light upon the possibility for a healthy future trend in federal-state-local relationships based upon appreciation of the potential contributions of each level of government to projects affecting them all. Most people who think about such matters at all, and more particularly students of administration, have long since tired of legalistic debates on "states' rights."

We Americans, however, are extremists and, having discovered the barren character of the time-worn shibboleth, may overlook some basic values which the doctrinaire "states'-righter" has rendered distinct service in promoting. The barrenness of traditional states' rights argument lies, I believe, essentially in a naive concept of political power or authority. Such power is viewed as a constant quantity—a pie, let us say. Therefore if the federal, state and local governments each strive for a portion, the more one gets the less is left for the others. Something like this exists in the perennial war between the executive and legislative branches of government—it is assumed that the way to strengthen the legislature is to weaken the president or governor.

Similarly the dogma of states' rights has usually taken the form of seeking to oust the federal government from a field or to prevent it from entering. Where the federal bureaucracy has taken on any function increasingly close to a field, function or clientele served by the state bureaucracy, the tocsin is sounded and the faithful rally to guard jealously our state prerogatives. But a fire alarm doesn't put out the fire.

Areas of Usefulness

I prefer to view public service as a rivalry between all public and private administrators to serve the public. It is not a governmental monopoly, much less a private preserve of any one level of government. It is true that the competition is regulated competition under our constitution and federal system. It is also true, however, that the area of public service—and hence of political power and authority—is not a *quantum* to which "the more there is of the more, the less there is of the less" can aptly apply.

All levels of government have even greater areas of usefulness than we have ever enjoyed—but they must win "the consent of the governed" by positive and vital activity at each level, not by seeking to impose artificial and negative restraints upon their rivals in public service.

To summarize on this particular point, the practical way for any federal, state or local function or functionary to win public support is by presenting a positive program of appropriate action. Increased federal or state activity in a given field need not narrow it for the other level of government. There's always plenty of room for better public service.

The problem of duplication, confusion or frustration of effort, however, immediately arises. This is sometimes dealt with as a problem in "cooperation." But this concept, besides being vague, is too limited. It assumes that a federal and state agency, both engaged, let us say, in providing technical airport planning and engineering service to municipalities, should merely "live and let live," exchange information on field visits and recommendations, and confer on differences.

It is all right as far as it goes. But the rivalry for public service should take a leaf from the book of business. "Product research" should be continuous, with each level of government seeking to determine what service it is peculiarly qualified to render. The state aviation agency should study the common problems of the municipalities and promote state and regional planning of airports. It can do this because it is in a strategic position to know the state economy and to mediate between competing municipalities. It can study the need for local enabling legislation and recommend measures to permit sound airport development and management.

The state's interest thus is not "indirect," flowing from the fact that the localities have a "direct" interest and are "wards of the state." Here, again, there is plenty of appropriate and positive research, programming and action to be undertaken at all levels and also by private enterprise.

In conclusion, the area of public service should be likened to an unexplored territory challenging exploration, rather than a well settled continent of federal, state, local, public and private "nations" each jealous of its prerogatives, fearing aggression and making "treaties" to maintain the *status quo*. A country and people as vast and varied as ours needs both uniformity and diversity in its laws and regulations, as it has in its customs. There is a proper balance, a division of function, to be worked out in cooperation among public servants at all levels of government. It must be worked out in the professional spirit. In the aviation field this is already well under way.

It follows that public officials have responsibilities rather than "rights." The court of public opinion is not a court of law. The states, if they have any "rights," must win them in the open market of public service through public acceptance—not by misrepresenting their rival's product or passing laws "in restraint of trade."

By the same token federal officialdom, particularly when it seeks state enforcement of federal standards, should seek state participation in the formulation of those standards. Last but not least, when it undertakes a program of service at the local level, it would seem to be merely good programming to determine whether the states have already undertaken the same or similar programs.

This is basic not only to later cooperation; it is an elementary phase of sound administrative planning. Cooperation is not working at the same thing together but working in harmony on different aspects of the same thing. Federal and state officials can and should share objectives information and techniques; but they cannot share functions as long as we have a federal system of government.

30 Years with Manager Plan

Wichita turns out for 'Know Your City' week celebration to mark anniversary of change with civic festivities.

By **PAUL DANNELLEY***

MORE than 6,000 residents visited the Wichita, Kansas, city hall during a seven-day period proclaimed by Mayor Charles S. Ritchie as "Know Your City" week.

This celebration, held to commemorate the city's 30th anniversary under the council-manager plan, was sponsored by the Public Affairs Committee of the Wichita Chamber of Commerce. Plans for the week-long observance, which began April 27 and ended May 3, were laid weeks in advance by this committee in cooperation with Wichita city officials.

Thanks to the whole-hearted assistance of Wichita's two daily newspapers and three radio stations, there were few Wichitans who did not know about "Know Your City" week. Constant repetition of celebration details kept fresh in the minds of most citizens the fact that the public was invited to attend "open house" activities at their city hall, the police station and the city library on the fifth night of the celebration. Civic clubs, schools, churches and other organizations helped to publicize the event. Because of the combined effort of all these groups thousands turned out on the night of May 1 to visit displays and exhibits calculated to show the inner workings of an efficient council-manager municipal organization.

Weeks prior to the celebration City Manager Russell E. McClure was laying plans for the city's part in the observance. David D. Rowlands, planning and research assistant for the city, was appointed coordinator of planning. He worked directly under the city manager in organizing a program that would be practicable yet comprehensive enough to make the function of the city government understandable.

First, department and division heads were informed on the various phases of the celebration through meetings and a succession of instruction sheets. The final and most comprehensive of the instructions set forth the purpose of the celebration, tabulated the schedule of events listed for the week, and gave particular attention to exhibit space available in the city building. Each department head was made responsible for his own departmental exhibits and displays, and all officials were asked to compile statistics from which instructive news articles could be prepared.

It was at this time that the newspapers and radio stations started playing their part. Radio "spot" announcements plugged away at the job of reminding Wichitans of the approaching celebration. News articles and features, which later were concentrated on activities during the special week, carried the story of city government organization in Wichita, the development of staff and operating functions, and the history of the city's government.

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*Mr. Dannelley is research aide for the City of Wichita.

Consequently, besides the thousands of Wichitans who attended displays and exhibits during open house, additional thousands were informed on their city government. During the whole of the celebration, Wichita newspapers carried a total of 369 column inches of educational publicity and the three radio stations broadcast seventeen interviews with city department and division heads. This was in addition to the city's regularly scheduled 30-minute broadcast, which originated from the city building during open house activities May 1.

Interest in Good Government

Another important contributor to the success of "Know Your City" week is the traditional interest which Wichitans display in good government. Since the inception of the council-manager form of government in 1917, more and more citizens have shown an interest in city organization.

City officials were particularly encouraged during the special week by the fact that at least half of those persons attending open house activities were young people. This observation was borne out by Chet Ellis, city clerk, who pointed out that a large percentage of visitors studying city records during the display was composed of high school and college age youths. This can easily be explained by the fact that courses in government are stressed in Wichita public schools. Cooperation between city administrators and the political science department at the University of Wichita has become a tradition.

"Know Your City" week is not entirely new to Wichita. The first such celebration, also sponsored by the Public Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, was held in 1942 when the city observed its 25th anniversary under the council-manager plan.

Robert Foulston, prominent Wichita lawyer who was the city's first attorney after the city began operating under the council-manager form of city government, was chief speaker at the "kick-off" luncheon for the week, held April 29 by the Public Affairs Committee. The topic of his address, "Good City Government," was given considerable publicity in the press and attendance was good at the luncheon. Honor guests were the outgoing city commissioners, Frank Coleman, Gene Moriarty and Phil Manning; and the entire new city commission, Mayor Charles S. Ritchie, Robert E. Israel, William C. Salome, Dr. L. A. Donnell and Earl K. Duke, together with City Manager McClure. As city attorney in 1917 Mr. Foulston was one of the leaders in the effort to secure adoption of the manager plan for Wichita.

Here is the schedule for "Know Your City" week activities as announced by those in charge:

> Sunday, April 27, most church programs will include mention of the "Know Your City" week and its connection with the 30th anniversary of the council-manager form of city government here.
>
> Monday, April 28, announcement of the week's activities, including an invitation to the open house Thursday night, will be made at all city schools.
>
> Tuesday, April 29, the Public Affairs Committee of the Wichita Chamber of Commerce will give a luncheon honoring the present city commissioners and the three who have just retired.
>
> Wednesday, April 30, city employees will have a dinner honoring those who

recently completed a specialized course in personnel administration.

Thursday, May 1, from 7.30 to 10 P.M., an open house will be held at the city building, the city library and the police station.

Friday, May 2, a luncheon sponsored jointly by the Public Safety Committee and the Fire Prevention Committee of the Wichita Chamber of Commerce. Feature of the meeting will be presentation of the various police and fire safety awards won by the city of Wichita for 1946.

Presentation of certificates to city employees satisfactorily completing a course in personnel administration was purposely scheduled to occur during "Know Your City" week. The course, a classroom affair under the direction of Dr. Hugo Wall, head of the political science department at the University of Wichita, had been recently completed. Wichita newspapers carried articles listing the names of the 44 persons completing the course and giving some attention to "in service" training programs for city employees.

Thousands See Exhibits

The open house on May 1 was the highlight of the entire week, and thousands of Wichitans viewed displays and exhibits. A visitors' registration book and a suggestion box were strategically situated on the first floor of the city building. Uniformed fire-fighters acted as guides. "The Voice of the Citizen," a city-sponsored radio program held weekly, was recorded by wire at the open house and played back over KFBI at 9 P.M. For this program city department and division heads were interviewed at the site of their exhibits.

All operating departments in Wichita's city government had prepared displays. On the first floor of the city building were located the city clerk's exhibit, a fire display and a scenic park department fountain exhibit. Featured in the city clerk's display were old city records, some of them dating back to the incorporation of the city. The city clerk was on hand to explain to visitors any points of special interest.

Other displays were located throughout the building, and the fire-fighter guides kept the stream of visitors moving. All city employees present wore identification cards listing name and division or department.

The display of the city's municipally-owned water supply and purification plant, a service department activity, was built around a cartoon character, an animated drop of water. The special poster character was used to illustrate various bits of pertinent water supply information. Besides the posters, the water division display included charts, graphs and photographs showing the scope of the overall water supply function in Wichita.

Cut-away sections of representative house types were featured in the building division display. Other phases of the building inspection exhibit included types of electrical wiring now recommended, examples of governors and other mechanical equipment used in elevators in Wichita buildings, and recommended types of plumbing. Building inspection employees explained charts and graphs showing the city's current record-breaking building boom.

Service department displays ranged from traffic signals and photographic exhibits to Recordak (microfilm) equipment and sections of sewer tile.

A street "flusher" machine was on view in front of the city building. The over-all display included traffic engineering equipment, drawings and volume charts showing the sewage disposal function, and latest copies of the Wichita street map.

Hiring a Policeman

How a police applicant is hired was the subject of a "sequence" photographic display prepared by the city's personnel division. One photograph showed a group of ex-GI's taking the competitive examination for appointment as police officers. A second showed one of the high ranking men being interviewed, a third showed him being sworn in, and in the final photograph he was on duty at a busy Wichita intersection. Other photographs, together with a copy of the city's personnel manual, were also included in the personnel display. Copies of the *City Employee Bulletin* were exhibited as one of the employee relations activities sponsored by the city.

Displays at the police station ranged from the city's lie detector used in questioning suspects to opium pipes confiscated more than twenty years ago. Visitors were also shown through the city jail. At the city library, visitors went through the stacks and were shown how damaged books are repaired or rebound.

Health and park department displays were well attended, as were a series of three different motion pictures which were shown all evening.

Wichita's five-man board of city commissioners was on hand in the commission chambers to greet visitors and City Manager McClure also greeted visitors in his office.

Starting time of the open house saw dozens of Wichitans already assembled to make the tour through the city building, and although thousands attended the two and a half hour affair, the accommodations were such that there was little crowding until the halfway mark was reached in the evening's activities.

Many photographs were taken of the event and one or more may find its way into the city's annual report for 1947.

Proper planning and preparation were two major factors which contributed to the success of the venture. Department and division heads had carefully chosen representative pieces of equipment to show the type of service being performed by their particular segment of the local government Painstaking thought preceded the preparation of charts and graphs to show work volume and the quality of service.

Those who viewed the exhibits left better informed about their city government. With little effort the layman could learn just what portion of the total property tax in Wichita is accounted for by the city's requirement; he could learn how the tax rate compares—and how it has compared for the past twenty years—with other first-class cities in the state; he could learn what portion of the city's total operating budget is made up through property tax requirement; he could learn how the municipal debt has been pared since 1943; he could learn the scope of the water supply, sewage

(Continued on page 446)

Always Fun in New Orleans

Both political machines and reformers try to dodge merit system, but its use has brought measurable progress.

By **W. V. HOLLOWAY***

THE political picture in New Orleans is never dull. The city, famous for its Mardi Gras, gambling and Oysters Rockefeller, takes its politics in the same gay spirit that it takes its carnival balls. Machine politics in New Orleans and its control over elections are as traditional as its Creole cooking and chicory coffee. The Choctaw Club in downtown New Orleans, across St. Charles Street from the city hall, is the headquarters for the political machine, known as the Old Regular Democratic Organization, that until May 1946 had long dominated the city's political scene.

There were periodic reforms, of course, but few were permanent, and the city's political leaders paid little attention to them. The 1940 legislature under the leadership of Governor Sam Houston Jones enacted several laws of a reform nature, some of which were applicable to city government. One of these provided for a merit system for New Orleans municipal employees. This law, as amended, did not become effective until January 1, 1943, and therefore did not immediately upset the machine's control over city government.

As in other machine dominated cities, one-man control has been the rule rather than the exception. For many years Martin Behrman was both mayor and boss. Until Huey P. Long was elected governor of Louisiana in 1932, the city machine frequently combined or made deals with the state organization and had a strong hand in state politics.[1] The city "Old Regular" machine opposed Long, who organized a rival machine, the Louisiana Democratic Association, and for several years the two were bitter rivals.

The Long-controlled "sack of potatoes" legislature sharply curbed city powers and revenues by special laws. It forced the incumbent mayor, T. Semmes Walmsley, to resign and the Kingfish appointed Robert S. Maestri, state conservation commissioner, mayor for the unexpired term. Mayor Maestri served without having been elected until 1940, when he defeated his independent opponent. Meanwhile, however, the two city machines, the "Old Regulars" and the Long organization, combined under the leadership of Mayor Maestri and in 1936 the legislature enacted a new charter for the city greatly strengthening the mayor's powers.

This new charter, which was never submitted to the electorate for approval, made the mayor the legal appointing authority for the majority of city departments and made him an *ex officio* member of most of the city boards and commissions. Thus, the mayor became the legal as well as the political dictator of New Orleans. There was no organized opposition. The machine controlled the elections; it controlled the registration books and appointed all election officials; it could appoint and remove at will all city and parish employees. Indeed, the Maestri organization appeared destined to remain in power for years to come. Certainly it was as complete a dictatorship as existed in America.

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*Dr. Holloway, formerly chief of the classification division of the New Orleans City Civil Service Department, is associate professor of political science at the University of Tulsa.

[1] George M. Reynolds, *Machine Politics in New Orleans, 1897-1926* (1936), especially chapters 7-8.

Long Cohorts Dethroned

But all was not quiet in the Bayou country. Without warning a political storm of cyclonic velocity swept most of the remnants of the old Long machine out of state office. In 1940 the state machine lost the governorship, key administrative officers, and a majority of the legislative members.[2] The Maestri machine, heretofore almost unchallenged, was able to carry New Orleans by a mere 15,000 votes.

The "Old Regular" machine does not differ from political machines in other cities. The city is divided into seventeen wards and the wards in turn are divided into precincts.[3] The governing body of the organization is a caucus, consisting of seventeen ward leaders. The caucus is a self-perpetuating body and each ward leader chooses his precinct captains. As in other cities, the source of the machine's strength was patronage, granting favors, and using money.

This, then, was the political picture at the time the civil service law went into effect in January 1943. The New Orleans law is very detailed and deals in one way or another with all phases of modern public personnel administration. The framers of the law desired to make the City Civil Service Department independent of the city government and machine politics. To this extent a majority of the commissioners, the director of personnel and the staff members are not appointed by the mayor or commission-council[4] of the city. The law provides that the State Civil Service Commission shall appoint two of the three city civil service commissioners and the commission-council shall appoint one. The director of personnel and staff members are appointed on the basis of competitive examination.

During the formative years of a civil service system in New Orleans, numerous political and other difficulties were encountered. In the first place, the department commenced operations during the war and was faced with the usual war-time problems including manpower shortages, low salaries and defense industry competition. The "Old Regular" machine did not fail to take subtle advantage of these conditions. As there were no eligible registers during and immediately following the position-classification survey, department heads employed their personnel through ward leaders and made provisional appointments. These employees had no protection under the law and could be removed at will which, of course, facilitated machine discipline.

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[2] For an analysis of the Louisiana Democratic primaries in 1940, see "The Crash of the Long Machine and Its Aftermath," by W. V. Holloway, *Journal of Politics,* August 1941, pages 348-362; "It Won't Be Long Now," by S. S. Sheppard, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1940, pages 228-231.

[3] There are 263 precincts in the city. Neither wards nor precincts are even approximately equal in population or area.

[4] This term is the official title of the legislative and administrative body of the city.

Even after eligible lists were prepared and names certified, appointments from registers were not always made. Department heads frequently ignored the lists as long as they could; in other cases they would "run down" the jobs, scaring the eligible applicants by exaggerating the difficulties and unpleasantness of the work, emphasizing low pay without expectation of salary advancement, and by similar devices causing applicants to refuse the jobs. This, of course, enabled provisional employees, politically appointed, to remain on the jobs without taking examinations.

Political Opposition

Though not so apparent at first, as time went on political opposition developed in administering the classification plan. Although given an opportunity to appeal their original allocations, relatively few employees took advantage of this opportunity. Following the close of the 1944 legislative session, however, employees realized that the civil service system, unlike some of the previous ones, would be permanent and appeals became more numerous. Employees, ward leaders and precinct captains used various devices to get certain positions allocated to higher classes. These devices ran the gamut from promising favors to threats of dire political results.

At times salaries of certain employees or even groups of employees were raised above the legal maxima authorized by the pay plan. On at least one occasion the mayor, while surveying a street maintenance job, promised two workmen salary raises. At the time both were receiving the legal maximum pay for their class. The Civil Service Department rejected the increases but in doing so did not become more popular with employees.

On another occasion all clerks, with one exception, in the Drivers' License Bureau were secretly raised above the maximum for their class. These raises were approved by the commissioner of public safety, an "Old Regular" ward leader. After several months the department learned of the pay increases through a complaint by the employee who had not received an increase and who had been told that the Civil Service Department would not allow her to receive one. These increases were, of course, denied, but in merely administering the law the department became more unpopular with many employees, the very persons the law should benefit.

In addition to these tactics there was considerable popular misunderstanding over what authority the law gave the Civil Service Department. As is so often the case with reform legislation, the advocates of civil service, including a friendly press, frequently made claims of reform and changes that could not be legally carried out, except in an indirect way. Apparently many people thought the Civil Service Department should be the city manager of the city. Some believed the department should stop all deadheads, prevent payroll padding, eliminate inefficiency and keep all employees, including numerous street inspectors, on the job during working hours. The fact is that the department had little authority to do any of these things. These matters were internal departmental affairs, but the Civil Service Department was successful indirectly in preventing payroll padding by having eligible lists for many classes of work. Ward leaders frequently inquired if there were eligible registers and if so no appointments would be made.

Perhaps the most startling and erroneous statement regarding the duties of the department was made by the city's consulting accountant following deadhead, payroll, and other scandals in the refuse collection unit of the government. When the scandals of alleged fraudulent payrolls and mishandling of funds were made public through the newspapers, the consulting accountant announced that since the merit system had been in effect it was his understanding the Civil Service Department was supposed to audit payroll accounts of the general fund departments and, therefore, the city auditor's office had not done so for over three years. This obviously was an attempt not only to "pass the buck" but also to show that the Civil Service Department had been inefficient and negligent in the performance of one of its duties. The statement did very little harm and was a boomerang to the machine, but it showed the extent to which the machine went in its opposition.

Some Success Achieved

Notwithstanding political opposition, failure on the part of certain departments to cooperate, and misunderstanding of the functions of a central personnel office, the New Orleans Civil Service Department was able to achieve considerable success during the first three formative years. During the first year, with the assistance of the Public Administration Service, a complete classification plan covering over six thousand positions was adopted. A compensation plan, exclusive of the Fire and Police Departments and the Sewerage and Water Board, was adopted. Legal difficulties prevented adoption of a sound and equitable plan for these three agencies. Both plans were currently administered and kept up-to-date. While both were amended to meet new conditions, the basic plans, including position allocations, were maintained notwithstanding pressure and numerous appeals.

Another achievement of the department, though not necessarily over political opposition, was the preparation of individual folders containing the personal and employment records of each employee in the classified service. The result was that for the first time in the history of the city there were available employment records containing the personal history, address, classification and salary of each employee.

Notwithstanding the fact that the department had to compete with war industries, it was reasonably successful in attracting a large number of capable employees. A program of positive recruitment was inaugurated. Special releases and announcements were prepared and distributed to local newspapers and radio stations. The universities, public and parochial schools, and vocational and business colleges were visited by staff members seeking interested and qualified personnel for the city. This was a wholesome step in the direction of engaging in service rather than control functions. In addition during the first two years 67 examinations were administered and 834 persons qualified and were placed on eligible registers.

The Civil Service Department was instrumental in establishing a credit union for permanent employees. It also inaugurated an in-service training program and was active in trying to sell this program to department heads. In this respect only partial success was achieved. During 1944, however, the first full year of the training program, courses were held for five classes of work, including courses for fire apparatus operators and for instrument men and draftsmen, with an enrollment of 179 employees.

In January 1946 another political revolution took place in New Orleans. Mayor Maestri and three out of a total of four "Old Regular" commission-council members were defeated in their campaign for reelection. The new administration headed by Colonel de Lesseps Morrison was elected on a reform ticket. Though its majority was not unusually large, the "Old Regular" machine, thought to be unbeatable in the city, was repudiated at the polls. Prior to the election the new mayor and one member of the commission-council had supported the civil service law when it was before the legislature in 1940.

Notwithstanding the public announcements and records of the successful candidates, at first there was some evidence showing that the new regime in reality was not too sympathetic with the merit system but was anxious to build a rival political machine. After the inauguration the new administration removed provisional incumbents and put in their own backers wherever possible. Also some permanent "Regulars" were dismissed for cause and others lost their jobs by abolition of their positions through departmental reorganizations.

Undoubtedly some of the layoffs under the guise of reorganization were for political purposes and in a few instances the new administration resorted to the old practice of abolishing positions and creating new ones with different qualification requirements. While this action was legal, it did violate the spirit of the merit system. On the whole, however, there was greater cooperation than previously existed.

Thus, it goes. The Civil Service Department is continuing to carry out the requirements of the law to the best of its ability. The department has emphasized, in so far as has been legally possible, the service aspects of personnel administration. When one considers that for a number of years personnel policies and practices in Louisiana and New Orleans were extremely bad it is believed that considerable progress has been made since 1943.

This is not to say that everything has worked out perfectly. The Civil Service Department has not in all instances accomplished its purposes. But the shortcomings should not cause one to lose sight of the success that has been achieved, and even more progress should be made in the future than has been made in the past.

Cambridge Does It Again!

Manager plan brings efficient government, debt reduction, salary increases, while lowering tax rate for sixth year.

By **JOHN O'CONNOR***

AFTER talking for ten or fifteen minutes with City Manager John B. Atkinson of Cambridge, you can't help but draw the conclusion that, if he or any other competent business man were placed in charge of Boston's city government under the Plan E[1] system, he couldn't avoid knocking from $10,000,000 to $20,000,000 off the city's record-breaking $63,000,000 budget.

Mr. Atkinson, who has just piloted Cambridge to its sixth tax rate reduction in as many years, doesn't make this claim. He doesn't have to. His record does, however, because it shows with startling clarity that efficiency and economy in government are bound to come through the door whenever politics are thrown out the window at city hall.

Aside from Boston itself, whose citizens have been denied by the Massachusetts Senate the right to vote on adoption of the Plan E form of government, there is scarcely any Massachusetts city which loves its politics more than Cambridge. Prior to Plan E in 1942 there was always a hot political story out of Cambridge, some of them of the unsavory variety. The city is still politically alert, but nowadays a greater number of Cambridge residents participate in and want to know more about their local government. With Plan E now an established success, they are anxious to make a good government even better.

To thousands of Massachusetts city dwellers who have become cynical about being "taken to the cleaners" by their politicians every year, the Cambridge feat of reducing its tax rate from the pre-Plan E figure of $46.30 in 1941 to $35.50 in 1947 is a mystifying eye-opener.

Tax Reduction Unique

A tax reduction of $10.80 over the past six years—without the expedient of long-term borrowing—does seem to be some sort of sleight-of-hand municipal financing, particularly when practically every other city and town in the commonwealth has been forced to increase tax rates.

Second only to Boston as the biggest industrial city in the state, Cambridge, with its steadily declining tax rate, has attracted about $10,000,000 in new industries. The only other Massachusetts cities having tax rates lower than the $35.50 Cambridge figure are Gardner, Holyoke, Newton and Quincy, and none of these lowered their rates this year, as Cambridge did.

"Watch the pennies because they add up fast," Colonel Atkinson re-

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*Mr. O'Connor is a member of the editorial staff of the *Boston Herald,* in which this story appeared on July 27.

[1] "Plan E", an optional law which may be adopted by petition and popular vote in any Massachusetts city except Boston, provides the council-manager plan of government with proportional representation for the election of the city council. EDITOR

peatedly tells his department heads, over whom he has absolute control. "Spend the city's money as if it were your own."

But there is more to the story than this.

When Atkinson, Cambridge native and successful shoe manufacturer, was appointed city manager and took office January 1, 1942, the city's debt was more than $12,000,000. Today it is less than $3,000,000, and the city hasn't borrowed for five and one-half years.

Personnel Policy Gets Results

To begin with, Atkinson found he had on his hands 300 unnecessary employees whose salaries did not show in the budget. Every year, up to that time, the city borrowed $500,000 or more for street construction, but spent it instead on maintenance or salaries.

Atkinson didn't start swinging the axe indiscriminately, however. In fact, only five out of 2,500 city employees were fired outright, and those for cause. Cambridge just stopped replacing employees lost through death or retirement, and it bought many labor-saving devices. It took two years through this method to restore the personnel quota to normalcy.

"Those labor-saving machines helped a good deal," said Atkinson. "In 1941 we had nearly 100 street-cleaners pushing brooms. Now we have only three. Mechanical sweepers are now used to keep the city cleaned up, and they do just that. As for the men complaining about eliminating jobs, I haven't found one yet who would rather keep on using a pick and shovel instead of a compressor or a mechanical shovel."

Cambridge city employees, even common laborers, don't complain because they are the highest paid in the state. A laborer who received $30 a week in 1941 now gets $43.50. Semi-skilled workers are paid up to $50. All now get sick leave as well, and they don't abuse it. Atkinson and other officials found many skilled workmen on ash and garbage removal crews, and they quickly assigned them to other and better paying work, such as painters, carpenters, electricians and plumbers.

Through energetic court action by City Solicitor John A. Daley in the collection of money owed the city by surrounding communities for welfare cases treated at the Cambridge City Hospital, the income of that institution has jumped from $121,000 in 1941 to $360,000 a year today.

Garbage Pays

Once the city received $8000 a year for its garbage. Today, through competitive bidding, it gets $36,000. The municipal incinerator is now operating on one shift instead of three, and the city is salvaging paper thrown away by its citizens. The result—an annual saving of $95,000.

The new parking meters installed in Cambridge have borne out Atkinson's profitable practice of "chasing pennies." It cost $24,000 to put in 420 meters, which in four months brought in $17,000 in net revenue and for this year will yield $50,000. The city is going to use their present earnings to install 800 more meters because they afford parking spaces in Harvard and Central

Squares, which formerly were occupied by out-of-town motorists who left their cars there all day and went into Boston on the subway.

Cambridge didn't have a single snow plow in 1942. Now it has 33, in addition to other snow fighting equipment. Snow removal costs have been cut from the amazing figure of $240,000 a year to the equally amazing figure of $15,000 a year—or $110 per mile. The secret of this is that the city now does its own work, all of it. The contractors get none of it, and that explains why Atkinson is not popular with them.

Many of the die-hard Plan E opponents claim that the city has lowered its tax rate by raising valuations unmercifully. Valuations have been raised, but entirely within reason. Where the city used to set aside between $300,000 and $800,000 a year for real estate abatements, only $137,000 will be earmarked this year.

These economies and this type of efficiency are the forces that are contributing to the reputation of Cambridge as a well run city, to Plan E as a model form of government, and to John B. Atkinson as a capable, resourceful and well informed city administrator.

"You'd better not make me out too much of an authority on this thing," cautioned the colonel. "Until I took the oath of office in 1942, I hadn't been in city hall for twenty years."

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30 YEARS WITH MANAGER

(Continued from page 438)

disposal, police and fire services which he buys with his tax dollars; how much good the city's health programs and inspection surveys do him. In short, the Wichitan attending the open house probably learned more about city government during his brief visit than he had learned by hearsay during the past ten years.

"Know Your City" week was concluded on Friday with the joint luncheon sponsored by the Public Safety Committee and the Fire Prevention Committee of the Chamber of Commerce. This luncheon, at which traffic and fire safety awards won on a state and national level in Wichita for the year 1946 were presented, was also purposely scheduled to occur during "Know Your City" week. Wichitans are proud of the dozens of state and national traffic and fire safety awards they have won during the past several years—and judging from their interest in "Know Your City" week they are also proud of their city government.

(LEAGUE'S BUSINESS—Continued from page 426)

New Editor for 'Local Affairs Abroad'

Dr. James E. Gates, of the staff of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia, has accepted the editorship of the REVIEW's Local Affairs Abroad department, making his bow in this issue. Dr. Rowland Egger, director of the bureau, will remain a member of the REVIEW's staff as consultant and adviser on foreign affairs. Dr. Gates succeeds Dr. Edward W. Weidner of the University of Minnesota political science faculty.

Centralization vs. Home Rule

Ohio cities' plea for taxing power contrasts with North Carolina's experience with absorption of local functions.

By **PAUL W. WAGER** and **HARVEY WALKER***

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the third of a series of three articles, edited by Dr. Wylie Kilpatrick, of the Bureau of the Census, from a round table discussion on intergovernmental fiscal relations at the December 1946 conference of the American Political Science Association.

AMONG the most persistent questions in the fiscal relationship between state and local governments are, first, the extent to which the state should assume the financing of traditionally local functions and, second, the desirability of granting localities new tax powers.

In this article, the experience of North Carolina, which is outstanding in functional reallocation, is summarized both as to the nature and tax consequences of the functional shifts. Current proposals to extend city taxing authority are analyzed for Ohio, where a severe property tax limit gives more than usual urgency to the need for an ampler local tax base.

The Ohio proposals, it may be noted, should be considered in conjunction with similar measures discussed in the two preceding articles of this series.[1] Functional reallocation and new local tax powers are not necessarily conflicting, for each may be considered as part of a broader program of fiscal readjustment. A central problem is the extent to which each should be employed, in conjunction with state aid to local governments, in resolving increasing fiscal strains of cities, counties and school districts.

Dr. Wager on North Carolina

Features of North Carolina's intergovernmental fiscal relationships which are unique, declares Dr. Paul W. Wager, have been so publicized as to require only recapitulation.

In 1931 the state took over the maintenance of all secondary as well as primary roads, and since that time the administration and support of highways outside cities has been exclusively a state function. Until the winter of 1945-46, North Carolinians expressed almost universal satisfaction with the arrangement.

During the war both primary and secondary roads deteriorated. This was due more to shortage of labor and equipment than to shortage of money, though highway revenues shrank from $45,000,000 in 1941-42 to $33,000,000 two years later. Inability to obtain road machinery, together with a shortage of labor, prevented prompt reconditioning of the roads at the end of the war. Combined with unseasonable rains, these factors caused the dirt roads to get in the worst shape they had

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*Dr. Wager is professor of political science at the University of North Carolina; Dr. Walker is professor of political science at Ohio State University and director of research of its Bureau of Legal and Governmental Research.

[1] See the REVIEW, June, page 321, and July, page 382.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

been in since the state took them over fifteen years ago.

Consequently, some counties demanded that one-third of the gasoline tax revenue be returned to the counties where collected to be expended by local authorities. At present, however, major attention has been given to the secondary roads, and 8,741 miles of them have been made suitable by soil or macadam treatment for all-weather use. The demand for a change of administration has subsided.

In 1933 the state assumed the entire operating cost of the public schools and appropriated $16,000,000 for the purpose. This year it will expend $49,000,000 for the same purpose; the increase reflects an added grade in the elementary schools, an added month to the school term and a steadily rising salary scale for teachers and other school employees.

Although the appropriation for public schools accounts for 68 per cent of all appropriations from the general fund of the state, teachers are woefully underpaid. They succeeded in getting a 30 per cent increase in 1947, but even that is insufficient. Two counties and several cities now pay salaries supplementary to state salary rates. Some of these units will increase their supplements next term and perhaps additional units will vote them; but the teachers will not be, nor can they be, adequately paid until the counties generally supplement the state salary schedule. Since the counties with relatively high tax rates now may feel unable to do so, the richer counties may attract the better teachers by paying supplementary salaries.

No phase of county government has witnessed a greater expansion in both scope and cost in the last ten years than public welfare. This is due primarily to the passage by Congress of the social security act in 1935. Since North Carolina counties already had smoothly functioning welfare departments, the administration of most phases of the social security program was lodged at the county level. Generally speaking, the cost of matching federal funds is borne equally by the counties and the state. A small equalizing fund provided by the state, however, eases the burden somewhat on the poorest counties. Although a typical county now bears only about one-fifth the cost of the major forms of public assistance, the county contribution to public welfare is much greater than it was a decade ago. The quality and adequacy of the service is, of course, infinitely better.

No less phenomenal has been the expansion in the field of public health, a program administered either by individual counties or by districts composed of two or more counties. Only five cities constitute independent health units. In a recent year the average county health budget was $19,260, or 56 cents per capita. Analyzed according to source, 52 per cent was raised locally, 8 per cent came from the state, and 40 per cent came from other sources, principally the federal government.

Notable progress has been made

in the last few years in providing library service to the people of North Carolina. Impetus was given to this cause by an appropriation of $100,000 in 1941 for aid to county libraries. Each succeeding legislature has increased the appropriation, so that it is now $175,000 a year. Library service has been established in 83 counties, the county's contribution in the early years normally being somewhat less than the state grant.

North Carolina, like several other state, is about to launch another program of public service—one in the field of medical aid. The state ranks low in doctors, nurses and hospital facilities. It ranks low in the health of its people. It holds the unenviable distinction of having had relatively more young men rejected for military service than any other state.

The people are chagrined and aroused and determined to remove this blot. The 1947 legislature inaugurated a $48,000,000 hospital construction program by appropriating $6,250,000 for local hospital construction and an additional $3,790,000 for building and equipping a four-year medical school and teaching hospital at the University of North Carolina. About one-third of the total cost of the program will be borne by the federal government under the provisions of the Hill-Burton act. In addition the program calls for increased aid to the indigent sick and loans to medical students.

In 1928-29 state taxes represented 32 per cent of the total state-local tax payments in North Carolina; fifteen years later (1943-44) they represented 69 per cent. Stated differently, in fifteen years local taxes decreased from $66,000,000 to $48,000,000 whereas state taxes increased from $31,000,000 to $128,000,000. This comparison is exclusive of payroll taxes; their inclusion would add $20,000,000 more to the state total. Since 1944 state taxes have continued to increase at a rapid rate, whereas local taxes have increased only slightly. In 1945-46, state taxes aggregated $138,000,000 and collections so far for 1946-47 have been running about 20 per cent above those of last year.

The change in the tax picture in fifteen years may be summarized briefly as follows: In 1929 local taxes amounted to $21.30 per capita and in 1944 only $14.10, but state taxes during the fifteen-year period had increased from $10.10 per capita to $31.60, or to $37.50 if payroll taxes are included.

The reduction in local taxes and the increase in state taxes means essentially a shift from property taxes to income and sales taxes, for the state derives none of its income from property taxes except a small portion of the tax paid on intangible property. Chiefly as a result of the state's taking over the support of roads and schools, property tax levies decreased from $65,000,000 in 1930 to $35,000,000 in 1935. They have subsequently crept back up to $50,000,000; but the tax on property, at least on rural property, is still moderate.

In 1945 the tax rate in 28 of the

state's hundred counties was less than $1 per $100 of assessed value, and in only 21 counties was it in excess of $1.50. The additional rate in 107 cities ranged from 25 cents to $2.30, but in only eighteen cities did the city rate exceed $1.50. These rates are on valuations which generally are well below even the pre-war true value. The estimated aggregate rate on true valuation in 107 cities in 1944 varied from 82 cents to $3.23, but in only twenty cities did it exceed $2. That is, in only twenty communities did the total tax on urban property exceed 2 per cent of true value. Interestingly, in only twenty areas did the total tax on rural property exceed one per cent of true value.

Naturally North Carolina is interested in federal aid for education. Under one proposal before Congress, the state would get about $13,000,000 a year, or enough to augment the current outlay for schools by about 20 per cent. Conceding that the public school teachers of the state are underpaid and that school facilities are not as good as could be desired, the demand for federal aid is by no means universal. Some persons fear federal domination; and others, including myself, believe that the federal treasury is less able to provide the additional funds needed by the schools than are the states themselves.

The national government has a staggering debt; North Carolina with its swollen revenues has not only retired all its general fund debt but has accumulated a surplus which in 1947 may reach $70,000,000. This is equivalent to the total appropriations from the general fund for 1946-47. North Carolina is now in excellent financial condition. The state is able and willing to initiate and pay for such added public services as are needed. It has a well balanced tax structure; and, as a result of the transfer of some functions to the state, the tax burden has been fairly well equalized. The cities need additional revenues, including a larger grant from the proceeds of the gasoline tax, but otherwise there is general satisfaction with present fiscal arrangements.

Dr. Walker on Ohio

Ohio municipalities before 1929, notes Dr. Harvey Walker, were under a statutory limitation restricting property taxes to one and a half per cent of the assessed valuation of taxable property. All property was assessed and taxed under the uniform rule.

In 1929 the voters of the state adopted a constitutional amendment which placed the fifteen-mill limitation in the constitution, effective January 1, 1931. Inequities in the taxation of intangible property led to adoption of a further amendment, permitting the classification of property for purposes of taxation, on November 7, 1933, effective January 1, 1934. In this same amendment, a limitation of one per cent was placed on tax levies on real estate for state and local purposes. Levies outside this limit were permitted for pre-existing debts or when voted by the electors of the taxing district.

By 1934 the state had abandoned the general property tax as a source of state revenue. Even though the general property tax was left for the exclusive use of local governments, the limit of ten mills put them into a strait-jacket from which they have never been permitted entirely to escape.

Several possibilities presented themselves. Extra levies might be voted. But the General Assembly, in implementing this provision of the constitutional amendment, set 65 per cent as the majority to be required in voting such levies. This made the extra levy alternative practically worthless unless the local government enjoyed the utmost confidence of the voters.

A second possibility was the use of sources of revenue other than the general property tax. The state was already in most of these fields, however, and the courts had held that local governments could not levy taxes on sources already in use by the state. The most recent blow in this area was the invalidation by the Ohio Supreme Court of the Youngstown tax on utility bills on the ground that the state was already levying an excise tax on the business of public utilities. This decision affected several cities which had turned in desperation to a utility tax. The legal reason that Toledo could turn in 1946 to a city tax on payrolls and corporate net income is that Ohio had not preempted the net income tax field.

A third possibility was state subsidies. These came quickly. A 3 per cent sales tax was levied by the state and a large share of its proceeds were appropriated by the General Assembly as aid to counties, cities and villages on the basis of demonstrated need to enable the balancing of local budgets. The aid was never wholly adequate, however.

Prior to and during the 1947 Ohio General Assembly sessions both schools and municipalities urged upon its members the need for substantial increases in the allotment to them from sales tax revenues. Action taken by the assembly granted an increase of approximately $26,000,000 in the annual state subsidy for elementary and secondary education.

The financial problems of municipalities were met by an annual increase of $10,000,000 in allocation from state sales taxes and withdrawal by the state from certain fields which had been preempted for state use theretofore. The state has abandoned completely the field of admissions taxes thus leaving this source to local levy and collection.

Another measure, effective September 1947, deprives the state of revenue from cigarette licenses and distributes the proceeds three-fourths to the municipality or township where the wholesaler or retailer is located and one-fourth to the general fund of the county. The former distribution was one-half to the state, one-fourth to the county and one-fourth to the municipality or township. Another source of revenue which should mean approximately $3,000,000 per year for Ohio municipalities is the devotion to their needs of the tax on financial institutions and dealers in intangibles.

It is too early yet to say that these measures will solve completely the local financial problem which has plagued Ohio cities since the adoption of the ten-mill tax limitation, but the future looks more hopeful than at any time since 1933.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Jersey Constitution Revision Moves Fast

Careful Planning Helps Delegates Meet Deadline

SPEED has been the keynote of New Jersey's Constitutional Convention. The law authorizing the convention set a three-month time limit on its deliberations, ending September 12. Voters will have an opportunity to speak their piece on November 4.

Constitutional revision became an active issue when Governor Charles Edison, in his inaugural address in 1941, urged the calling of a convention. The files of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW carry the blow by blow description of the unsuccessful fight made by revisionists during succeeding years to change the constitution[1]—the Hendrickson report in 1942; the hearings by a joint legislative committee the same year; defeat of the plan by which the legislature would sit as a constitutional convention; revival of the plan in 1943 and its adoption after pressure from Governor Walter E. Edge; contest over the constitution proposed by the legislature and its defeat by popular referendum in 1944. Revision seemed dead.

The corpse sprang suddenly to life when Governor Alfred E. Driscoll in January 1947 devoted a portion of his inaugural address to the necessity for a new constitution. The legislature quickly passed a bill calling for popular ratification of a limited constitutional convention—limited in that the convention was prohibited from considering the question of county boundaries and representation in the legislature.

In order to keep party politics at a minimum, a major factor in the defeat of the 1944 proposals, delegates in many counties were proposed on a bipartisan basis. This gesture on the part of the Republicans in power had its effect in the convention's initial operations which were remarkably free of party strife.

There was no great hue and cry about holding a convention prior to the vote on June 3. The governor made a few speeches in various sections of the state. Mayor Hague declared in favor of the convention, a gesture that was not meaningless as was evidenced by Hudson County's fifteen-to-one affirmative vote. Civic groups were almost unanimous in their endorsement of the project. Convinced that they had everything to gain and nothing to lose, the voters approved the holding of the convention by a ratio of five to one. Eighty-one delegates, chosen on the same numerical basis as the legislature, were elected to draft a new constitution.

The preparation of research materials for the use of the delegates was entrusted to an unpaid group of professors, attorneys and state officials under supervision of Sidney Goldmann of the State Library. Over 30 individual studies were originally scheduled,[2] and most of them were completed before the opening of the convention. W. Brooke Graves' study, *What Should a Constitution Contain,* was reproduced as one of the series.

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[1] See especially "New Task for a Legislature," by John E. Bebout, the REVIEW, January 1944, page 17.

[2] See page 475, this issue, for a list of these reports.

Careful organizational planning on the part of the governor and his staff was evidenced by the progress made at the first session of the convention at Rutgers University the morning of June 12. When the afternoon session adjourned at 4.30 all the formalities incident to the certification and swearing in of the delegates were concluded; the governor had presented his views of the convention's task; a president, two vice presidents, and a secretary had been elected; rules, previously prepared, had been adopted for the governance of the convention; and a timetable had been agreed upon for the meetings of the convention. This procedure was in sharp contrast to the opening of the 1844 convention when several hours were consumed in a debate over the question of opening the meeting with prayer.

An initial recess of one week permitted the president to appoint the following nine standing committees—eleven delegates were appointed to the first five and seven to the others: rights, privileges, amendments and miscellaneous provisions; judiciary; legislative; taxation and finance; executive, militia and civil officers; submission and address to the people; arrangement and form; rules, organization and business affairs; credentials, printing and authentication of documents. After the convention had been in session five weeks, a five-man committee on public relations was appointed.

The practice of meeting in full session every Tuesday morning was adopted in order to take up any problems affecting the convention as a whole. Committee meetings were held Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. These proceeded with commendable dispatch and every person who wanted to testify had an opportunity to do so. The proceedings of general sessions and committee meetings were recorded by state secretarial personnel and by Sound Scriber, and were made available in the convention library.

After the hearings were completed, the committees drew up tentative proposals. Three of the committees, in charge of the legislative, executive, and judicial articles, held additional hearings in order to obtain public sentiment on their proposals before final revision and submission to the convention. The committee on taxation and finance and the committee on rights, privileges, amendments, and miscellaneous provisions held additional hearings after their proposals were printed and ready for submission to the convention. No last-minute changes were made by either. General debate beginning August 11 was scheduled on a five- or six-day-week basis, each speaker being limited to one hour on any one subject.

Bennett M. Rich
Rutgers University

Constitutional Revision in Other States

Besides New Jersey, where a constitutional convention has been in session as noted above, and Minnesota and Oklahoma, where an interim commission and the legislative council, respectively, are studying their state constitutions with a view to revision,[1] activities directed toward constitutional changes are at various stages of progress in several states.

New Hampshire. The 1947 New Hampshire legislature has provided machinery for the holding of a constitutional convention, in accordance with the mandate of the voters last November, 49,230 to 29,336. (This question is submitted to popular vote every seven years.) Delegates are to be elected at the 1948 town meetings in the same manner as legislators except that the election will be on a nonpartisan basis and every town will have representation. The convention will assemble in May 1948 and will meet during that summer. Any amendments adopted by the convention will be submitted to popular vote in November 1948. Among important issues are taxation, strengthening the powers of the governor and reducing the size of the legislature.

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[1] See the July Review, pages 390 and 391.

California. A resolution establishing a legislative constitutional revision committee of ten assemblymen and ten senators, authorized "to prepare, suitable to the needs of the state, a draft of a revised constitution," was passed by the 1947 legislature. It provides also for advisory committees of lay citizens. A proposal for a constitutional convention passed the Assembly but was defeated in the Senate.

Michigan. At the November election next year the voters of Michigan will decide whether to call a convention to revise the constitution. The provision for such a referendum was adopted by the legislature as a substitute for a bill to authorize a constitutional revision study committee to recommend constitutional changes.

Tennessee. The Memphis, Tennessee, League of Women Voters has prepared a complete revision of the state constitution, for submission to the Tennessee League of Women Voters in mid-September. One of the main features decided upon is a single-chamber legislature. Other ideas tentatively agreed on include a legislative council, increase of legislators' terms, to be staggered, from two to four years, and extension of the initiative and referendum.

Kentucky. A public opinion poll in the nine congressional districts of Kentucky by the Kentucky Poll, a subsidiary of Southern Surveys, Inc., on the question of calling a constitutional convention, indicated that two-thirds of those who had an opinion on the subject favored a convention. Forty-five per cent of those polled had formed no opinion; 38 per cent of the total desired a convention to be held and only 17 per cent were definitely against it. Only persons qualified and intending to vote were supposed to be interviewed.

Washington and Michigan Act Against Public Strikes

The 1947 legislature of the state of Washington has included in the omnibus appropriation bill a provision that no part of any appropriation thereunder shall be used to pay the salary or wages of any person who has engaged in a strike against the state or any office, department or agency thereof, or against any political subdivision of the state, nor of any person who is a member of an organization of government employees that asserts the right to strike against the federal, state or local government.

Michigan's 1947 legislature passed an act prohibiting strikes by employees of the state, municipalities and school districts. According to the *Michigan Municipal Review,* which reports the new law, "a public employee who violates the provisions of this act must be discharged from service and lose all special privileges such as retirement benefits." Such discharged employees are entitled to a hearing before a labor mediation board and may be re-employed under certain conditions.

New York Court Limits Veterans' Preference

Only veterans who have a disability rating of at least 10 per cent from the Veterans Administration (anything less than that being classified as "zero per cent" by the VA) are entitled to preference as disabled veterans in regard to public employment, according to a decision of the New York Court of Appeals on July 2 in the test case of *Winternitz* v. *Morton.* The decision upheld one by the lower court.

The case was sponsored by the New York Civil Service Reform Association, in an effort to obtain an interpretation of the New York constitutional amendment giving an extreme degree of preference to disabled veterans in appointments to public employment and promotions therein. Preference under the amendment has hitherto been applied to all veterans with any disability, however slight, given any rating by the Veterans Administration.

The association had ascertained that approximately 20 per cent of disability preferences approved by the New York State Civil Service Commission during 1946 were in the so-called "zero per cent" group, or less than 10 per cent rating— the minimum rating recognized in the federal civil service; they included such matters as foot callouses, knee sprains, flat feet, etc.

The New York state and municipal commissions are not yet following the decision, according to the association, but when they accept the interpretation not only will the civil service benefit but the genuinely disabled veterans, as well as non-disabled veterans, will be protected against the claims of those as to whom no disability any longer exists or where it is negligible.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The town of **Manchester, Connecticut,** (23,799) adopted a council-manager charter on June 30 by a vote of 1,814 to 870. The vote was about 19 per cent of the total number of voters, but is reported to be the largest ever recorded in Manchester on a single question. At the September primary a nine-member board of directors will be nominated along with a town clerk, treasurer, two registrars of voters, three selectmen, seven constables, seven justices of the peace and three members of the board of education. Election will be the first Monday in October. The board of directors will select a general manager. The charter, previously passed by the state legislature, provides that the town can amend it without further recourse to the legislature.

On August 6, by a vote of 4,036 to 2,359, the largest ever cast in the community, **Milford, Connecticut,** (16,439) adopted a council-manager charter. The charter act had previously been passed by the state legislature following a favorable referendum by Milford voters on April 3.

Boothbay and **Pittsfield, Maine,** both adopted the manager plan at their annual town meetings.

Pompano, Florida, (4,427) and **Whiteville, North Carolina,** (3,011) have adopted the manager plan.

The city council of **Bessemer, Alabama** (population 22,826) has adopted the state's council-manager enabling act.

Pearisburg, Virginia, now has the manager plan through adoption of an ordinance.

Anadarko, Oklahoma, (population 5,579) adopted a council-manager charter on August 5 by a vote of 465 to 292. The new council will consist of seven members, five elected from existing wards and two at large. The councilman-at-large receiving the larger vote shall be the mayor. Besides the city manager the council appoints the municipal counsellor, city treasurer and municipal judge.

Lindsay, Oklahoma, adopted a council-manager charter on June 20 by a vote of 84 to 8.

Trinidad, Colorado, (population 13,223) adopted the state's optional council-manager plan act on June 24, 1,380 to 1,286.

In **La Junta, Colorado,** (7,040) the manager plan has also been adopted, to become effective in November 1947.

Lexington, Nebraska, (3,688) adopted the manager plan on August 12 by a vote of three to one.

River Hills, Wisconsin, (500) has established the manager plan by ordinance.

In **Tillamook, Oregon,** (2,751) a council-manager charter amendment, effective August 1, was approved in June by a vote of 123 to 96.

Petaluma, California, (8,034) voted for the council-manager plan, 1,345 to 1,119 on June 10, which action was ratified by state legislation on June 18, effective immediately.

The legislature of **New Hampshire** has passed and the governor has signed a bill enabling the city of **Dover** to adopt the council-manager plan if approved at a special referendum to be held September 23. The movement has been sponsored by the Veterans Civic Committee of Dover.

Petitions containing more than 4,500 signatures, asking that a Plan E council-manager charter be submitted to referendum at the November election, have been filed in **Medford, Massachusetts.** Only 3,400 signatures are required. The Plan E for **Somerville** Organization has filed petitions with signatures of 7,158 registered voters (4,194 needed), requesting that adoption of Plan E be placed on the November ballot. Plan E petitions have also been filed in **Fitchburg** with a thousand signatures more than needed, in **Pittsfield,** and in **Worcester**—all requesting that a referendum be held in November.

Darien, Connecticut, has defeated a council-manager proposal, 1,219 to 678.

The Charter Board of **Fairmont, West Virginia,** which has had under consideration various forms of government and engaged Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed as consultants, has decided upon the council-manager plan. The charter is to be ready by mid-October.

The 1947 **North Carolina** legislature has passed legislation enabling the voters of **Winston-Salem** to vote on the council-manager plan and also on extension of the city limits. An election on both proposals, which have the endorsement of the city's board of aldermen, has been suggested for early in 1948.

The **Columbia, South Carolina,** Chamber of Commerce has voted unanimously in favor of council-manager government.

City Manager J. J. Rauch has accepted reappointment as manager of **Greenwood, South Carolina,** because of action by the city council which went on record as reaffirming its support of the principles of the city's council-manager charter, with the manager given his full power and authority. Mr. Rauch had resigned because of the failure of council to give full effect to the charter's provisions.

The charter commission of **Coldwater, Michigan,** has decided on the council-manager plan. The new charter will probably be submitted to a referendum this fall.

At a charter election in **Faribault, Minnesota,** in July the council-manager plan failed of adoption by a vote of 758 to 1,131.

Houston, Texas, abandoned the manager plan at an election on July 26, wherein eight charter amendments were adopted, effective August 1.

The repeal movement was led by Mayor Oscar F. Holcombe, who carried a majority of the city councilmen with him at last fall's election, on a ticket pledged to abolish the office of manager.[1] One of the amendments transfers all the powers and duties of the manager to the mayor. It was approved by a vote of 13,432 to 11,159 out of a potential vote of 90,000 or more. The mayor thus has complete administrative authority without any control by the council except as to the budget. Another amendment raises the mayor's salary from $200 to $20,000 a year. The city controller's salary is raised from $4,800 to $8,400 a year. Five of the eight councilmen, formerly representing districts but elected at large, will be elected from their respective districts. Councilmen's salaries are raised from $1,500 to $3,600 a year. The council can appropriate up to $5,000 a year for the mayor's expenses, not subject to an accounting.

Muskogee, Oklahoma, on August 5, by a vote of 4,064 to 2,208, defeated a proposed charter amendment to abolish the council-manager plan and substitute a mayor-commissioner plan.

In **Tulsa, Oklahoma,** the League of Women Voters is making a study of city government forms with special emphasis on the manager plan.

Okemah and **Purcell, Oklahoma,** failed to adopt council-manager charters—Okemah by 499 to 422 on June 24 and Purcell by 779 to 396 on July 1.

The people of **Cheyenne, Wyoming,** will at last have the opportunity to vote on the council-manager plan. The Wyoming Supreme Court on June 10 affirmed the judgment of the lower court which a year ago ruled that a referendum should be held, as petitioned for in 1945 but refused by the mayor at that time. The Junior Chamber of Commerce, which had sponsored the petition, sought a writ of mandamus and was successful in the district court. The city thereupon appealed to the Supreme Court.

In **Las Vegas, Nevada,** which has had a city manager since 1943, a charter revision committee under city auspices is working on a complete revamping of the charter, for submission to the next legislature in 1949.

In **Modesto, California,** a committee of fifteen freeholders named by the chairman of the city council and approved by the council, is revising the city's 1910 charter and will incorporate the council-manager plan. The revision will be submitted to popular vote at a special election.

Burlingame and **Eureka, California,** defeated proposed council-manager plans in June. In Burlingame the vote was 1,555 to 1,218, a total of 2,773 in a total registration of 8,699. In Eureka, a somewhat larger city, the vote was approximately 3,700 to 1,800.

The city council of **Claremont, California,** approved a recommendation of the Claremont League of Women Voters that the city institute the council-manager form of government. The plan is to be placed before the voters this fall.

The city council of **Auburn, California,** has directed the city attorney to draft a council-manager ordinance for study by the council.

In **Newport, Oregon,** a charter amendment to provide a council-manager government was defeated by a vote of 200 to 134.

A short course program for the city managers of **Florida** was conducted in June by the General Extension Division of the University of Florida at Gainesville, in cooperation with the Florida State City Managers Association. Similar courses had been held prior to the war. Budgeting, organization, planning, staffing, training and public relations were among the subjects discussed. Clarence E. Ridley, director of the International City Managers' Association, led the discussions. Professors J. E. Dovell and M. J. Dauer also participated in the program. The course was attended by 55 managers and other officials.

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[1] See editorial, page 428, this issue.

The **Pennsylvania** Managers Association was organized in April at a meeting held in State College and attended by sixteen of the 35 borough and township managers of the state. Various important problems were discussed and two committees, on municipal insurance and retirement plans, respectively, were appointed. Hugh B. Rice, borough manager of State College, was elected president, and Carl W. Fuehrer, borough manager of Ephrata, secretary-treasurer.

Three Texas Communities to Form Manager City

An unusual type of municipal consolidation is under way in an industrial area somewhat to the east of Houston, Texas, where Goose Greek and Pelly, council-manager municipalities, together with the unincorporated community of Baytown, decided to combine as a single council-manager city. The first step was the annexation of Baytown by Pelly, after which a vote was taken in all three areas, resulting in the decision to consolidate.

A "straw vote" taken at the same time indicated the desire of the people to adopt the name of Baytown for the new city. Thereafter Pelly absorbed Goose Creek, the name of Pelly being retained until unification has been completed and a new charter is adopted. A new city council was elected in April and a charter commission was appointed. Bill N. Taylor, former city manager of Beaumont and McAllen, Texas, was appointed consultant to assist in the charter drafting and the unification problems, financial and otherwise.

The new charter cannot be submitted to a vote before December 9, inasmuch as the present Pelly charter was adopted December 7, 1945, and a two-year interval must elapse before a vote on a new charter.

Mayor Without a City

Another community near Houston, Greens Bayou, fearful of being annexed by Galena Park, adjacent thereto, held an election in July on the question of incorporation and for choosing a mayor and two commissioners. Three candidates were successful—except for the fact that the voters decided against incorporation, 145 to 133.

Metropolitan Area Forms Smoke Abatement Committee

Some 30 municipalities in the Detroit area have formed a Metropolitan Committee on Smoke Abatement and Sanitation. The committee, organized at the suggestion of Mayor Jeffries of Detroit, will work for securing a uniformity of planning and parallel action in the two fields covered.

City and Town Clerks Form National Organization

The National Institute of City and Town Clerks, which held its first annual meeting earlier this year, is now functioning, with John J. Coffey, city clerk of Buffalo, New York, as president. Its constitution specifies cooperation of local government clerks, recorders and secretaries in practical study of municipal questions within their jurisdiction; meetings for discussion of current city and town problems; furnishing useful information to members; and safeguarding the interests of municipalities in connection with proposed legislation.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Learning by Doing in Pittsburgh Schools

Pupils Conduct Election Project as Elders Vote

THE annual student election project of the Pittsburgh public schools has received much favorable publicity from coast to coast during the past few years. This project is, of course, but one phase of the larger school program which aims to develop appreciation for our democratic landmarks through participation in the actual processes of a democratic way of life.

In this project the school is attempting to prepare students for their duties as voters through activities that will give them understanding of political procedures, skill in finding and using information, and help in adopting attitudes of good citizenship.

Close to 35,000 students participate in the election project, balloting for candidates actually running for public office. They study each candidate's biography and record, then cast their ballots on the city's regular election day.

Since 1932 the students have participated in many, if not all, of the electoral pursuits of the adult members of the community. Municipal, state and national candidates of all parties have undergone the critical inspection of high school students. Uniform registration cards, voters' certificates, printed ballots arranged like the face of a voting machine, and tally and return sheets, patterned from Pennsylvania's election laws, have been used. They lend an atmosphere of political reality to the hundreds of voting districts in the 64 schools in which the elections are conducted.

Citizenship chairmen—social studies teachers with an interest and an aptitude for such activities—organize the schools by classrooms or home rooms, with students officiating, into voting districts to carry on the voting and the preliminary tallying. Students in each room nominate and vote for election officials, watchers, etc., from among their own number.

In the larger schools centralized rooms are used for counting the votes with adding machines frequently employed to summarize the tally. These tallies are telephoned to the Administration Building, where the grand totals are computed by students. Students from the seventh grade through the twelfth actually participate and plan all the details in much the same manner as the county election board. No publicity is given to the results of the election until after the regular election results are announced.

The election project, which is considered by educators and civic leaders who have observed it as one of the finest learning experiences in which children can engage, has two specific objectives: (1) a medium through which young citizens can learn to appreciate the virtues to be gained from a faithful application of the highest political ideals to their own election duties; (2) the means through which apprentice citizens may master such electoral techniques and mechanics as reading and marking ballots, answering the legally prescribed questions for registration and voting, and accurately tallying election results for the voting districts, the individual school and the city.

Graduate Testimony

Observations from the graduates of our schools have some testimonial value. After six continuous years of studying political practices and voting procedures, graduates believe they have become better prepared to think independently about election issues and to avoid most errors connected with the marking of the ballot. As more such graduate citizens become intelligently active in political affairs, the better the chances will be, they think, that an alert citizenry will shoulder the responsibility for maintaining and improving the democratic processes of voting and holding office. They are convinced that the public schools have been developing political democracy by teaching the children of all the people—natives and immigrants, rich and poor, educated and illiterate—to choose their political leaders on merit and without consciousness of race, color or creed.

Teachers who have sponsored the election project have considered it a practical method of learning political attitudes and skills. Many of these citizenship chairmen have emphasized the growth of student interest in the social studies, the use of rules of order for political discussions, and the critical evaluation of political literature and oratory.

In respect to literature, teachers have discovered that the *Voters' Directory*, supplied to the schools by the **Civic Club of Allegheny County**[1] and the **Allegheny County League of Women Voters**, has been uniformly nonpartisan and a reliable source of information on those candidates who have submitted their qualifications.

A cooperative spirit, loaded with student vitality, is evident on election day, when youthful Pittsburghers, possessed with a seriousness of purpose not usually identified with youth, exercise their right to vote.

The annual school election project removes skills and attitudes from their usual textbook setting and gives them local as well as national importance; it presents a clearer and more tangible conception of democracy in action; and it specifically promotes democratic discussion, decision and doing. It is based upon the educational philosophy that the performance of their duties by school citizens in a democracy is the surest guarantee of the continuance of the rights and privileges of a democracy, especially when these privileges are linked inseparably with responsibilities.

"Chuck full" of educational and civic values for boys and girls, the annual school election project of the Pittsburgh public schools is also significant for the community at large.

C. H. W. Pullen, *Supervisor*
Citizenship and Social Studies
Pittsburgh Public Schools

Boys and Girls Become Governors for a Day

An act of the 1947 Massachusetts legislature provides for the assembling of a "student legislature" on Friday, January 9, 1948, at the State House in Boston. Earlier, students in high schools throughout the state will chose from their ranks a house of representatives of 240 members and a senate of 40. At the morning session these students will function as committees, holding hearings on bills. After luncheon they will conduct sessions of the two branches, debating and voting on proposed legislation.

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[1] The public schools of Pittsburgh have asked for 35,000 copies of the *Voters Directory*, with additional requests from county and parochial schools for over 8,000 more. Editor.

Author of the bill, Senator Sumner G. Whittier of Everett, requested the **Massachusetts Civic League,** Miss Miriam Butler, executive secretary, to sponsor the program and the league has agreed to do so. According to the *Lens* the league "felt it was an extremely worthwhile project and that it would supplement nicely the activities of our own Students' Committee on State Affairs."

High school students at Long Beach, New York, took over management of the city government for a day during **Boy and Girl Scout** week. The student body elected officials from their own number, including a city manager, councilmen, city clerk, treasurer and corporation counsel.

Meeting yearly since 1939 at the University of North Carolina, the **Tar Heel Boys' State,** sponsored by the **American Legion,** has been giving boys an opportunity of developing a sense of responsibility as citizens. This year 245 school seniors from 95 cities and towns attended.

As reported by *Popular Government,* "Their teachers during this week of study were city, county and state officials, university faculty members and leading citizens. During the week the boys themselves, each of whom was 'born into' either the 'Federalist' or the 'Nationalist' party upon arrival in Chapel Hill, followed North Carolina election laws in electing their city and county officials, their governor, general assembly and other state officials. These elected officials of Boys' State, putting into practice the theories of government they learned during the week, convened as city councils, county boards of commissioners, various state boards and commissions, and the general assembly. They practice the job of meeting the problems of government faced every day by local and state officials of North Carolina."

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Hartford Citizens Organize

Organization of the **Hartford Citizens Charter Committee** as a permanent group is termed a "far-reaching development in Hartford politics and government," by the *Hartford Courant.* "Never before in the history of Hartford has a nonpartisan group of this sort gone into business on a permanent basis."[1] An eighteen-member board was elected at the organization meeting as the committee's governing body. In its hands will rest the choosing of a slate of six councilmanic candidates, four education board candidates and one candidate for city treasurer, who will receive the backing of the committee at local elections. Former Mayor William H. Mortensen is honorary chairman.

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Turn About Is Fair Play

Noted for taking "pot-shots" at local officials and politicians, the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy,** Harry K. Butcher, secretary, is publishing in its *Civic Affairs* a boxed "Compliment-of-the Month." A recent issue commends "Ralph Pitman, city treasurer, for showing by example that public offices can be attractive in appearance and that service to the public can be placed upon a courteous, efficient and business-like basis."

* * *

Seattle League Now 3,500

"With an increase in membership from 345 in 1939 to 3,500, President Donald Yates [of the **Seattle Municipal League**] had reason to be happy last week," reports the *Seattle Municipal News,* "as he watched Membership

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[1] See also "Campaign Groups Plan Permanent Organizations," the REVIEW, July 1947, page 403.

Committee Chairman A. J. Quigley welcome his son, Arthur S. Quigley, as the league's 3,500th member. . . When the new leaguer, an attorney and lieutenant in the Naval Reserve, was asked if he'd like to follow in his father's footsteps and join the membership committee, he said: 'I'd have quite a job matching Dad's work. I think I'll try another committee.'"

* * *

Yonkers Plans Fall Election

Both the newly organized **Yonkers Municipal League,** Eugene A. Buzzell, executive secretary, and the **Yonkers City Manager League,** Bertha Smith, president, which appointed committees to cooperate in the selection of candidates for the P. R. election of council this fall, have announced their combined ticket. The two groups[1] have endorsed the candidacies of Mayor Curtiss E. Frank and Councilwoman Edith P. Welty, strong supporters of the manager plan, as well as those of three lesser known candidates.

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Radio Forum

"How Can Citizens' Councils Benefit New Jersey Communities?" was the topic of a broadcast under the auspices of the **Rutgers University Forum** over stations WAAT in Newark, WCTC in New Brunswick and WSNJ in Bridgeton. Speakers were Mrs. Vera W. Beggs, chairman, and Mrs. Frederick A. Kuser, secretary, of the **New Jersey Citizens' Conference;** John E. Bebout, assistant secretary of the National Municipal League; and William Falcey, state chairman of the **New Jersey State Council of the American Veterans Committee.**

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Speakers Bureau

Members of the Speakers Bureau of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** made 160 addresses in all parts of the state from September 17 last until May 26. Director of the bureau, Roscoe C. Walker, announces that the bureau's fall and winter program is now being prepared and that speaking engagements will be accepted for the period beginning September 15.

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Recent Conferences

A report on the **Citizens Conference on Planning,** held in Milwaukee last spring, appeared in the April issue of *Planning and Civic Comment,* published by the **American Planning and Civic Association,** Harlean James, executive secretary.

More effective leadership in community life was the objective of the Fourth Annual Conference on the Small Community held in Yellow Springs, Ohio, in July, under the sponsorship of **Community Services, Inc.,** Arthur E. Morgan, president and director.

Town of Tomorrow, third annual institute of community leadership at Manlius, New York, was held July 9-18 under the joint auspices of the **New York State Citizens' Council** and the **Bureau of Adult Education of the New York State Education Department.** Rhea M. Eckel was director.

Held also at Manlius, July 7-August 2, under the same auspices with the cooperation of various universities and organizations, was the **Cooperative Workshop in Community Education and Development.**

The *Report of the Fifth Annual State Conference of the New York State Community Service Council,* at Schenectady, New York, summer of 1946, (28 pages) may be secured through the **Bureau of Adult Education, State Education Department,** Albany 1, New York, Miss Rita M. Cowan, state supervisor.

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[1] See also the REVIEW, July 1947, page 403.

A "Conference at the White House for the Purpose of Organizing the American Heritage Program and Inaugurating the Freedom Train" was held May 22 under the sponsorship of the Attorney General of the United States. A descriptive brochure has been issued by the Attorney General's office.

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Chicago Lockups Called Cesspools

According to a survey made by members of the **Chicago City Club,** William H. Haight, president, Chicago's police lockups are characterized by disease and filth and are a disgrace to a modern city. "These lockups are, for the most part, substandard and unfit for human habitation," comments the report.

* * *

Mrs. Catt Honored

The **League of Women Voters of the U. S.,** Miss Anna Lord Strauss, president, plans an extra-budget fund of $100,000 as a "living memorial" to its founder, Carrie Chapman Catt. The fund will be used "to explore new techniques and to apply those which have evolved in 27 years of league experience to new and broader fields such as women in other countries and student groups." Mrs. Charles Heming, a member of the national board, will serve as chairman of the committee to raise the fund.

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A Bow to Leo Tiefenthaler

Leo Tiefenthaler completed 30 years of service as civic secretary of the City Club of Milwaukee in May and was guest of honor at a surprise party at the club. About 200 club members, city and county officials, and friends attended.

In an illustrated talk Mr. Tiefenthaler was alternately lauded for his service to the community and ribbed concerning his interest in poetry, his research on mushrooms and his work in the photographic field.

Walter H. Bender read a resolution of tribute adopted by the common council of the city and signed by Mayor John L. Bohn and by every member of the council. Club President James T. Guy referred to Mr. Tiefenthaler as "a man of broad judgment and high purpose" and presented to him a resolution adopted by the club's Board of Directors in which his loyal leadership was praised. Seventy-five letters of commendation from city officials and friends were presented to Mr. Tiefenthaler, together with a radio-phonograph and an electric desk clock.

JAMES T. GUY, *President*
Milwaukee City Club

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Strictly Personal

Albert A. Arditti, formerly chairman of the Long Beach Citizens' Union and prime factor in the successful campaign to secure the council-manager plan and P. R. for that city, has been re-elected a member of the union's board of directors.

Frank J. Richter has been elected president of the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League for the 1947-48 term.

John P. Reynolds, research assistant to the Toledo Municipal League, has resigned to become administrative assistant to the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance.

Fred R. Jueneman, field representative for the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey in Southeastern Missouri, has been appointed a Sloane Fellow for 1947-48 in the graduate Department of Government Management at Denver University.

Proportional Representation • • *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Extended in France

Suggested for India Still Sought in Boston

ON August 13 the French National Assembly voted to use the list system of proportional representation in the forthcoming October municipal elections in all communities with over 9,000 inhabitants. P. R. has been used in the last three national elections—all since the war—but in municipal elections only in the city of Paris. The smaller communities will still use the older French system of majority voting, with a second balloting for places not filled by a full majority in the first election.

P. R. Proposed by Moslems in India

The Constituent Assembly now framing a constitution for India, one of the two dominions to be created out of the present India, has rejected a proposal of the Moslem League for selection of the Council of Ministers by the legislature on the basis of proportional representation by a single transferable vote, according to a dispatch to the *New York Times* July 29. According to the proposal the Council of Ministers would apparently have combined the function of a cabinet and of what is known in American practice as a legislative council—a council representing all parties for guiding the work of the legislature.

The Indian Constituent Assembly voted instead for the usual parliamentary form of government, with a prime minister who is also the leader of the majority group in the legislature. The prime minister is to be chosen by the president of the dominion, but will be responsible to the legislature. The Council of Ministers will hold their appointments from the president and the prime minister, but presumably the latter will, as is the usual case, actually make the selections.

Whether the Moslem League will advance the proportionately elected council proposal in the deliberations on the constitution of Pakistan, where Moslem League backing is likely to be decisive, will be interesting to observe.

India has had actual experience with P. R. The system has been used for important federal and provincial legislative committees and was prescribed for the election of over three-quarters of the members of the Federal Assembly by members of the provincial assemblies. Bengal, Bihar and Burma have used it in certain indirect elections.

'Plan E' Still Sought in Boston

For nearly 40 years the voters of Boston have not had an opportunity to pass upon any really significant change in their city charter, although a considerable amount of civic energy has been expended in defending or patching the present charter. As the years have gone by, however, such tactics have become increasingly pallid and unproductive.

Development over the last two years of demands for a council-manager plan for Boston, with the proportional representation feature, opened the prospect of an alternative to existing municipal arrangements. While the current effort to secure permissive legislation was set back in the State Senate during the 1947 session of the General Court, sponsors of "Plan E" for Boston (P. R.-council-manager combination) are determined to continue their campaign, confident that if the issue can be carried to the voters, it will find a strong response. Advocates of basic revision in city government are certain that no real improvement can come by any mere shift in political personalities or by any further tinkering with the present charter.

Example of Cambridge

As to the soundness of their views, they can point not only to Boston's recurring difficulties but also to the example of Cambridge, which has made notable progress under the Massachusetts Plan E form of government since 1941. Boston may be impervious to distant illustrations of municipal advancement, but the nearness of Cambridge and its story of success are another matter.[1] Local newspapers reflect a steady flow of favorable publicity from across the Charles River, and friends of council-manager government are being spared the trouble of turning to the hinterland for a good report on results elsewhere of their own program for Boston.[2]

In discussing charter reform in Boston, there is the paradox that the city has been operating under a reform charter since 1909. This instrument included many provisions which were a model in their time and which are held in high repute today—such as the short ballot, nonpartisan elections, and concentration of responsibility in a single executive. The 1909 charter, however, has not produced the anticipated results. Reasons go deep and it is enough to cite such factors as a changing electorate, the corroding effects of urban decentralization, loss of leadership and civic vigor, the resourcefulness of professional operators, and the luster and appeal of outstanding political figures.

What is more, the charter no longer serves as a rallying point for civic interest, as was the case for so many years. On at least three occasions there appeared to be some necessity for strengthening or refining the charter—to correct its possible shortcomings and restore the confidence in which it was at first held. Special interim commissions were created for this purpose in 1923, in 1933, and as recently as 1946. The quality of each commission report, the concern it aroused, and the actual results which followed show a persistent decline.

The 1946 commission made its report during the current session of the legislature. None of its recommendations was enacted except for a proposal that the windy debates of the city council be no longer published verbatim. Even a recommendation for abolition of the much criticized ward council and substitution of a council elected at large failed in the closing days of the General Court. In a year of extraordinary municipal developments, therefore, the city government of Boston was left untouched—except to cover the situation arising from what is described as Mayor James M. Curley's temporary absence from the city.

While the 1946 commission took notice of Plan E, it devised a method of referendum which council-manager adherents could not consistently support. The commission wanted an immediate plebiscite on election of a small city council either by proportional representation or by limited voting. During 1948, by petition and referendum, the manager plan could have been grafted on to the small council, but in the meantime the method of electing the council would have been established. In brief, the commission did not provide for a clean-cut referendum on the council-manager and P. R. combination.

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[1] See page 444, this issue.

[2] The experience of Cambridge and Lowell is bearing fruit also in other Massachusetts cities. Fitchburg, Medford, Pittsfield, Somerville and Worcester, have petitions on file for a vote on the adoption of Plan E this fall (see page 456). EDITOR.

An Enterprising Campaign

Up to the point where the manager plan bill was defeated, a Plan E for Boston Committee assumed the task of stimulating support. The committee, operating with limited resources and working against the barriers which surround every form of citizen action in Boston, was energetic and enterprising. It carried the cause of good government into wards of the city where such effort is all but unknown. It secured wide and favorable publicity. And it was laying the groundwork for a much more ambitious program, once its legislative goal had been reached. Nevertheless, it was unable to dent the solid Democratic opposition at the State House or prevent the defection of a small but controlling block of Republican votes in the Senate.

In more than one sense, the 1947 drive for a permissive Plan E statute for Boston is important. It has shown rather decisively the threadbare character of piecemeal approach to charter issues in Boston. Reforming a reform charter to correct conditions which bear little relation to the charter itself is now a wornout procedure.

Next it has been demonstrated that Plan E, as adapted to Boston, offers a full-scale alternative. If charter change is the method to secure new leadership and revitalize civic energies in Boston, it will be a severe assignment to offer a proposal better calculated to excite interest and attract the type of zealous support which is so obviously needed.

If adequate support for the council-manager and P. R. platform is lacking, the city will have to drift along as it has or fall back on the line of reasoning contained in a minority statement of the 1946 charter commission report, wherein it is argued that there is "nothing wrong with Boston that could not be cured by a good mayor, public interest and more revenue from sources other than real estate."

Attainment of any or all of these objectives, plus others which come just as quickly to mind, would produce interesting and beneficial results. On the other hand, there are those who will protest that good things will come much more certainly under effective Plan E leadership and that such declarations as the one quoted above are designed to lull the electorate, set the taxpayers at odds, and belittle change.

RICHARD A. ATKINS, *Secretary*
Boston Municipal Research Bureau

Vacancy Recount Made in Yonkers

On August 4 the city of Yonkers held its second recount to fill a vacancy in its proportionately elected city council. One of the Democratic minority members of the council, Vice Mayor James A. Sullivan, had resigned under fire in a council investigation of graft and misuse of city property in a gambling scandal. The ballots recounted were the quota which had elected Mr. Sullivan in 1945 together with just less than a quota which had not elected anyone in 1945, in other words all the ballots which did not share in the election of the councilmen remaining in office, some 15,000 in all. Since the vacating member and the runner-up, Benjamin Barnes, were both Democratic, it was not surprising that the latter won out handsomely in the preferential recount; which was completed in one long day by a force of about 30, with Mr. Hallett of this department in actual charge as "consultant."

Mr. Sullivan had been vice mayor (vice chairman of the council under the council-manager plan) by virtue of being the runner-up in a preferential recount of all the P. R. council ballots in 1945 to determine the majority choice for mayor among the five councilmen. This unique feature of the Yonkers charter is designed to give the mayoralty ordinarily to the most popular candidate of the majority and the vice mayoralty to the leader of the minority. When the vice mayoralty becomes vacant it automatically goes to the next-to-last councilman eliminated in the mayoralty count, in this case Albert L. Fiorillo, a Republican endorsed by the City Manager League.

Petitions nominating 20 candidates for the regular council election on November 4 have been filed. The threatened petition campaign to repeal P. R. this fall has not materialized, its leaders announcing that it has been postponed till next year.

Baltimore Council Election Results Analyzed

An analysis of the Baltimore municipal election of May 6 by Dr. C. I. Winslow, president of the Citizens League of Baltimore, published in that city's *Evening Sun,* points out that although the vote was but 64 per cent in favor of Democratic party candidates and 36 per cent in favor of Republican candidates, twenty Democratic councilmen were elected and not a single Republican. The ordinary vagaries of the district plurality system were compounded by disproportions in the apportionment of councilmen among the six election districts, despite a partial correction of the latter factor in a new city charter. In district III, 14,124 Republicans elected no councilmen, whereas only 10,265 Democrats elected three councilmen in district II.

Dr. Winslow concluded his analysis with the observation: "The charter revision commission in its report preceding the adoption of the new charter took pains to point out that the present system of electing members of the city council fails to produce fair representation. In large part the same situation still prevails and awaits correction."

An attempt was recently made by the Citizens League and other Baltimore civic organizations to put P. R. on the ballot as a charter amendment. Insufficient signatures to the petitions were secured before the deadline, however, and the effort had to be postponed.

Senator Owen—Friend of P. R.

Robert L. Owen, lawyer and banker, who represented the state of Oklahoma in the United States Senate for three terms from 1907 to 1925, served on the Democratic National Committee and was the Senate sponsor of the Federal Reserve Act and the Farm Loan Act, included proportional representation among the fundamental reforms to which he gave his influential support. When the P. R. League was reorganized and revitalized in 1914 under the leadership of C. G. Hoag, he was a member of its first national advisory council. He remained a member of the council until his death at the age of 91 on July 19.

Baton Rouge Votes Consolidation

Miami and Dade County Lay Plans for a Similar Step

AT AN election held August 12, the city of Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish, Alabama, voted 7,012 to 6,705 to consolidate under a new city-parish charter. The document was prepared by a nine-man commission appointed in accordance with a constitutional amendment adopted at the polls in November 1946.

As a result of a series of public meetings, the proposed charter had been modified by the substitution of an elective mayor-president for the position of an appointive manager.[1] The City-Parish Charter Commission adopted the change in answer to the objections most generally voiced at the meetings. The proposed powers of the chief executive officer were not changed. The first election of officers under the new charter will be held in January 1948.

Miami and Dade County

City-county consolidation will be an issue to come before the voters of Dade County (Miami), Florida, at the primary election on May 25, 1948. Since city-county consolidation cannot be effected without first amending the state constitution, the proposition comes before the voters initially as a proposed constitutional amendment which will appear on the ballot in this form: "Shall there be submitted to the electors of the state of Florida at the general election to be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November 1948 for ratification or rejection Joint Resolution No. 407 relating to the consolidation of the county of Dade and city of Miami?"

The 1947 legislature enacted three related measures concerning city-county consolidation in Dade County, i.e., the proposed constitutional amendment and two special acts setting up the procedure for voting upon the constitutional amendment and for carrying out its provisions if adopted. These measures authorize Dade County voters to adopt a home rule charter consolidating Dade County, the city of Miami, the village of North Bay Island, the village of Virginia Gardens, the town of West Miami, and all other governmental subdivisions of the county, except "other municipalities," in a new city-county government.

If at the primary election on May 25, 1948, the voters of Dade County decide they wish to have the constitutional amendment submitted to the voters of the entire state on November 2, 1948, the state electorate would adopt or reject the constitutional amendment authorizing Dade County to draft and adopt a charter providing for city-county consolidation.

New Charter Provided

If the amendment is adopted, Dade County voters at a special election some time before February 8, 1949, would elect a charter board of fifteen members to frame a charter in 90 days. At another special election in the spring of 1949, Dade County voters would adopt or reject the proposed charter and, at the same time, elect the first board of commissioners of the new city-county. The latter election would, of course, be meaningless if the charter were defeated. If the constitutional amendment is adopted and a charter is submitted but rejected by the voters, a new charter board may be elected 30 days thereafter to frame another charter, and this may be repeated until a charter is adopted.

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[1] For description of the charter see the REVIEW, July 1947, page 413.

Once adopted, the charter would be the organic law of the county, superseding all special acts and general laws based upon population applicable to Dade County. It could be amended or repealed by initiative or referendum.

Only four of the existing municipalities, the city of Miami, the town of West Miami, the village of North Bay Island, and the village of Virginia Gardens, would be involved in the initial consolidation. The framers of the charter are directed to set forth the manner in which other municipalities might subsequently consolidate with the new county. However, such municipalities could not be consolidated with the county except on approval by a majority of their qualified voters. North Bay Island, West Miami and Virginia Gardens, each incorporated within the past two years, would be abolished by adoption of the amendment.

The plan proposed for Dade County provides for division of the county into districts, zones or boroughs and preserves the suburban municipalities, except North Bay Island, West Miami and Virginia Gardens, with full autonomy unless they subsequently vote to consolidate. This consolidation would give each locality the kind and quantity of services it wished, and provide tax differentials for the central city and both its richer and poorer suburbs. Furthermore it would permit the transfer of specific functions from municipalities to the county government without disturbing other functions of the governments involved.

Active civic groups sponsoring the consolidation movement include the League of Women Voters of Miami and the Dade County Research Foundation. More than 60 Greater Miami civic, labor and other groups have been invited to serve as a council to study the consolidation measure.

President's County Considers Manager Plan

Jackson County, Missouri, home county of President Truman, is organizing to adopt a manager charter under the state's new constitution. An attempt to secure the necessary signatures was made in 1945, but only 15,000 names were secured. The present movement, however, promises to be much more successful, for it already has received strong support in both Kansas City and Independence at opposite ends of the county.

Groups which have indicated their support include the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce, Kansas City A. F. of L. Central Labor Committee and the Kansas City League of Women Voters. A leader of the movement is Major Gen. E. M. Stayton (retired) of Independence. He pointed out that the groups listed above were exceedingly effective in the campaign for the new state constitution in 1945 and that this fact augurs well for the new campaign.

Wisconsin Legislature Rejects County Option Plan

The joint resolution to amend the Wisconsin state constitution to permit optional forms of county government was defeated recently in the State Assembly by a voice vote. There was no floor debate prior to the vote.

A move to reconsider was successful, but the bill was killed by a final vote of 52 to 33.

The resolution had been reported out favorably by the committee which had considered it, but it was opposed by the Milwaukee suburbs and the County Boards Association.

Charters for Michigan Townships

The governor of Michigan has approved legislation authorizing townships of 5,000 or more to adopt a charter form of government providing for a township manager. Townships of 2,000 or more adjoining a city of more than 25,000 population are given the same privilege.

The primary purpose of the legislation is to permit government reform in suburban townships. They will be permitted to establish police and fire services, public streets and other improvements. Adoption of health ordinances, traffic control and building codes are authorized for charter townships.

Based on the 1940 census, 60 townships are eligible under the law. Adoption requires a simple majority vote at a regular or special election called by the township board or upon an initiative petition signed by 10 per cent of the voters. The governing board is to consist of the supervisor, clerk, treasurer and four trustees elected for four-year terms. The board is authorized to hire a township superintendent with powers comparable to those of a city manager. He would prepare the annual budget, serve as personnel officer and act as purchasing agent. He need not be a resident of the township but would be expected to establish residence after his appointment.

A movement has been started in Battle Creek Township to secure signatures to a petition calling on the township board to put the plan into effect.

Counties Participate in Airport Program

Of the 800 airport improvement and construction projects listed by the Civil Aeronautics Administration as recipients of federal aid in 1947, 178 or about 22 per cent are sponsored by counties. These counties will receive continued assistance under the seven-year federal aid program administered by the CAA.

Counties also have benefited from disposal of the federal government's surplus airports. Of the 759 surplus airports declared to the War Assets Administration, 129 have been granted to counties.

Counties receiving approval for federal grants must assume their proportionate share of the cost of construction and maintenance of the airports. The federal share of construction cost is 50 per cent of the first $5,000,000 and 5 per cent less for each additional $1,000,000 to a minimum of 20 per cent on expenditures in excess of $11,000,000. The federal government will bear 25 per cent of the cost of land acquisition, and somewhat more in those states in which public and non-taxable Indian lands exceed 5 per cent of the total area. Fair distribution of funds among states is provided in the federal airport act which specifies that 75 per cent of the appropriations shall be apportioned among states on the basis of area and population.

Annual Conferences of County Officials

The annual conference of Kentucky County Tax Commissioners was expanded this year into a four-day school. It was held in close collaboration with the University of Kentucky and covered in detail legal and practical problems of methods of assessment for various classes of property. A demonstration appraisal of a farm was given by an appraisal expert.

The Wisconsin County Highway Commissioners Association and the Wisconsin County Highway Committee Members Association held a joint three-day meeting June 10-12. The chief feature was an address by ex-Governor Stassen of Minnesota.

California Counties Act on Manager Plan

Riverside County, California, is conducting examinations to fill the new position of county administrative officer which has been established to organize and administer an integrated personnel program for the county and to prepare an annual budget for the board of supervisors. Riverside County employs almost 1,000 persons.

The manager plan is being strongly urged for Stanislaus County, California, by civic organizations and newspapers. The city of Modesto in the county is currently in process of selecting a freeholders' group to draft a manager charter.

Justices of Peace Secure Training

As an alternative to the complete abolition of justice of peace courts, efforts are being made in several states to improve their administration. Twenty Pennsylvania counties recently have conducted schools on civil and criminal law for the justices. In Florida plans are being formulated to train justices at the University of Florida. New York is planning to use its schools on a similar program.

Oregon has adopted a reform of a different nature by enacting a law placing all justices on a salary basis and authorizing boards of county commissioners to provide them with court rooms and office space.

Public Health Consolidation Continues

The trend toward consolidation of public health units for more effective operation apparently is continuing to meet with success. Las Animas and Huerfano Counties are the first counties in Colorado to operate under a recently passed statute permitting complete consolidation. A resolution creating the two-county health unit was approved by both county boards and a new seven-man board has been named to supervise the activities of the unit. A joint district has been operating for nearly a year with regular staff nurses and offices in each county, but the new action effects a more complete integration of the unit.

A proposal to consolidate the health departments of the city of Seattle and King County is being studied by both city and county officials. Partial consolidation already is effected in that tuberculosis and venereal disease clinics are being operated by the city for both city and county.

City and County Election Commissioners Combine

In accordance with provisions enacted by the Kansas state legislature, election commissioners of Kansas City and Wyandotte County have combined their offices as of July 1 with quarters at the county courthouse.

Joint Purchasing Commission Proposal Received Favorably

A proposal for the formation of a joint purchasing commission for the city of Superior, Wisconsin, Douglas County, the board of education and the board of vocational education has been recommended to the county board by its finance committee. The program, evolved by City Manager William J. Deegan, Jr., of Superior, may save up to $100,000 per year.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

City Income Taxes Suffer Defeat

Rejected by Minneapolis Voters and Missouri Court

A CITY income tax proposal, with the proceeds earmarked for schools, was decisively defeated by Minneapolis voters at an election June 9. The tally was better than two to one against the measure.

The submission of the tax proposal was the result of demands for higher wages by teachers in the Minneapolis school system last fall, and the entire proceeds of the proposed 1 per cent gross income tax would have been dedicated to school purposes. The measure provided, however, that charges for principal and interest on school debt were to be a first charge on collections and that the second charge would be the requirement for teachers' retirement obligations. Since these expenses are now financed from property taxes, initial collections would have merely replaced property taxes rather than provide new revenues.

The Minneapolis Taxpayers' Association had estimated that the net proceeds of the tax would be about $4,900,000, going approximately $1,840,000 for debt service and, $1,290,000 for pension costs, leaving $1,770,000 available as additional income for operation and maintenance. School officials had forecast that if the tax were not approved Minneapolis schools would have to close late in 1947.

Finis was also written during the summer to the income tax plans of another city, when the Missouri Supreme Court upheld a ruling of the lower court that the St. Louis municipal income tax was unconstitutional.

New State Sales Taxes in Operation

Since July 1 sales taxes have been in collection in 27 states. The two newcomers are Connecticut and Rhode Island, whose legislatures this year provided gross receipts excises which became effective at the mid-year.

Connecticut's 3 per cent gross receipts tax applies to all sales of tangible personal property within the state (except for food, children's clothing, medicines sold on prescription, periodicals, cigarettes, gasoline and sales to governmental units) and is matched by a 3 per cent use tax on articles brought into the state. Returns will be filed quarterly. The tax is scheduled to expire June 30, 1951. Yield is expected to be $26,000,000 annually.

Rhode Island's tax was enacted as part of an omnibus measure which also increases the gasoline tax from three to four cents per gallon, raises the cigarette tax from two to three cents a package, doubles the tax on unincorporated businesses, raises the levy on still wines from five to twenty cents per gallon, and increases the tax on gross earnings of telephone companies from 6 to 7 per cent. The sales tax is at the rate of 1 per cent and is supplemented by a use tax of like amount. The measure with its various revenue increases is expected to provide the state with $12,280,000 new money annually.

Michigan voters have approved a state constitutional amendment which authorizes the state to return to municipalities and schools one-third of its 3 per cent sales tax receipts. It is estimated that the municipal share will be around $51,600,000 per year.

Nebraska Abolishes Precinct Assessor

With the passage of a Nebraska measure eliminating the elective office of precinct assessor, more than 3,400 assessment districts will have been eliminated by legislative action in Iowa[1] and Nebraska this year.

The Nebraska law, which becomes effective in 1951, provides full-time assessors for most Nebraska counties and eliminates the office of 962 elected precinct assessors in all counties, leaving only the 26 least populous counties without full-time assessors. The new law provides that county assessors would hire assistants to do the work now done by the elected precinct assessors, according to the National Association of Assessing Officers. The measure also increases penalties for failure to make complete reports of personal property for taxation.

Other significant legislation affecting assessors was enacted this year in Nevada where the legislature created the new position of chief valuation consultant to supervise assessment procedures. The post was established within the State Tax Commission. Nevada's legislation permits the commission to employ four assistants to aid the valuation consultant in reviewing assessments of county assessors and in developing procedures that will result in the equalization of property values throughout the state.

California Finances Highway Program

New highway revenues totaling $64,000,000 annually are expected to be raised under a California highway improvement program enacted into law late in the spring.

The law provides for an increase of one and a half cents per gallon in the gasoline tax, raises truck fees and motor vehicle registration fees, and imposes a new driver license fee of two dollars for four years. Including income from revenue measures already in effect, the program is expected to make available about $91,000,000 a year in funds for construction. Of this $18,500,000 will be for city streets and county roads.

Atlantic City Tries Sales Tax Again

Atlantic City, New Jersey, which has been rebuffed by the courts in the past in its efforts to impose a city sales tax, is trying again under an amended law thought to meet the court's objections. This time the tax is a selective sales tax, expected to yield about $1,500,000 each year. The ordinance, approved by the voters, provides for a two-cents per pack tax on cigarettes and a tax of 3 per cent on retail sales of liquor, tobacco products, amusements, hotel room rentals, theatre admissions and rentals of rolling chairs and cabanas.

Roanoke Realty Sales Tax under Fire

The tax of one per cent on real estate sales, adopted by Roanoke, Virginia, earlier this year and expected to yield about $60,000 annually, has been contested by the Roanoke Real Estate Board which has brought a test case to have the law ruled unconstitutional.

State Tax Collections Reach Record High

State receipts from sales, gasoline and tobacco taxes reached new peaks in the first three months of 1947. The rate of increase in collections, however, has decreased.

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[1] See the Review, June 1947, page 351.

Tax collections rose sharply immediately after the war as a result of increased supplies and subsequent increased spending. Now, however, a leveling off process is under way.

Revenues from the general sales, use and gross receipts tax showed the biggest gain, according to the Federation of Tax Administrators. These taxes, levied last year by 23 states, totaled $319,000,000 for the first three months of 1947. This amount was 23.6 per cent more than the $258,000,000 recorded for the corresponding period in 1946, and 42 per cent more than the $224,700,000 collected in 1945. Receipts rose by 30 per cent or more in ten states: Arizona, California, Colorado, Iowa, Michigan, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin.

State taxes on motor fuels totaled $275,700,000 for the first quarter of 1947. This is an 18.9 per cent rise over the $231,800,000 recorded for 1946 and 56.9 per cent increase over the $175,700,000 collected during the same period in 1945. Kansas revenues from this source rose 47.7 per cent during the past year while six other states—Mississippi, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania and Virginia—reported increases of 25 per cent or more.

Cigarette and tobacco tax collections by 31 states for the first quarter of 1947 amounted to $57,500,000. This amount is 8.3 per cent higher than the corresponding 1946 collection of $53,100,000 and is 87.9 per cent over collections during the first quarter of 1945. A record rise of 46.5 per cent in Illinois is partially attributed to a one-cent tax increase on January 1.

Eight other states reporting increases of 10 per cent or more in 1947 collections are Arizona, Arkansas, Idaho, Iowa, Mississippi, New Hampshire, North Dakota and Rhode Island.

Higher Subway Fare for New York?

While New Yorkers have broiled in the summer's typical sultry weather the O'Dwyer administration kept itself warm playing with the city's supposedly hottest political issue, abandonment of the five-cent fare.

By early July it appeared that the mayor was ready to recommend to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment adoption of the Transit Commission's study commission recommendation for a fare of eight cents straight or two rides for fifteen cents. As the month closed, however, the plan was for a five-cent fare during rush hours and a ten-cent fare in "off" hours. At its meeting July 31, however—the last prior to the deadline necessary for action if the fare rise was to go on the November ballot—the Board of Estimate ducked the question for "further study." Since the mayor has said there will be no fare rise without a referendum, only a special election can now effect a change before the fall of 1948.

Tax Studies Authorized

Five state legislatures have authorized tax studies recently, reports the Federation of Tax Administrators.

In Georgia a committee will study the state tax structure and propose needed amendments. Tennessee has also provided for a study of its tax system.

A fifteen-member commission in Utah will study finances of the state's municipal governments.

Virginia has authorized a study of both state and local taxation and North Carolina's Department of Taxation will study its statutory license schedule with a view to greater uniformity.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Constitution Revision Stirs Researchers

Studies Made in New Jersey, Louisiana and Elsewhere

THE QUESTION of constitutional revision is under serious discussion in several states, with the result that official committees and other research groups have made numerous studies available.

In New Jersey, where a constitutional convention is sitting at Rutgers University, New Brunswick,[1] **The Governor's Committee on Preparatory Research for the New Jersey Constitutional Convention** (Trenton), Sidney Goldmann, chairman, has issued the following monographs prepared by individual authors under the coordination of the committee:

Administrative Agencies, Their Status and Powers, by Joseph M. Jacobs.

Amendment and Revision of State Constitutions, by John J. George.

The Appointive Power—Tenure, Removal and Confirmation of Officers (Excepting Judicial Officers), by Amos Tilton.

Bill of Rights, by C. William Heckel.

Civil Service, by William S. Carpenter.

Constitutional Limitations on the Creation of State Debt, by Amos Tilton.

Courts of New Jersey, Part I, The Present System, by Joseph Harrison.

Courts of New Jersey, Part II, The 1944, 1942 and 1909 Proposals, by Alfred C. Clapp.

Courts of New Jersey, Part III (A) Chancery in a Unified Court System, by Israel B. Greene.

Courts of New Jersey, Part III (B) Probate Courts in a Unified Judicial System, by Joseph Weintraub.

The Courts of New Jersey—Part III (C) Law Courts in a Unified Judicial System, by G. Dixon Speakman.

Courts of New Jersey, Part VI, Problems of Judicial Selection and Tenure, by Evelyn M. Seufert.

Courts of New Jersey, Part VII, Judicial Administration, by Morris S. Schnitzer.

Desirability of Constitutional Provision for Registration of Voters, Morris M. Schnitzer.

Excess Condemnation, by Francis W. Hopkins.

The Governor—Constitutional Power of Investigation and Removal of Officers, by Abram S. Freedman.

The Governor — Qualifications, Election, Term, Vacancy in Office, Succession, by Bennett M. Rich.

The Governor's Veto Power, by Sidney Goldmann.

Home Rule, by Henry W. Connor.

The Judicial Council, by Evelyn M. Seufert.

Legislative Initiative and Referendum, by L. Ethan Ellis.

Legislators — Qualifications, Term of Office, Salaries, Method of Filling Vacancies, by Eugene T. Urbaniak.

The Legislature—Investigations, by Sidney Goldmann.

The Legislature—The Legislative Council, by William Miller.

The Legislature — Lobbying, by William Miller.

The Legislature: Qualifications, Term, and Compensation of Legislators; Sessions, Organization and Procedure, by William Miller.

Organization of Courts, by Roscoe Pound.

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[1] See also page 452, this issue.

Procedural Limitations on the Legislative Process in the New Jersey Constitution, by Thornton Sinclair.

Should There Be a Constitutional Provision Limiting or Forbidding Mandatory Legislation Regarding Local Spending?, by Eugene E. Agger.

The Single Budget, Single State Fund and Single Fiscal Year, by George C. Skillman and Sidney Goldmann.

State Administrative Organization and Reorganization, by Leon S. Milmed.

Suffrage and the Constitution, by Richard P. McCormick.

Taxation—The Tax Clause, by Aaron K. Neeld.

What Should a Constitution Contain?, by W. Brooke Graves.

Zoning, by Francis C. Hopkins.

Reports and Proposals of committees of the New Jersey Constitutional Convention include those of the committees on Executive, Militia and Civil Officers; Judiciary; Legislative; Rights, Privileges, Amendments and Miscellaneous Provisions; Taxation and Finance.

The **New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision,** which represents the leading civic organizations working for revision, has also issued a number of mimeographed reports in aid of the convention through its committee on research and drafting, John E. Bebout, chairman. The reports include tentative drafts of articles or sections on the courts, state administration, revision and amendment, local government and mandatory laws, acting governor, investigations, faithful execution of the laws and other matters. There are also explanatory statements on a number of the subjects covered. A special memorandum deals with the effect of provisions in state constitutions which require a periodic vote on the calling of constitutional conventions.

The **Louisiana Central Research Staff Constitution Revision Project,** Kimbrough Owen, director of research, has issued a *Constitutional Revision Project Handbook of Information* and the following reports:

Amending Process, Apportionment, Bicameralism vs. Unicameralism, Bill of Rights, Charts on Administrative Organization, City and County Home Rule, Civil Service, Comparison of the Constitutional Executive Offices of Louisiana with Those of Other States, Comparison of the Executive Functions of the Forty-Eight States,

Constitution of Georgia 1945, Constitution of Missouri 1945, Constitutional Limitations on State Indebtedness, Constitutional Provisions for Administrative Offices and Agencies—The Missouri Manual, Constitutional Provisions for Home Rule, Constitutional Provisions for Judiciary in Ten States, Constitutional Provisions for Local Government Units, Criminal Libel—Prescription Against the State—Contempt of Court—Mortgages and Privileges—Recordation,

Dummy Candidates, Duties of the Constitutional Fiscal Officers of the Forty-Eight States, Federal Suffrage Cases, Headings and Cross-References of the Subject Index for State Constitutions, Judiciary, Judicial Council, Legislative Council, Legislature, Louisiana Revenues by Source and Dedication Fiscal Year 1945-1946,

Permanent Registration, Public Health Administration in State Constitutions, Right to Work, Rule-Making Power in the Courts, Selection of Judges. State Debt—A Comparative Study, State Expenditures, State Judicial Systems, State Revenues—A Comparative Study, Suffrage Provisions in Southern Constitutions, Tabulation of Special Tax Districts in Louisiana.

Edited by Albert B. Saye, associate professor of political science at the University of Georgia, a two-volume *Records of the Commission of 1943-*

1944 to Revise the Constitution of Georgia was published in 1946 "by authority of the state" (592 and 623 pages respectively).

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee,** Lee S. Greene, director, has recently issued Volume One of *Papers on Constitutional Revision,* which includes the following discussions:

The Amending Process in State Constitutions, by Irby R. Hudson.

Constitutional Provisions for Certain County Administrative and Clerical Officers, County Home Rule, and *Local Government Areas,* each by C. C. Sims.

Judicial Functions of the Justice of the Peace under the Tennessee Constitution, by Dale F. Stansbury.

Municipal Home Rule, by Lee S. Greene.

Preferential Treatment in the Taxation of Articles Manufactured from Produce of the State and *Revision of the Taxation Uniformity Clause in the State Constitution,* each by Charles P. White.

Reorganization of Appellate Courts in Tennessee, by William H. Wicker.

Available also is the *Report of the Michigan Constitutional Revision Study Commission,* made to the governor in 1942 (variously paged).

The **University of North Carolina's Bureau of Public Administration,** Christian L. Larsen, assistant director, has made *A Comparative Analysis of the Constitution of South Carolina* (seventeen pages).

New Publications in the Legislative Field

A Manual for Alabama Legislators, fourth edition, has been published by the **Legislative Reference Service of Alabama.** In a comprehensive well indexed 110-page pamphlet, useful facts about the operation of Alabama legislative machinery are given. Chapter headings include sessions, membership, committees, rules, steps in enacting a bill, resolutions, amending the constitution, lobbying, etc.

The **Alabama Legislative Council** has issued *Report to the Legislature of Alabama Concerning Legislative Council and Legislative Reference Service Activities.* Alex S. Pow is director of both the council and reference service.

The **Kansas Legislative Council,** F. H. Guild, director, has made available its *Progress Report* for the first quarter of 1947.

Other legislative council reports include *Commitment of Epileptics* (eighteen pages) and *Merger of Educational and Building Funds* (fifteen pages) by the **Illinois Legislative Council,** J. F. Isakoff, director of research.

Aids for Lawmakers, A Survey of Legislative Reference Services and Legislative Councils, by George D. Smith, research associate, is the publication of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Washington,** Donald H. Webster, director.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California,** Samuel C. May, director, has issued five of its *Legislative Problem Series.* The *Role of the State in Recreation,* by Louise A. Fietz, 29 pages, one dollar, describes "the existing recreation services now provided by agencies of the state government and proposals for a state recreation agency in California." *Veterans Benefits,* by Dorothy C. Tompkins, 50 pages, one dollar, outlines financial aid extended to veterans of World War II by California which has been judged to be "the number one state in its treatment of veterans." A survey of *Public Assistance Allowances,* by Bernice S. Meyer, 38 pages, one dollar, evaluates maximum and minimum public assistance allowances in California, analyzes provisions in California and other states, and lists advantages and disadvantages of each. In *Administrative Reorganization in the States Since 1939,* by John C. Bollens, 49 pages, one dollar, Colorado, Michigan, Minnesota, Rhode Island and Virginia are singled out as those indicative of the principal state trends. *State Income from Horse Racing,* by Isaiah J. Shane, 21 pages, seventy-five cents, considers the major sources of state income from horse racing and distribution of this income in California, experience in other states, and arguments for and against heavier racing taxes.

The Institute of Government, University of North Carolina, Albert Coates, director, has issued a *1947 Legislative Summary, General Assembly of North Carolina* (138 pages).

A Potpourri of Local Problems Discussed

The **Business Research Bureau of the University of South Dakota,** V. E. Montgomery, director, in cooperation with the **League of South Dakota Municipalities,** R. D. Falk, secretary, has issued a *Municipal Salary Survey of South Dakota* for the purpose of giving "municipal officials some information that will aid them in their attempt to work out salary scales that will provide similar salaries for similar jobs."

A *Progress Report of the Special Committee on Pollution Abatement of the Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation* of New York State, Assemblyman Harold C. Ostertag, chairman, 74 pages, outlines "the broad implications of pollution" and its effect on the health, happiness and prosperity of the state's residents and includes recommendations for its elimination in New York State.

Water Resources, Their Use and Control in the State of Washington, the proceedings of the section on Water, Its Uses and Control, 11th Annual Institute of Government, 1946, was issued in May 1947 by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Washington,** Donald H. Webster, director. The 21-page publication includes the remarks made by qualified experts on water utilization, prevention of stream pollution, and the Washington state water code.

Another report issued by the bureau, in cooperation with the **Association of Washington Cities,** Joshua H. Vogel, acting executive secretary, is *Meat and Restaurant Inspection,* prepared by Ernest Howard Campbell, assistant director of the bureau. Model ordinances for meat and restaurant inspection for valley association cities and for King and Pierce Counties are included.

The **Alabama League of Municipalities** has issued a factual report on *Garbage Collection Practices in Various Alabama Municipalities.*

A *Housing Survey Report* on the adequacy, cost and desirability of housing in Connersville, Indiana, has been issued by the **Connersville Chamber of Commerce,** C. A. Parker, chairman of the housing committee.

The *Off-Street Parking Report, Central Business District, Philadelphia 1946,* eight pages plus charts, made by the **Philadelphia Committee for the Relief of Traffic Congestion,** William S. Canning, chairman, recommends that private interests be informed of the deficiencies in parking space by the Bureau of Traffic Engineering and that if these deficiencies are not remedied, the city council together with the redevelopment authority should be given power to acquire, control and make self-supporting off-street parking facilities.

The *Texas City Official,* a textbook for municipal officials in the general law cities and towns of Texas, by Lynn F. Anderson and Wilfred P. Webb, has been issued by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas,** Stuart A. MacCorkle, director.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . *Edited by James E. Gates*

Centralization in Reconstruction

Magnitude of Problem Too Great for Localities

A VEXATIOUS tendency towards centralization" in administration of problems of reconstruction is discernible in France, according to M. Georges Marrane, mayor of Ivey-sur-Seine, president of the General Council of the Seine and president of the Union of Towns and Communes. Because of the magnitude of the task, the feeling that the burden should be spread throughout the state, and that it was too great for private enterprise, much of the planning for and financing of reconstruction has been forced upon the national authority in practically every country of western Europe including Great Britain, according to reports made at the 1946 conference of the International Union of Local Authorities in Brussels.

The extent to which the local community participates varies as between England, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, about in that descending order.

In England the Town and Country Planning Act of 1944 gave local authorities power to see that reconstruction was in accordance with good planning principles. When approved by the Minister of Town and Country Planning, land required for relocation of population or industry is declared subject to compulsory purchase in the course of redevelopment of the areas. This land is generally to be let on 99-year ground leases, which will in turn permit a fresh look at the area 99 years hence for the purpose of replanning and without the payment of compensation for land or buildings. The necessary money will be raised by loans, together with grants from the central government to help carry the projects through the early stages and until the ground rents begin to accumulate.

Coordination in France

In France a decree of June 21, 1945, provides for coordination of local planning efforts with the general law on town planning, which latter is administered by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Town Planning. The ministry advises the municipal council on plans, including provision for technicians. In March 1946 departmental and local commissions of reconstruction were created giving freer and more effective means for bringing the local communities and their viewpoints into the working of the over-all plan.

For example, the departmental commission gives its opinion on the distribution of materials and on the use of quotas which have been distributed; it endeavors to promote the development of local manufactures; and it is consulted on everything connected with war damages, although the ultimate responsibility still rests with the central ministry. In fact, however, the local authorities are playing an important part in the reconstruction policy of the country. They initiate reconstruction and have charge of its execution, both as to work and financing.

At the time the war began, in 1940, Belgium had no national legislation dealing with town planning and housing. A 1940 decree of the central government, however, permitted the Commissionership General for the Restoration of the Country to designate the local authorities which would draw up plans for reconstruction. Unskillfully applied, especially in relations with the local authorities, it tended toward centralization, and was unsatisfactory to the local authorities. During the occupation nothing was done to solve the problem, but when the war ended the state assured the communes that the extent of state interference would be limited to advice, suggestions and finally its review of local decisions.

The state undertook at its expense to clear away debris in affected areas and, in collaboration with the local authorities, it set up a service to restore damaged houses to a temporary fitness for habitation. It has also decided to bear responsibility for reparation of war damage to the public property of the communes and even to the authorities' private property so far as this is necessary for public purposes. In addition the state bears the costs of the measures of expropriation which communes must employ to improve their damaged districts and pays part of the fees of authors of various plans, covering the whole expense for communes suffering damage during the war.

Netherlands' Plan

In the Netherlands the organization of the departments of the Body of General Commissioners for Reconstruction, charged with general responsibility for reconstruction, is as follows: The country is divided into 47 districts, to each of which is attached a building office—state offices, entrusted with carrying out part of the ministry's task. The functions of the Body for Reconstruction are extensive, including preparation and direction of plans for re-establishing communication, means of transport, drainage of flooded areas, etc.; planning for devastated towns; approval of all work connected with canal, railways, roads, civil and utilitarian buildings; dispossession where necessary; and control of manufacture, management and sale of building materials. The result is that the organization is to some degree omnipotent in the sphere of reconstruction and the building industry. In many localities officials of the local authorities' technical departments have been incorporated with the governmental building office, working closely together. Where this is effective, the centralizing tendency is not too burdensome.

Britain Tries New Salary and Service Plan

The new system of salary scales and "conditions of service" for local government employees in England and Wales, drawn up by the National Joint Council for Local Authorities' Administrative, Professional and Technical Services and introduced in April 1946, has now had more than a year of trial.

While the new system is not compulsory on local authorities, its advantages were quickly recognized, reports the *South African Municipal Magazine*. By January 1947, less than nine months after its introduction, it had been adopted by more than 83 per cent of the major local authorities, including 58 of the 62 county councils, 80 of the 83 county boroughs, 27 of the 29 metropolitan boroughs, and by the non-country boroughs, urban districts and rural districts in like proportion. Ninety-eight other authorities—joint planning committees, catchment boards, joint hospital boards—also adopted the scheme in the same period.

The plan deals with recruitment and training, standard conditions of service, national salary scales, official conduct and rights of appeal.

How it Works. The plan is worked through a system of Whitley Councils. At the highest level is the National Joint Council, whose independent chairman is appointed by the Minister of Health, who is chiefly responsible for local government matters. It contains 30 representatives of employers, fifteen representatives of the various national employee organizations and fifteen representatives of the staff sides of the Provincial Councils.

There are fifteen Provincial Councils the membership of which follows the same general pattern, although the actual number of members varies with the circumstances in the areas served.

The scope of coverage of employees is virtually complete, except for clerks of local authorities, employees with basic salaries over £700, other employees for whom there already exists some form of industrial council, and part-time employees.

Functions of the Joint Council. The functions of the Joint Council are, generally, consideration of salaries, wages and working conditions, settlement of disputes between staff and employers, collection of statistics, health and welfare work, encouragement of training in and study of methods in the public service.

Provincial Councils consider matters referred to them by the National Council, and take executive action within their areas on decisions of the National Council.

To supplement these two levels of service, many local authorities have formed joint staff committees to discuss matters relating to staff, including application of the new scheme of conditions of service.

Thus there is a three-level system, which makes it possible to work on these problems in the smallest area, and for these smallest areas to put forward their views for consideration as part of the national policy.

Local Governments in India Protest Sales Tax

A resolution passed unanimously by the Maharashtra Divisional Conference of Local Bodies in January takes issue with the imposition of the sales tax in India. "This conference," says the resolution in part, "is of opinion that the imposition of sales tax has dealt a further blow to finance of local bodies who are not exempted from the payment thereof on the purchases made by them and thereby have raised their expenditure on purchases by 3⅛ per cent. This is a very regrettable feature which should have been foreseen and local bodies should have been exempted from the operation of the tax. It is now high time that these exemptions are granted soon.

"A more bitter complaint, however, in respect of the sales tax is that government have made no provision for giving any share of the proceeds of sales tax to local bodies and have thereby deprived them of a source of income which local bodies in foreign countries are enjoying."

Stockholm Investigates Floating Airdrome

A floating airdrome may be the solution to the growing need for bigger and more modern facilities for airplanes at Stockholm, reports the American-Swedish News Exchange. A committee appointed by the Swedish Academy of Engineering Science will go to England to study the problem. If the plan should materialize, the huge airdrome would be anchored in the Stora Vartan Bay, near the capital.

Books in Review

Systematic Politics. By Charles E. Merriam. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945. xiii, 349 pp. $3.75.

The author of this book has been a member of the Chicago city council, a reform candidate for mayor and a member of several important federal commissions—a practical man. On the other hand he is a Chicago University department head, highly perceptive and articulate, and conversant with theory. A rare combination that makes him an authority in a field where authorities are few!

In this volume he systematically dissects the institution of government, disclosing its infinite human and mechanical diversity, until all its parts lie on the floor like a completely disassembled motor car. In the process he finds fresh comment to make on many things that have been out of the lay view of most of us and traces many a squeak of the mechanism of democracy with a sure and confident hand. He complains of the infinitude of the subject and describes his performance as a mere sampling but I doubt if any other modern has made a more comprehensive catalogue of the phenomena. He concludes eloquently in stating a reasoned faith in liberty and democracy, looking forward to "Free men—in free states—in a free world."

Richard S. Childs

1947 Supplement to Where Cities Get Their Money. By A. M. Hillhouse. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1947. 34 pp. $1.50.

Nearly two years ago the Municipal Finance Officers Association sponsored a fairly ambitious and worthwhile study of city revenues other than the general property tax. Prepared by A. M. Hillhouse in collaboration with Muriel Magelssen and others of the association's staff, the volume was published as *Where Cities Get their Money*. The present modest volume supplements the earlier work in the sense that it provides a list of additions and changes since 1945. It follows the same classifications and revenue groupings used in the earlier work, but lacks the analytical comment present in the 1945 volume. The supplement does not stand alone, but those possessing *Where Cities Get their Money* will find it useful in checking to discover which of the major cities have explored new revenue fields since 1945.

W. S. S.

Municipal Year Book 1947. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, 1947. x, 550 pp. $8.50.

You can learn a great deal about your own city by finding out what other cities are doing. The *1947 Year Book* is the first place to look for such information. In addition to a vast amount of statistical material on types of local government, local activities and local finances, there are articles reviewing city activities and pointing to current trends and emphasis in municipal government.

This year the editors have recognized the revived interest in pay scales, revenues and home construction by compiling new information in those fields. A new table in the personnel section lists comparative wages for a number of typical city jobs. This section should prove especially useful since the information is reasonably current and the job descriptions used in gathering the data are included.

The revenue section contains new information on non-property tax yields and a table outlining sewer rental practices and revenues. The planning section for the first time lists the improvements required of developers before subdivisions are approved.

As in previous volumes regular sections are kept up to date. Among these the hospital and airport sections have been considerably enlarged.

There are limitations to the usefulness of comparative statistics. If you haven't consulted these volumes before—this is the fourteenth edition—you will be wise to read the section on "How to Use the Year Book."

The commendable practice of presenting new information of current interest necessitates the elimination of some material contained in previous volumes. Reference to such material, when still useful, is in the index.

The continuous additions and revisions of the material results in a better and more useful reference book. However, it tends to diminish the usefulness of the volumes as a source of statistics over a period of years. The data is not always comparable from year to year. This fault is a minor one.

On the whole, it would be hard to find a reference volume in any field so comprehensive, so informative, and so easy to use as the 1947 *Municipal Year Book.*

Henry W. Connor, *Director*
Bureau of Municipal Research
Newark, New Jersey

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments.)

Administration

Administrative Management in the Government of the United States. Report of The President's Committee on Administrative Management. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1947. v, 47 pp. $1. (Reproduced in facsimile by arrangement with the United States Government Printing Office.)

Assessing

Guide for Use of Assessors. Augusta, Maine Bureau of Taxation, 1947. 132 pp.

Education

The Codification of the School Laws; School Subsidies. Reports Nos. IV and V of the School Commission of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, the Commission, 1947. 30 and 47 pp. respectively.

A Key to Better Education. Based on Findings of the National Commission on School District Reorganization. Washington 6, D. C., National Commission on School District Reorganization, 1947. 16 pp. (Apply National Education Association, Washington 6, D. C.)

A Look at Our Schools—What Modern Public Education Is Doing. By Paul R. Mort and William S. Vincent. New York 10, Cattell and Company, Inc., 1946. x, 115 pp. $2.

Elections

Elections in Many Countries and Their Influence on Democratic Government. Annual Report for the Year 1946-1947. London, S. W. 1, Proportional Representation Society, 1947. 28 pp. 6d.

State Proposals Voted Upon in 1946. By Richard C. Spencer and Anna A. Meck. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 31 pp.

Government and Politics

Essentials of American Government (Fifth Edition). By Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray. New York, D.

Appleton-Century Company, 1947. vi, 728 pp. $4.25.

White's Political Dictionary. By Wilbur W. White. Cleveland and New York, World Publishing Company, 1947. 378 pp. $3.50.

Highways

An East-West Freeway for Essex County, New Jersey. Newark, Joint Council of Municipal Planning Boards in Essex County, 1947. 16 pp. illus.

Intergovernmental Cooperation

TVA Cooperative Relationships. Knoxville, Tennessee Valley Authority, 1946. 88 pp.

Labor and Industry

City Plans for Promoting Industrial Peace. By Roy H. Owsley. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1947. 32 pp. $1.50.

Military Government

American Military Government in Germany. By Harold Zink. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947. 272 pp. $4.

Municipalities

Administering a Great City. By Paul L. Ross. (Address before Municipal Forum of New York.) New York, the Forum, 1947. 10 pp. 50 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders, apply John A. Keane, 30 Pine Street, New York.)

Chicago. By Dun & Bradstreet, Municipal Service Department. New York 8, Dun & Bradstreet, 1947. 48 pp. maps.

Digest of 1947 Laws Affecting Towns. Albany, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1947. 36 pp.

Directory of Michigan Municipal Officials 1947-48. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1947. 67 pp. $3.

Our Cities Today and Tomorrow. By Luther Gulick. (Address before Municipal Forum of New York.) New York, the Forum, 1947. 18 pp. 50 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders, apply John A. Keane, 30 Pine Street, New York.)

Rules and Regulations of New York City Agencies. New York City, Corporation Counsel, 1947. 698 pp. $2.50.

Press and Radio

A Free and Responsible Press. A General Report on Mass Communication: Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines and Books. By The Commission on Freedom of the Press, with a Foreword by Robert M. Hutchins. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947. xii, 139 pp. $2.

The People Look at Radio. Report on a Survey Conducted by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, Analyzed and interpreted by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University. By Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Harry Field. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1946. ix, 158 pp. $2.50.

Slums

America Can Not Afford Slums. Washington, D. C., The United States Conference of Mayors, 1947. 24 pp. illus.

Smoke Abatement

City Smoke Control and Air Pollution Programs—Model Ordinance Annotated. By Charles S. Rhyne and William G. Van Meter. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1947. 23 pp. $2.

State Government

Interim Report of the Temporary State Commission on Coordination of State Activities. Albany, the Committee, 1947. 84 pp.

Subdivision

Subdivision Regulation and Protective Covenants—Their Application to Land Development. By Seward H. Mott and Max S. Wehrly. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1947. 8 pp. $1.

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The League's Business

League Conference Goes South

In recognition of the mounting civic ferment south of the Mason-Dixon line the National Municipal League is taking this year's National Conference on Government to Nashville, Tennessee, the farthest south in the League's 53-year history. The three-day meeting, November 12-14, will have headquarters at the Hermitage Hotel. The Hermitage, the Andrew Jackson nearby, and other hotels have set aside a generous number of single and double rooms with bath for League members, speakers and guests. Persons planning to attend the conference are advised to make their reservations as promptly as possible.

This second conference since Pearl Harbor meets while the postwar tide of local civic interest and activity is still rising. To meet the increasing demand for answers to the question "How can we do it?" the conference program will put even more than usual emphasis on how to make things happen. Sessions on the modernization of state constitutions, how to conduct a council-manager campaign, the technique of operating an effective year-round citizen organization, how cities can support themselves, city-county consolidation and other subjects are designed with a view to meeting specific needs of citizens trying to achieve progress in their own states and communities.

The keynote of the conference will be sounded at the opening luncheon, Wednesday, November 12, with a speech by Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey on the current revision of New Jersey's 100-year old constitution, as an example of effective citizen action.

The Local Committee on Arrangements, under the leadership of William R. Pouder, executive secretary of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association, is putting exceptional energy and enthusiasm into the job of making the Nashville conference a notable experience for people from out of the state.

Arrangements will be made to help all who wish to pay fruitful visits to such places as Oak Ridge and various TVA projects. A general meeting of the conference Wednesday evening will consider the impact of the TVA regional program on local self-government. This subject is of general interest especially in view of the possibility of the creation of additional regional authorities.

Included among the 200 speakers and participants will be League President Charles Edison; Congressman Estes Kefauver; Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey; George H. Gallup, president of the American Institute of Public Opinion; James W. Clise of Seattle; Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant; Roscoe C. Martin, director of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama; Spencer Miller, Jr., New Jersey state highway commissioner; W. Brooke Graves, chief, State Law Section, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress; Lloyd M. Short, director of the Public Administration Training Center, University of Minnesota; Joseph D. McGoldrick, former comptroller of New York City; Victor D. Brannon, director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute; William Stanley Parker, consultant on public works programming; John F. Willmott, executive director of the Dade County, Florida, Research Foundation; Lee S. Greene, director of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee; J. E. Reeves, secretary of the Campaign for a Kentucky Constitutional Convention; Mrs. Edward S. Parsons, Jr., president of the Tennessee League of Women Voters; William L. Bradshaw, University of Missouri; Kimbrough Owen, director of research of the Louisiana Law Institute; Gordon R. Clapp, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority; Douglas Campbell, Union College; and J. Theron Brown, president of the Baton Rouge City-Parish Charter Commission.

Portland Prize Judges Chosen

The League has appointed the following judges of the essay contest for the Portland Reed College Municipal Prize: Frank M. Stewart, director, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California at Los Angeles; Herman Kehrli, director, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon; and C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, Municipal League of Seattle.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

They Aren't Waiting

THE evil youngsters do gets publicized. The good, perhaps because it's more plentiful, doesn't seem to be "news."

But it IS news. Big news. Good news.

Find a way to inform our teenagers of all the constructive things their fellows are doing and there will be less reason to worry about juvenile so-called delinquency. The imitative instincts of youth will do the rest for, thank goodness, youth's tendency is to ape its own generation rather than the one from which it sprang.

A newspaper writer[1] recently found two groups of young people who, conscious of their responsibilities as American citizens, are preparing themselves for the rapidly approaching time when, as sixteen-year-old Forrest Lockwood of the Peppy Reps put it, "everything will be up to today's high school crowd."

Reps is short for Republicans but the group, made up of Norwalk, Connecticut, high school students, claims some members who expect to vote Democratic or Socialist. With good promotion sense, the group started off with greetings from the state governor and the national party chairman. The members intend to study and hear speakers on local, state, national and international affairs.

One member is quoted as saying, "We've been thinking among ourselves that if all the people at U. N. had started studying world affairs when they were fifteen some of them would be doing a better job now."

The other politically-conscious youth group is the Young Democratic Club of College Point, on the fringe of the City of New York. Its slogan is, "If all good people should stay out of politics, God help our country." The club's aura of partisanship seems to stem from the understanding helpfulness of one Joseph Cassidy, executive officer of the local Democratic Club. Mr. Cassidy introduced the boys and girls at his club and got them a free hall for themselves.

The Young Democratic Club quickly found out how sensitive officialdom is to an organized group, any age. The club protested against keeping the gates of school yards locked after school hours. Now the best gym and basketball court in town is thrown open for use at all hours and so are the playgrounds of four schools. The cops don't chase the kids off any more. Next the club demanded a full stop sign at a dangerous crossing.

"People think we're just kids and not to be taken seriously," observed Ronald Vincent Schmalz, president of the Young Democratic Club, its speedy accomplishments to the contrary notwithstanding. "While we study local, state and national politics, we're not going to wait until we're 21 to make our influence felt. We're doing things now. Some say you can't be in politics and be honest. We don't believe that."

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[1] Sally MacDougall in the New York *World Telegram*.

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These are only two examples which indicate youth's receptiveness to the responsibilities American citizens should welcome but too often ignore. Undoubtedly there are many other places in which something of the kind is going on. But youngsters don't always find as understanding and encouraging a man as Joseph Cassidy—or perhaps it is a case of a political leader being bright enough to realize that fifteen-year-olds aren't very far away from voting age.

By way of contrast, several high school students in Madison, Wisconsin, set out one day to be good school citizens. They carefully tested such things as light, heat, ventilation and humidity in the classrooms of what was supposed to be a modern building. Then they wrote up their findings for the school paper. The faculty stopped them and treated them as troublemakers.

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Readers are invited to send the REVIEW information about civic or political activities of teen-agers in other places. There is need for a collection of such information and, in any event, it might make a good story.

Cooperative Public Officials

SOME months ago the REVIEW reported a situation in which public officials were deplorably hostile toward students who were trying to learn something about county government at the logical place to acquire that learning—where the government was being carried on.[1]

It has been encouraging to hear from readers that such an attitude is not always encountered. Some of the letters received are published on page 510 of this issue. And Edward W. Weidner's article on page 489 describes a practical educational experiment in which occupants and seekers of public office have been friendly and helpful.

There are other good examples. The Toledo city hall has opened its doors and records for years to members of the class in American citizenship at the University of Toledo. In at least one place college classes in local government are conducted right in the city hall and advanced students work part time in various city departments.

It would be interesting to know of other instances of enlightened cooperation of public officials with students. The REVIEW has reported some of them.

Of course it wouldn't be practical to have every city hall and courthouse constantly overrun by students. Work has to get done. But it is being demonstrated more and more that workable and mutually beneficial methods can be found to increase general understanding of government operations; and, happily, there seem to be fewer bureaucrats inclined to hang a "public keep out" sign on their doors.

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[1] "Students Meet Rebuffs in County Studies," June 1947, page 340.

Students Investigate Politics

Leave their classrooms to learn in wards how candidates are elected and just what makes local government 'tick'.

By **EDWARD W. WEIDNER***

A DETAILED collection of facts. Ivory-towered idealism. These are the two standard criticisms of courses in local government at the college level. The former is frequently made by specialists in other aspects of political science. The latter is heard among practitioners of local government and citizens groups.

Unfortunately, both criticisms are often justified. Local government courses have been too factual, too disposed to examine matters of minute detail; at the same time they have been aloof from the actual give-and-take of community affairs. Nearly everyone interested in rural or urban government has used the shibboleth that local institutions are the foundation of democracy, yet few textbooks and fewer professors ever examine the theory of democracy at length to see if it is true. Although some field research has been undertaken by local government classes in a few universities, the number of instances is small and the research in some cases not too fruitful.

Local government, both urban and rural, is a nine-months course at the University of Minnesota. The theory of local government has long received careful attention, many weeks being devoted to the topic. In the last academic year, however, an experiment in field research was carried out for the first time.

The objectives of the field research program were threefold: students would come directly in contact with community life, they would receive training in original research, and make some contribution to the knowledge of government and politics. The first objective was considered of primary importance for undergraduates, the two latter of special significance for graduates.

The municipal election in Minneapolis last spring was a natural topic for research. Class members had been reading the usual literature about local elections and political organization. Here was an opportunity to compare one locality with what authorities considered to be the general pattern.

Minneapolis is organized under the home rule provisions of the Minnesota constitution and statutes. It has half a million inhabitants and is located in a metropolitan area of nearly a million. Its charter, several decades old, provides a weak mayor-council form of government with numerous boards and commissions. At the primary in May and the final election in June, 29 vacancies in municipal offices were to be filled, fourteen of these aldermen from the city's thirteen wards. Other contests were for various boards—education, park, library, and estimate and taxation—municipal judgeships, comptroller, treasurer and mayor. Most of the campaigning was on behalf of candidates for mayor, council and school board with a one per cent payroll tax for schools a lively referendum issue.

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*Dr. Weidner is assistant professor of political science and assistant director of research in intergovernmental relations at the University of Minnesota.

Politics in a Municipal Election

Each undergraduate was assigned to a particular ward and asked to investigate the entire municipal campaign from within that area. Special emphasis was to be given an examination of the technique, philosophy and campaign organization of candidates for alderman and mayor and the relation of the aldermanic to the mayoralty race. Each student was told to interview candidates and their principal supporters, attend ward meetings, collect campaign literature, and determine what kinds of people supported the various candidates and why.

The project was begun in January when each student checked the history of politics in his ward and, by means of the census tracts and other sources of information, formed a picture of its racial, religious, economic and geographical characteristics. In examining the political history of his ward one student noted that the original settling of the ward "was largely by conservatives, often professional people and well-to-do families in business. When further development of the very fashionable areas declined and the middle and lower-middle classes built their homes, the liberal elements of the new group began to be a factor in politics, though, to be sure, most of them were conservatives. Near the turn of the century, multiple dwelling buildings were beginning to be popular in the area and they were . . . occupied by the lower-middle and laboring classes. But politics was in the hands of the well-to-do conservatives and their control persisted . . . until the depression of the 30's when the dissatisfactions of the people were evident."

The value for political analysis of the census tracts and other statistical information on local government units is frequently overlooked. The students found them of great help. By this means one ward was characterized as having the highest crime rate in the city, the lowest educational level, 108 of 200 liquor licenses, a racially diverse population, and the poorest social class. It was concluded that, to be successful, a candidate for alderman in that ward must have labor and liquor interest support and avoid all prejudice.

Several wards proved to be quite heterogeneous. The percentage of dwelling units which were owner-occupied in one ward varied by tracts from 0.0 per cent to 67.1. In another instance the northern half of a ward was found to have crowded multi-unit dwellings while the southern half had large single-unit homes. In several wards the Negro population was largely confined to one or two tracts. The political implications of these facts were found to be many.

Occupation grouping and religious beliefs were also considered in the analyses. Finding that over 60 per cent of his ward's employed persons were in the professional, semi-professional, proprietor-manager, and clerical and sales groupings, one student concluded that a conservative would have a definite advantage for alderman. In another instance a Catholic aldermanic candidate whose campaign manager was a prominent Lutheran minister had an advantage from the standpoint of religious groupings over his opponents.

Class members obtained background information of value to all the undergraduates. Reports on filings for the primary election, election laws pertaining to municipalities, corrupt practices act, county and city-wide organization of the major parties, and the role of platforms in local government elections were made and discussed. Beginning in March about one class-hour every other week was devoted to exchanging information and mapping out the course of future action.

Final reports, as the preliminary ones, in most cases represented considerably more work and initiative than the instructor had required and presented conclusions some of which run counter to the usual textbook.

No 'Boss Rule'

There was no evidence of an entrenched boss system. That is not to say that all candidates were as well qualified as they might have been; but a boss system, corruption and poorly qualified officeholders are not all the same thing. Some students were definitely disappointed at the lack of able men running for certain aldermanic offices. While no new evidence of corruption was uncovered, there was quite reasonable suspicion in a few cases that all was not as it should be, especially as regards liquor licenses.

Although theoretically Minneapolis has a nonpartisan ballot for municipal elections, actually both Republican and Democratic-Farmer Labor parties took an active part in the campaign. Students discovered that both parties had endorsed mayoralty and aldermanic candidates and were active in support of them. The Republicans believed that Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, a prominent DFL leader, intended to run for higher office in 1948 and that the best way to beat him in 1948 was to begin to whittle him down to size in the municipal campaign. They were notably unsuccessful, the mayor winning by a two-to-one margin; but the result for the municipal campaign was injection of irrelevant issues.

The main effect of the nonpartisan provision, the students found, was to permit the mayor to claim that the election was a nonpartisan one in reply to Republican critics and to permit certain minor elective officials to avoid a definite commitment as to political party.

Precinct organization was most noticeable by its absence; although, as the campaign developed, the Humphrey-for-mayor forces were able to secure temporary precinct workers in most areas.[1] Neither major party has permanent precinct workers or captains throughout the city, and many houses were not canvassed for either mayor or aldermen. Candidates for office stressed the value of a house-to-house campaign, but organization to accomplish this was lacking in most cases.

In several wards there was virtually no contest at all for alderman because the results of the election were a foregone conclusion. Students in these cases were perplexed as to what to do since there were no meetings to attend, no canvassing to observe, and almost no literature to scan. Another element of surprise to class members was the tardy development of the campaign. Active campaigning was generally confined to the two weeks prior to the primary and final election.

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[1] Thus Charles Edison's advice, to see your local precinct captain if you want to become active in politics, would not be applicable to Minneapolis. See *National Municipal Review,* June 1947.

Other observations which run through the reports include lack of cooperation between the mayoralty and the aldermanic campaigns despite a definite liberal-conservative split in many wards, lack of extensive platforms, concentration by aldermanic candidates on ward issues when they did have platforms, and opposition of most aldermen to many changes in the city charter. Despite press cries of labor bossism, the students as a whole did not find labor stronger than normally would be expected. Labor, however, was the most powerful special interest group.

Weak Mayor City

Graduate students, meanwhile, were trying to get a picture of how government operates under a weak mayor-council system when the mayor personally is vigorous and capable. Each graduate was assigned to a board or commission or some other city agency and asked to analyze it from the viewpoint of the city as a whole. The result was a series of papers which not only presented the weaknesses of an outmoded form of government but also critically examined the technique of advisory committees, the effectiveness of committees with powers of administration, and the attempt of Minneapolis to secure charter reform.

When Mayor Humphrey was first elected in 1945, he found himself mayor in name only. He controlled the police department and could make a few appointments to various boards, but he could exercise no power of supervision over the entire city administration. Believing there was much to be accomplished, he set about by force of personality to mobilize public support for his programs. The technique he used most was appointment of advisory committees, widely representative of community groups, instructed to make certain investigations and reports. Among the advisory committees studied by the graduates were the council on human relations, committee on law enforcement, tax and finance commission, citizens charter committee.

The mayor's secretary was helpful in introducing students to the respective committee heads and executive secretaries. The graduates examined office records, interviewed officials and attended meetings. Like most class members participating in the field research project, they found officials willing to give time and aid.[2]

In general the conclusions were that advisory committees as used in

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[2] This is counter to the experience reported by Willard N. Hogan of Berea College in the June issue of the REVIEW, page 340. Not only were city officials cooperative in this class project, but also county, township, school district, village and city officials throughout the entire state of Minnesota have been cooperative in connection with field research which the author has directed for the Intergovernmental Relations project.

Minneapolis were assets in marshalling public support for the programs involved. Although differing widely in number of members, composition and procedure, the committees performed useful tasks. They brought a wide body of experience to bear upon community problems and were successful in formulating programs of action. It is interesting to note that the mayor's wishes in a matter almost invariably prevailed, though in no sense were the committees "stacked" with his partisan supporters. While committee consideration of a problem was in progress, a process of community education was carried out by the newspapers which reported the deliberations of the body and by the members of the committee, who spread the news among their associates. By this technique, the mayor was able to influence many aspects of municipal policy and administration over which he had little or no direct control.

The inadequacy of a weak mayor-council form of government even with a capable chief executive was demonstrated in a series of papers centering their attention upon the office of mayor, the school board, board of public welfare, board of estimate and taxation, and park board. The inadequacy stems from two factors, it was found. One agency does not know what another is doing, hence there is lack of coordination. In those few cases where there is such knowledge, there is no person or body with responsibility or power to secure coordination. A few examples may be given. Some city departments use the municipal garage to have their vehicles serviced while others pay private garages for the same service. Two city departments, located in buildings close together, each planned to buy boilers for enlarged heating facilities. A central garage and a central heating plant for municipal buildings in one area would obviously produce savings.

The graduates became so interested in their work that several spent extra hours observing municipal government at work or participating in it directly. In following the progress of the charter board and committee, one of them became about the most frequent testifier at charter hearings.

The success of the field research program was such that it is planned to continue it in future years. Next year undergraduates will interview village and township officials while graduates will again analyze certain features of Twin City government. In addition, the class will attend at least one session of the city council, county governing body, and certain boards and commissions.

Two public officials will address the class this fall—one will defend the election of councilmen by wards, the other will defend the desirability of independent suburbs. An opportunity will thus be given to the students to pit their textbooks and lecture theories against the prejudices and experiences of officeholders.

The field research program at Minnesota last winter and spring helped to give the students a picture of the actual operation of local government, whetted their appetites for personal participation, developed their research abilities, and contributed in some measure to the knowledge of government in Minneapolis.

Apathy — Our Fifth Column

Schenectady voters fail to respond to efforts of local newspapers to kindle the flame of civic consciousness.

By **JOHN N. DUMAS***

LAST June the Schenectady (New York) *Gazette* departed from newspaper tradition and criticized its own readers. The paper had found in a comprehensive poll that almost half the city's voters knew exactly nothing about their government. One out of four was prejudiced to the extent that he distrusted all politicians without exception. Many could hardly cast an intelligent ballot on election day.

Schenectady's 100,000 people, however, were told by the newspaper that, if the same poll were taken in almost any other city in the country, the results would probably be the same.

Schenectady represents a good cross section of greater America. Parent plants of the General Electric Company and the American Locomotive Company give the city better than its share of college-trained scientists, technicians and business executives. Its ratio of college graduates to non-college graduates is the second highest in the country. Approximately 40 per cent of its working population are unskilled and semi-skilled laborers; 20 per cent are white-collar workers. It is a miniature Detroit or Pittsburgh.

Schenectady's political organizations are far from corrupt; its last real machine was cleaned out years ago. Its two newspapers, the morning *Gazette* and the evening *Union-Star* — both independently owned, have kept constant tabs on the administration. During election week last year the *Gazette,* in six days, published 276 column inches of news and editorials devoted strictly to local government and politics — fourteen newspaper columns, nearly two full newspaper pages. Both papers, by and large independent in policy as well as ownership, average about eight columns of civic news each week.

On the surface Schenectady is far from lacking in civic consciousness. Last spring more than 210 organizations joined to accomplish a host of public improvements within a ten-year span. Their aim: to make Schenectady the "Town of Tomorrow."

But, as municipal affairs reporter for the *Gazette,* I saw the empty chambers in city hall when the city council held its bi-monthly meetings. I watched councilmen, under relentless pressure from minority groups, conscientiously try to sound out public opinion without success. I boiled over when supposedly intelligent friends asked me what the "dirty politicians" in city hall were up to.

What was beneath the surface? What did the average man-on-the-street know about his local government—cornerstone of our democratic system? How many looked upon all public office holders as "dirty poli-

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*Mr. Dumas is municipal affairs reporter for the Schenectady *Gazette.*

ticians"? Of those who voted, how many knew whom they were voting for?

A city-wide poll would give us a fairly reliable insight.

Preparation for the poll spanned a two-months period. In presuming to estimate public knowledge and opinion, a newspaper assumes great responsibility. Statistics were compiled showing existing occupational ratios in the city. On the basis of this persons to be polled were selected. They made up a cross section of the city and, I believe, a reasonable cross section of all American industrial centers where the great mass of the population is concentrated.

Poll Reveals Ignorance

This is what the poll revealed:

One out of two did not know the name of the city manager—the chief administrative executive who is mentioned on front pages five days out of six.

One out of two could not identify his representative in Congress—although this man ran for reelection only eight months prior to the poll.

One out of two could not identify the legislative body that makes the laws for the city—yet virtually every city council meeting gets front page coverage.

Six out of ten would not want their sons to enter politics—a deplorable condition considering that more than ever before our government needs capable leaders.

One out of four thought it impossible for a man to enter politics and *remain* honest—even though it was explained that "honest" was being used in its broad sense as a synonym for integrity.

Thus we have a grim paradox: While we are loudly denouncing all the "isms," willing to defend our system with life and blood, a great many of us know nothing about our government and distrust those who set its policies.

To get at the basic causes for such apathy and misinformation — to make a start at eliminating them—is a huge task. But it must be undertaken. Otherwise there can be no real assurance that America will succeed in setting an example which the rest of the world will want to follow. Such a condition is, indeed, a real threat to our own democracy.

Without question some of the blame must fall upon our educational system. Perhaps our educators are putting the cart before the horse—dwelling on international affairs at the sacrifice of preparing tomorrow's voters for an active role in cleaning up their own backyards.

A portion of the blame must also rest upon the nation's press for neglecting to hammer home the necessity of citizen participation in politics and government under the democratic system.

The Schenectady *Gazette* today is pursuing a consistent, nonpartisan policy of public education aimed at ultimately attracting more voters—and better informed voters—to the polls.

How influential can one newspaper be in a direct effort to foster greater citizen cooperation in community affairs?

In so far as Schenectady is concerned, it is too early to estimate what effect the *Gazette's* consistent hammering will have. There have been some signs, however, which seem to indicate one important fact—the apathy is deeper, and will be harder to dispel, than many of us heretofore suspected.

On July 11, following a month of intense public service promotion aggregating more than 500 column inches, the *Gazette* and WGY, one of the biggest radio stations in the country, sponsored a "Civic Forum of the Air." The broadcast, originating from Union College and open to the public, was attended by barely 150 persons. And this despite the fact that 200 cards had been sent to the leaders of local civic groups while others were reached by telephone.

Little Interest in Forum

Attendance was encouraged by the announcement of an open forum following the broadcast. The program had much to offer any truly civic-minded individual. Its speakers were Hon. Oswald D. Heck, speaker of the New York State Assembly and a possible candidate for governor in 1950; Chester H. Lang, General Electric Company vice president and civic leader; Dr. Benjamin P. Whitaker, Union College economics professor and former budget officer for the state of Connecticut; and Anthony Barbieri, president of Local 2054, United Steelworkers of America.

The panelists agreed and emphasized during the broadcast that participation of local civic groups is essential. These groups were urged to devise their own programs to help reeducate the community to the benefits of an alert citizenry.

At this writing not a single civic organization has responded.

A few weeks after the *Gazette* poll was publicized, the newspaper began a heavily-promoted "Forum in Print"—an idea borrowed from the Yonkers *Herald Statesman.* Readers' views were sought on vital civic questions and it was intended as a means of tapping public opinion for the guidance of the city's lawmakers.

In view of the rising cost of government and the probability of a stiff increase in the city tax rate, the paper, at two-weeks intervals, asked: "Should the city discontinue cellar-to-curb waste collections?" and "Should a schoolboy patrol system be started to replace full-time patrolmen now at school crossings?" Because the board of education had been the object of much criticism, the paper asked, "Should the board of education be elected by the people, or should the mayor continue to appoint board members?"

All of these were vital questions, intimately affecting almost every taxpayer, but . . . "Forum in Print" died a lingering death because so few letters were received that the paper could not feasibly continue the feature.

During the week preceding primary day, July 29, the *Gazette* published a series of four articles entitled, "The Truth About Our Primary Elections." The whole sorry story of the impregnability of a strong machine and its hand-picked candidates—able to remain in power only because the average voter ignores primaries—was laid before the community.

(Continued on page 502)

Should Lawyers Be Citizens?

Former Cincinnati mayor challenges attorneys to civic action and urges them to "get into politics" while young.

By MURRAY SEASONGOOD*

"THE government of the cities," [to which might have been added the counties], said Lord Bryce more than 50 years ago, "is the one conspicuous failure of the American democracy." That statement, in many urban sections of our country, is still true and unheeded. The Tweed ring of the 70's in New York City; the Cox, Vare and Schmitz gangs in Cincinnati, Philadelphia and San Francisco; the Yerkes, "Bathhouse John" and "Hinkeydink" regime before and after the turn of the century in Chicago are perhaps known by name to the political science student of today, as are some of the more recent bosses such as Crump in Memphis, Pendergast in Kansas City, Curley in Boston and Hague in Jersey City. But the subserviency, waste and depravity that accompany boss rule are not generally comprehended and, even where they are, there exists little desire to remedy conditions which truly menace the proper functioning of the Republic. Winchell's column recently contained this:

> Some years ago a Philadelphia mayor was indicted for failing to suppress gambling and vice. He was accused of being on the payroll of underworlders. . . . Despite the exposure the mayor's regime continued to remain in power. The whole sordid affair caused one local editorialist to label Philly as the "city of brotherly loot."

In Cincinnati some 40 years ago two judges of an appellate court admitted, in a legislative hearing, they had been summoned by Cox to his office and requested by him to reverse a large judgment the city had obtained against a construction company. They did reverse the judgment and yet, after so testifying, were given renomination and reelection. The third judge, who declared he had said to Cox that as judge he would decide the case on the facts and the law, and who did vote to affirm, was denied renomination.

The fortunately circumstanced young men and women of promise do not have attention attracted to such matters in school, college or graduate courses, nor to what has been done or can be done to repair such breaches in the structure of government. And so their interests and, in some of them, idealism are left for other less important fields of activity.

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*Mr. Seasongood, an attorney, was the first mayor of Cincinnati (1926-30) under its council-manager-proportional representation charter, of which he was an originator. He is a former president of the National Municipal League and a member of its present council. He is president of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations; an assembly delegate, House of Delegates, of the American Bar Association; and former chairman of the Municipal Law Section and present chairman of the Special Committee on Civil Service of that organization. The article above is reprinted, with permission, from *The Harvard Law School Record.*

Lord Bryce also said, "The practice of local self-government is the best school of democracy and the best guarantee of its success." But as the former governor of New Jersey, Charles Edison, observed in a recent issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

> Citizens will die for democracy, pay taxes for it and give their blood for its soldiers. But vote? Work at democracy? It takes a revolution or a miracle to arouse them. They are convinced that democracy is better than despotism, and they will send their sons to fight dictators on any continent and on every sea; but in their own states and cities they will allow domestic dictators to fasten themselves upon our institutions and to enrich themselves at public expense. . . .
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> To join societies for world organization and to listen to learned lecturers on the populations of the Balkans are all right; but it is no substitute for knowing about the problems of one's own city, county and state. There is not much that you and I can do about the Ruthenians or the Koreans . . . but we can pull our weight in our own boat here at home. We can throw our influence toward the nomination and election of honest and forward-looking men right here. We can see that democracy works in America. Effective citizenship is active citizenship.

The term "local government" is, in some aspects, a misnomer, since its effects are not merely local but national. There is no higher peacetime duty than to help with one's local government. Citizens do not get a different kind of government in the national domain merely by using names such as "Congress." Those sent to Washington have almost always had their training and acquired their habits of thought and action from the local field. Again quoting Winchell:

> The influence of corrupt political bosses on national affairs cannot be overestimated. Many lawmakers are merely errand boys for local ward heelers. A reporter recently snapped, "This is truly a mechanical age. Even public officials are frequently machine-made."

Mixing Law and Politics

But the reader may say, "I am studying law. I aim to fit myself for a career at the bar and perhaps on the bench. The Harvard Law School traditionally trains for such careers. How will it affect my chances for these if, at the outset, I mix in an honorable way in the dirty business of politics? Ought I not wait, in any event, until I have made a name for myself and am firmly established?" The answer to that query is one no doubt still heard frequently in the school, "That depends."

It depends on whether the traditional Harvard Law School training for the practice of law is to be modified so that training for law shall include training for citizenship; and, if there is to be no change from convention, the extent to which one is willing to substitute, for probable personal advantage, plodding the rocky road of courage, ideals and public service.

It must be granted that, in general, the best way to succeed in the practice of law is still by industry and the reputation that comes from undivided attention to legal business well done. True, there are many who get ahead with moderate attainments by the political path. But for solid self-satisfaction, independence and ability to sleep at night, success because people want you as a lawyer is the most gratifying and durable. It cannot be denied there are potential clients who, if they think you are interested in politics, may not employ you; either for fear their work will be slighted or because they suppose you will have made enemies who can prevent your getting results which a neutral or "political attorney," as they understand the term, i.e., a fixer, could achieve.

Political Appointments

The trouble with the political route is that it minimizes the importance of scholarship and industry and may lead to complacency, slovenly thinking and even loss of probity. Advancement often is guaranteed at the expense of legal study by political work, vote-getting strength and loyalty to the boss, the real appointing authority. To accept political decisions or suggestions which would not commend themselves to independent thought or high standards becomes increasingly easy. The political organizations debase the bar and give favors for "being right."

Thus, a probate judge may appoint an appraiser for each of thousands of estates in a year, parceling these out on the recommendation of the patronage committee of the local organization. Similarly, the judges may assign attorneys for the defense of indigent prisoners, and there are other appointments such as masters, receivers and legal counsel for some of them. With a political bench, recruited from a political bar, these appointments are regarded, contrary to the canons of judicial ethics, as political perquisites.

It makes a difference to a young lawyer, whose rent will be due when fees are not, if he may count on profitable favors to tide him over the waiting years. And there are many additional legal positions in city solicitors' offices and as assistants in civil and criminal departments (more than are needed to do the work), which pay above what a mediocre young practitioner might get at first in ordinary practice. Then, too, there is the chance to serve in the state legislature. Often the political heads do not hesitate to make "suggestions." If these are heeded there is always the bait of judicial position "after one's name has become known to the electors."

The philosophy of local machines and the best interests of the legal profession are antagonistic. At this time of administrative supremacy, lawyers, if they wish to persist as such, should be especially vigilant in recognizing weaknesses in the practice of the law as commonly conducted. They should seek to minimize delay, expense and uncertainty, and to restore the lawyer to that place in public esteem which De Tocqueville recounted a hundred years ago. Also, the judges should be compelled by the bar to avoid the appearance, through campaigning or speaking at political rallies or making appointment on a political basis, of political partiality. Such conduct is not only wrong, but causes distrust in the public and a tendency to avoid litigation by any means.

In this modern age there ought to be: judges of recognized ability and character, service of process by mail, use of the photostat for recording and for certified copies of wills, deeds and other public records, microfilming, use of pre-trial procedure (by which more than 50 per cent of the cases in Wayne County (Detroit) are disposed of without trial), public defenders, abolition of the grand jury, simplicity and cheapness of appeals.

Use of Merit System

The merit system, properly administered, should be used for recruitment of lawyers in public positions and for clerks, sheriffs, bailiffs, official stenographers and their assistants. But there is a fundamental conflict between these requirements of preserving litigated practice for lawyers and the necessities of political organizations. The merit system properly conducted goes far to prevent political appointments, political activity and forced campaign contributions. The judges, too, are averse to curtailing their patronage. In many places there are too many judges for the work to be done and the judges, realizing this, sabotage pre-trial procedure which would make apparent how their number exceeds the public needs.

Despite this rather gloomy picture, the scales are not all weighted on the side of the young lawyer attending solely to his ordinary legal practice and eschewing duties of the citizen and civic patriot. Where legal business originates is often unascertainable. It does come from wider acquaintance. And there is a delight in the contacts and friendships with others actuated by high motives. Also, while the political machines will fight, unfairly if need be, and discriminate against one who opposes them, secretly they respect him and very often will try to win him over. There are many persons who may become clients because they wish to employ the services of lawyers afraid of no one, not open to influence and who will present a case well against powerful and important defendants. Judges seldom take it out on one who does not hesitate to criticize them adversely with justice. Indeed, they sometimes treat him better than they do others. It is a source of wonder why young lawyers do not more frequently file taxpayers' suits and protect civil service employees. Reputation for legal acumen and fearlessness is enhanced by successful prosecution of causes having a public interest.

So far, there has been considered the young lawyer's participation in local public affairs solely on the basis of his self-interest, as if there were no Balaams to defy Balak. However, there is plenty of idealism and unselfishness in youth, today as always, whether lawyer or layman. Youth is the time for such sentiments. Courage and nobility of thought showed themselves unstintingly in the great struggle. Is all that high thinking to be lost in the humdrum of peace and the grind of a prosaic practice of law? If it is conceded that participation in local political affairs must be accompanied by loss of opportunities in the practice, what of it? Where public duty is involved, let us forget expediency in peace as we did in war. To quote Browning—at the risk of being conclusively marked old-fashioned, "A man's reach should exceed his grasp, else what's a heaven for."

Perhaps the greatest deterrent of independent participation in local affairs is lack of knowledge of how to get in and to stay in. Unfortunately, it does not appear possible in this country for a high-stand man in the university or in law, as in England, either to have a political or dignified civil service career beckon. He can work into the local political machine according to his national party affiliation. But "reform from within" is a phrase apt to mean little achievement and much compromise and wrongful acquiescence.

In Public Service

There are positions for which a young lawyer may strive, such as city manager, planning engineer, governmental researcher, civic or municipal league secretary. But a lawyer's degree, while of some value, is no special aid to landing in any of these, except perhaps the last. City managers, especially in the smaller places, have been recruited, often as an economy, from the engineering profession, so that the appointee may continue to do engineering work. But there is no need for the city manager to be an engineer: a knowledge of law and government should be of at least equal value and there should be, appointed by him, a competent director of service engineer to rely on, just as there should be a trained director of safety for police, fire, etc.

If the lawyer does not wish to devote his whole time to public affairs as a career, he should be willing to give at least some time. He should be willing to expose the folly of voting in local campaigns on the basis of national party affiliations, should study forms of local government, the legal problems of home rule for cities and counties and seek to have adopted the short ballot, the Massachusetts ballot, or proportional representation ballot, to do away with emblem voting that permits the ignorant and illiterate, without an act of cerebration, to determine who shall administer government in the community. He should at least be willing to serve as witness and challenger at the polls to prevent the vile election frauds so prevalent that in many communities citizens know it is idle to seek to vote at all.

If the practitioner waits until he is established before plunging into political waters, he will perhaps not go in at all. He will have more responsibility, more to risk, more disinclination to try something new, and will persuade himself that he is too busy to undertake everyone's business instead of his own.

Little can be accomplished alone. So, the best approach is to join some good government agency existing, or if none is present or working well, to organize one's own. Public discussion of local problems and mere knowledge that there is an informed, alert and intelligent group watching will themselves accomplish some amelioration of conditions. Politicians are sensitive to public opinion, although they sometimes appear to flaunt it. "They are slaves who dare not be, in the right with two or three," said James Russell Lowell. The two or three will become many if you convince them you are trying to do something worth while and have a good chance of success. It is curious how many people like Mr. Pickwick, in his famous conversation with Mr. Snodgrass, "wish to do what the mob does," or, "if there are two mobs, shout with the loudest." Stevenson's view is better, "Our business in life is not to succeed, but to continue to fail in good humor." Or, to use Bishop Trench's opening couplet in the sonnet quoted in the life of that great lawyer and great citizen, Sir Edward Clarke, "Not all who seem to fail, have failed indeed. Not all who fail have, therefore, worked in vain."

In this stirring era, all—governments, businesses and professions—must be adaptable and receptive to new ideas. Let the lawyer of the future refuse to be "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought"; and, for the honor of his profession and for American democracy, to preserve which so much has been lavished in goods and lives, resolve that, at whatever cost, he will not wait to have a part, an active, honorable and useful part, in local public affairs.

APATHY—OUR FIFTH COLUMN

(Continued from page 496)

But on primary day, as in years past, less than 20 per cent of the eligible voters went to the polls. The articles apparently had little or no effect.

Working on public officials through its news and editorial columns, however, the *Gazette* did make progress toward better government this year. It criticized a police court system under which persons arrested for speeding were allowed to forfeit bail and escape having a conviction recorded on their licenses. Although it was a system of twenty years' standing, it has been changed. The paper criticized the city planning commission for its closed meetings during a six-months period, and the meetings were thrown open to the press only recently.

This is not to say that the newspaper should not continue acting as watchdog. But it is true that the results are partly nullified when an apathetic citizenry fails to maintain a companion vigilance.

This demonstration of civic apathy in one community, despite an all-out effort to reverse the trend, seems to indicate that there are deep roots to uncover. What has happened and is happening in Schenectady should serve as both a danger signal and a challenge to the rest of the country.

20th Century Public Service

Number of government activities continues to grow with much overlapping or division of functions between three levels.

By **CARL H. CHATTERS***

AN individual citizen controls his expenditures by the kind of things he does or refrains from doing. Some persons may have higher expenditures than others because they like the theatre, the race track and fancy eating places.

Governments, too, regulate their expenses by the activities they perform for their constituents. As the number and scope of these activities continue to increase, so the cost of government expressed in dollars continues to rise. The cost of government—federal, state and local—cannot be limited long by arbitrary devices such as tax limitations. Limitation or expansion of costs will come about through a study of the activities of government, an understanding of their fiscal significance, and a choice by citizens between higher costs and fewer services.

This article will analyze some of the findings of a recent study entitled *An Inventory of Governmental Activities in the United States.*[1] A more intensive report for a single city was made in 1942 by Lent D. Upson.[2] The latter traces each new undertaking of the city of Detroit from 1824 to 1941.

The activities of government are more significant when considered with the number of governmental units in the United States[3]:

Type of Government	*Number of Units, 1942*
Federal	1
State	48
County	3,050
City, borough, village	16,220
Township and town	18,919
School district	108,579
Other districts	8,299
Total	155,116

An understanding of government requires a knowledge of these units, their activities and their financial transactions.

None of the fifteen major functions discussed in *The Inventory* are performed exclusively by a single type of government. Some activities and groups of activities, however, are predominantly the responsibility of one government. All governments are concerned with the protection of persons and property. But national defense is predominantly a federal government activity while fire protection and fire fighting are essentially local activities. The actual work of constructing and maintaining highways in the United States is exclusively a function of the state and local governments but the federal government exercises its influence through its research, planning and promotion and through its financial contributions and the conditions attached thereto.

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*Dr. Chatters, formerly executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada and comptroller of the Port of New York Authority, is professor of municipal administration and finance at Northwestern University.

[1] By Carl H. Chatters and Margorie Leonard Hoover, Municipal Finance Officers Association, Chicago, 1947.

[2] *The Growth of a City Government,* Bureau of Governmental Research, Detroit, 1942.

[3] *The Units of Government,* by William Anderson, Public Administration Service, Chicago, 1942.

The function of sanitation and waste removal is almost exclusively local. This function includes sewers and sewage disposal, street sanitation, waste collection and disposal, stream and lake pollution, and noxious weed control. The state and federal governments were required to intervene to prevent stream and lake pollution, to conduct research in sewage disposal methods, and to control noxious weeds. Had each local government completely taken care of its own sewage problem without infringing on the interests of other municipalities, the federal and state governments would have had little cause to participate in this function.

Federal Activities

The federal government has exclusive jurisdiction over national defense, the coinage of money and the postal service. Navigational aids are exclusively federal. Among them are the coast guard, lighthouse service, astronomical observations, hydrographic surveys, shipping regulations, and rules for the use of navigable streams.

A large number of regulatory activities are federally administered. But they are usually federal only to the extent that they affect interstate commerce. For instance, the regulation of railroad rates is looked upon as a federal government activity because the rail traffic is largely interstate. But the control of electric and gas rates is almost exclusively a state matter because electricity and artificial gas are generated and sold locally.

But the federal government, through the power of the purse, can exercise great influence on many activities which it does not itself perform. Who would deny Uncle Sam's influence on highway construction, public education, public health, public assistance and social insurance? Yet the federal government does not construct highways, operate educational institutions, nor dispense public assistance. The federal influence here comes from conditional grants-in-aid, advisory services and the "we-want-ours-too" attitude of the states and localities.

It may be helpful to list here some activities which are carried out by the states and localities but are financed in part by federal funds: highway construction, agricultural extension services, soil conservation, nutrition programs, aid to dependent children as well as the aged and the blind, school lunches, vocational education, agricultural colleges, and books for the blind. The relative influence of the federal government on state and local activities is far in excess of the amount of money being contributed currently from the federal treasury.

State Activities

Activities which the state governments perform directly and exclusively are few in number. There is little uniformity among the 48 states as to the activities which they carry on directly for their citizens. It is true, however, that the administrative or overhead activities may be almost universal such as the state treasury, state attorney general, state health office, state department of education and state highway department. But the activities of the health, education and highway departments are far from uniform.

The functions which the states participate in most actively are regulation of business, highway construction and maintenance, development and conservation of natural resources, some health activities, hospitals and institutions, public assistance and social services, corrections, unemployment compensation and higher education. The states appear to perform few functions or activities for *all* citizens. This may be because the state government takes over certain activities which would be an unjust charge on a single locality or which no single locality could perform economically. Highways, natural resources and health activities affect nearly all citizens. On the other hand, only a limited number are admitted to higher educational institutions, mental hospitals, penal institutions or benefit from public assistance and unemployment compensation.

If the state governments perform few activities themselves, they have an increasing influence on local governments through the supervision of local activities.[4] This state supervision extends to primary and secondary education, teaching standards, public welfare, highways, local fiscal operations such as accounting, auditing, budgets and debts, local property assessments and local personnel. This supervision and the right to pass legislation give the states the opportunity, if they wish to exercise it, to dominate all activities except those of the federal government itself.

Local Activities

The discussion of federal and state activities should not lead to the erroneous conclusion that local governments have nothing to do. The contrary is true. The counties, cities, villages and towns still carry on the activities which affect most individuals in their daily lives. The citizen goes to bed at night relying for protection of his life and property on his local police and fire departments. The water which he drinks with his breakfast probably comes from a municipal water system. The highway on which he travels to work is a city street. The milk he drinks comes from farms inspected by the city health department and the grocery store from which his food comes is licensed and inspected by the city. His children go to schools operated by the local school board. For the recreation of himself and family there are local recreational facilities, museums, golf courses, swimming pools, parks and auditoriums. He may even be buried in a municipal cemetery.

One branch of local government, the county, carries out many state activities but does so at the local level. Violations of state law are usually prosecuted in a county court by a county attorney elected by citizens of the county. State highway regulations are usually enforced by sheriffs' deputies or county police. Recording of births and deaths, required by state law, takes place at the courthouse or the city hall. The county welfare unit is a branch of the state department of public welfare. The highway expenditures which constitute a large part of county costs are closely related by purpose and supervision to the program of the state highway department.

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[4] For an excellent discussion of this topic see *State-Local Relations,* Council of State Governments, Chicago, 1946.

The incorporated municipality is still the unit of government exercising the greatest direct influence on the lives of American citizens. Without going into more detail or listing exceptions, it appears that the incorporated municipality affects the everyday life of its residents through the following: planning and zoning regulations, crime prevention, traffic control, fire fighting, protective inspections, street construction and maintenance, snow removal, street lighting, prevention and control of disease, the operation of hospitals, construction of public housing, public free education, libraries, recreational facilities, parks and public service enterprises. How can a citizen affected so directly by so many activities be so indifferent to the government which controls his life in so many ways?

Special District Activities

Aside from school districts, there are many special districts which perform services of a local nature. Many of these were created for a limited purpose or because the service to be rendered did not coincide with the artificial boundaries of existing governments. The most widely known special district in the United States is the Port of New York Authority created by the states of New York and New Jersey to operate terminal and transportation facilities in the New York metropolitan area. There is an increasing number of authorities for other purposes such as airports, water and sewage disposal. Special districts have long existed for street or highway improvements, fire fighting and mosquito control. Many special districts are being dissolved but new ones are taking their place.

New Activities

Several important functions and activities of government are relatively new and essentially federal in operation or origin. Great expansion has come in the last two decades to health, welfare and social services. New health activities include maternal and child health services. Public assistance in all forms has greatly expanded but particularly as related to aid for dependent children, aid to the blind and old-age assistance. Old-age and survivors' insurance and unemployment compensation are new on a national scale.

The federal guarantee of bank deposits was depression-born. The housing activities of the federal government were started in the last two decades, flourished greatly, and recently suffered sharp curtailment. While all these federally-initiated programs were costly to the federal government, they stimulated the expansion of related activities by states and local governments.

The states appear to have taken on few significant activities except those related to the federal functions noted in the preceding paragraphs. But in the last two decades the states have greatly expanded their activities related to highways, health, state institutions and education. The broadened powers of supervision over local activities have already been discussed.

New municipal functions have been relatively scarce. An exception is found in public service enterprises whose significance is discussed below. Recreational and cultural facilities have expanded, particularly in the larger cities and counties. New types of police equipment have been developed to deal with changing technology especially as related to motor vehicles. Sewage disposal, once a minor activity, is the principal problem in scores of communities. The general feeling that everyone should have access to a good hospital has greatly expanded this service as a municipal function. The local housing authority is new. Junior colleges and vocational schools as municipal services have been greatly increased in number. Municipal and county libraries have extended their services.

Public Service Enterprises

Public service enterprises are in the nature of public utilities and are supported primarily by charges for the services they render or the products they sell. Federal, state and local governments all have such enterprises but they are more common as municipal activities. The post office is a federal monopoly and a public service enterprise. Other federal public service enterprises include canals and waterways, rural electrification and the multiple purpose enterprises such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, Bonneville Dam, Grand Coulee Dam and the Central Valley project. All these have developed since 1932.

The states have a limited number of public service enterprises. There are state liquor monopolies, liquor stores, airports, ferries, grain elevators, canals and waterways, toll roads and toll bridges. The toll road, developed early in our country's history, disappeared for nearly a century but now makes its appearance anew in such projects as the Merritt Parkway in Connecticut. Bridges have been freed of tolls but many new road proposals are based on the service charge principle. Liquor stores and liquor monopolies came with the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. Canals and waterways represent the oldest type of state enterprise in America., Even so the public service enterprises of the states are limited.

Municipal service enterprises include railroads, street railways, bus lines, electric power plants, water works plants, gas plants, liquor stores, airports, ferries, bus terminals, markets and warehouses, abattoirs, cemeteries, broadcasting stations, telephone systems, docks and harbors, toll roads and toll bridges. Isolated cases of ownership of many others could be recorded. Municipalities acquired some of these enterprises because private operation was no longer profitable. This was certainly true of street railways. Some enterprises such as the bus lines were taken over by cities as emergency measures.

Sometimes enterprises were taken on the theory that lower rates would follow. This was the inducement for municipal ownership of electric, water and gas plants, ferries and telephone systems. Enterprises might require public subsidy and therefore public operation. This was usually true of airports, bus terminals, markets, abattoirs, cemeteries, docks and harbors. Regardless of any philosophy of public versus private ownership the fact remains that the ownership and operation of public service enterprises by municipalities has grown rapidly and continues to extend to new fields.

Activity Problems

Several questions arise about governmental activities. Is a new activity a proper one for government, for private business, or for neither? Should a new activity be performed by the federal, the state or the local government? If the local government takes on a new task, will the local government pay the cost alone or will the state give financial assistance? When the state orders local governments to start or to increase an activity, should the state have the right to make local expenditures greater without local consent? Should the federal government start a new activity which the states will administer from funds supplied in part by the federal government and in part by the state government? When new activities are started or expanded should the activities be related to any particular revenue source?

The difficult problems concerning activities do not arise so much from selection of the government to carry on the task as from the choice of the unit of government or the source of revenue to finance them. The devices of grants-in-aid and shared taxes are used widely to resolve these conflicts.

Most governmental activities are participated in by more than one type or unit of government. Actual duplication of effort, however, is more imaginary than real. There is no duplication of service, for instance, when the city police patrol a state highway inside the city limits and the sheriff's deputies or the state police patrol outside the city. The division of work may not be completely efficient and responsibility for an activity is divided. But this division of responsibility suggests that greater consideration be given to the size and boundary lines of local governments. In some places conflicts of this nature can be resolved by contractual arrangements. Los Angeles County, for instance, assesses property on a contract basis for some municipalities in the county. In Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police work under contract to eliminate the need of local police.

The city, the county and the state may each have a hospital in the same city without any duplication of service. The city might have a general hospital, the county an isolation hospital and the state a tuberculosis sanatorium. Although there is no duplication or overlapping of hospital service, still there is the possibility of better service through unified administration.

Frequently there is real duplication of effort in states where the area of the cities is also a part of the counties which contain them. In Michigan the sheriff duplicates the police work of the city chiefs of police. At least they have concurrent and equal authority in the same geographic area. In far too many cases property may be assessed for taxation by two different assessors and in some cases three assessors of three different units each make independent valuations for different local levies. And the existence of a county tax collector, a school tax collector and a city tax collector in the same geographic area is a phenomenon ugly to behold.

Still the greatest conflicts come from overlapping authority rather than duplication of services. In the federal-state programs for health, highways, welfare and housing, the federal government uses grants-in-aid to set standards which determine the program of state and local officials who actually administer the activities. State governments make an even greater impact on local governments by setting local performance standards with respect to highways, health, welfare and education. This effort by the federal government to impose its will on the states, the supervision by the states of local activities, and the mandatory nature of many expenditures imposed on one government by another constitute an area of conflict which has not yet been fully resolved.

Much of the overlapping or duplication of activities is inherent in the system of federal-state-local government used in the United States. Some of it may even be desirable to preserve local governments and disperse authority. The solution to the complicated scheme of government activities seems to lie in larger areas, particularly with respect to schools, the disincorporation of very small municipalities and assumption of their duties by stronger counties, the performance and financing of all activities at the lowest possible level of government consistent with ability to finance and administer them, self-control by the states with respect to activities involuntarily imposed on local governments, keeping special districts and authorities to an absolute minimum, concentration in the incorporated municipalities of all activities within their borders, performance by stronger counties of services of a county-wide nature, and restraint on the use of grants-in-aid to stimulate questionable activities.

The activities of government are many. They have grown in number and will continue to grow as long as civilization gets more complex. As the power of private business becomes more concentrated, there will follow a concentration of governmental power or an evasion of government by business. More thought about the activities of government and their significance would do much to solve the problems of both governmental revenues and expenditures.

Letters to the Editor

Two Kinds of Officials—and Students

To the Editor
National Municipal Review:

I am writing as the spokesman for twelve college veterans who have been studying San Francisco city government for the last six months. We were deeply interested in your June article on the experience of the Berea College students in their study of county government and we feel that Professor Hogan and many of your readers may be interested in hearing about our experiences here in San Francisco.

We have been selected from schools and colleges of the metropolitan area of this city and awarded nine-months scholarships by the Coro Foundation, a local private organization. We spend about half this training period studying the operations, organization and the problems of this city's government. So far in teams of two—with each team spending eight weeks in its chosen department—we have surveyed the city assessor's office, department of public works, police department, civil service commission, health department and many other offices.

Throughout the course the instructors have been the men and women in the departments who know the problems of government, know them because they spend eight hours a day meeting and solving them. San Francisco's city workers are busy people—whether they are on the board of supervisors or wrestling with teen-age recreation, juvenile delinquency, or problems of mass transportation. Yet many of them have taken a warm and personal interest in us and our efforts to know and understand the governing process. They have often put aside their work to become teachers; and they have done this graciously and with tolerance.

We believe that the overwhelming majority of department heads and employees of the government of this city are genuinely interested in the calibre and training of the men and women who enter into the local government and that much of their wholehearted cooperation in our program has been due to this interest.

We also believe, however, that the clear understanding of the nature of our program, both by ourselves and the officials, before we ever undertook our study has been somewhat responsible for our success. We approached this laboratory course in government as students interested in public careers. The city officers were aware of this, and they looked on us not as critics but as students, not as bothersome dilettantes but rather as serious, intent young people trying to understand the day-to-day governing processes in order to prepare ourselves for governmental careers.

This basis of understanding and cooperation, laid before we began our work, has made better municipal government interns of us and has paid dividends as far as our relationship with our instructor-officials has been concerned.

Harold J. Chase
Coro Foundation

To the Editor
National Municipal Review:

I have just read, with interest, the article "Students Meet Rebuffs in County Studies," in the June 1947 issue of the National Municipal Review, and I would like to make an observation from personal experience.

In some cases I have no doubt that instances such as those reported are true, but were they not exaggerated?

I, myself, am in a position where, I believe, I can look at this picture from both sides: that is to say, I have been with the Association of Towns of the State of New York and in the thick of local government for the past eleven years. Recently I have been taking some extension courses at one of the New York State colleges and, from my own observations, I would suggest that much of the fault for the uncooperative, "suspicious or skeptic" attitude on the part of the local officials lies with the students themselves.

For example, the association has been approached several times by students for material for theses on local government. We have at all times supplied vast quantities of material which we believed might be helpful. Upon examining some of the finished products, however, we have invariably found that the students ignore improvements which have evolved over the years; they concentrate, in many cases inaccurately, on personal "sore spots"; they ridicule and in general adopt a most superior attitude about the functioning of such government. It seems that they could have made no more than a cursory examination of any material, from the views which they expound at great lengths and with confident authority.

Unlike the situations described in the June issue of the REVIEW, I believe there is extensive material available in New York State at least, if the student cares to obtain it and I do not believe it is difficult to obtain. The association itself publishes eight different monthly publications on the town level. I know that the New York State Department of Commerce publishes an extremely helpful booklet entitled *Guide to State Services,* to mention but a couple of examples.

During the past year I enrolled in a course in New York State government. Various special projects were assigned in this course and it was suggested that our office might be the source for material, especially for projects on the local level. I spent some time and looked up much information on one particular subject for a member of this group, forwarded pamphlets, laws, statistics, described improvements and gave specific effective dates. When the finished report was delivered, I was utterly discouraged with the entire result. It evidenced a complete disregard for all the time spent on accumulating data for that project. Dates were inaccurate; the intention and result of corrective legislation was wholly misinterpreted; and the general tone of the report represented an attempt to poke fun at a situation which while it may not as yet have reached the top has steadily improved year by year under a definite planned program.

Every student in that class was uproariously amused and not one of them received even an inkling that town government in this state is not necessarily administered by "local yokels" or "country bumpkins." The perturbing part of the outcome to me was the fact that these students were mainly graduate students who were themselves teaching the information they received in this class to children of grade and high school level. Is there any wonder for discouragement—it seems to be an endless cycle; while it was bad enough that students should absorb these ideas, the fact that they in turn pass them on to the youngsters is downright tragic.

ZELDA M. UTHE, *Assistant Secretary*
Association of Towns of the State of New York

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Legislatures Deal with Youth Problems

Take Positive Action to Avert Delinquency

EFFORTS to direct youthful energies into socially beneficial channels appear to have characterized legislation in many states this year in dealing with country-wide youth problems including juvenile delinquency.

A survey of legislative and executive action indicates that state youth programs are putting increased emphasis on helping young delinquents adjust to society rather than simply making punishment fit the offense, reports the American Public Welfare Association. Some eight legislatures authorized interim groups to study youth problems and services and recommend action to the next legislative sessions. Various states have created new bureaus to deal expressly with youth problems. Virtually all state action emphasizes rehabilitation of delinquents.

The Wisconsin legislature created a youth service division in the State Welfare Department to handle cases of youths under 21 who break the law. The division will have full access to facilities of a new diagnostic unit in the state university. Juveniles needing medical or psychiatric care will be sent there before disposition of their cases is made.

A Missouri law creates special schools for helping juvenile delinquents toward a more productive law-abiding life. Instead of being sentenced to imprisonment by the courts youthful offenders will be placed in these schools.

The State Youth Commission in New York was extended for three more years and given an appropriation of $2,380,000 on which to operate during fiscal 1948. During the past year the commission has aided 340 cities in providing better recreation for youth and developing methods to help stop the drift of some maladjusted youngsters toward delinquency.

The Florida Children's Commission since its inception last spring has organized children's committees in 37 of the state's 67 counties. The groups are working for effective cooperation between public agencies and citizen-sponsored services in the field of youth welfare and guidance.

State interim groups created by legislatures to study youth problems include the Arkansas Council on Children and Youth, the Colorado Children's Code Commission, the Kansas Juvenile Code Commission, the Maryland committee to study child labor laws, the Oklahoma Children's Code Commission and the Oregon Committee on Youth and Youth Guidance. In Illinois, the State Child Welfare Functions Commission was extended.

Recent New Jersey legislation authorizes cities to create youth guidance councils empowered to integrate all local work on youth problems and advise the juvenile courts.

Several states provided for special court treatment of young offenders. The Massachusetts legislature, on the recommendation of the State Child Council, provided for a statewide juvenile court system with specialized judges and probation officers trained in youth guidance.

Mississippi's Children's Code Commission is studying adoption laws and other subjects related to youth. In

California the care and treatment of juvenile cases under a separate Youth Authority is continued. In Kansas not only the juvenile delinquent but the exceptional child is being given attention by the State Council for Children, an unofficial body. Major state action to aid youth was taken this year also in North Dakota, Louisiana and Puerto Rico.

A New Constitution Prepared for New Jersey

New Jersey's constitutional convention has ended.[1] On September 10, two days before the deadline specified by law, the proposed constitution was signed by the delegates and presented to Governor Alfred E. Driscoll in ceremonies held at Rutgers University, the scene of the three-months convention.

Certain parts of the old constitution have been retained, some voluntarily, others by necessity. The law authorizing the convention prohibited any change in the "present territorial limits of the respective counties" or in the basis of legislative representation.

The first subject on which there was general agreement concerned the need for strengthening the governor's hand. His term is extended from three years to four and he is made eligible to succeed himself once. The succession provision generated a surprising amount of heat during committee hearings. Governor Driscoll argued that future governors—he asked to be disqualified in order to remove any suspicion of personal interest — should be eligible for a second term. Former Governors Morgan Larsen, Harold Hoffman, A. Harry Moore and Charles Edison were of the same opinion. Former Governor Walter E. Edge, on the other hand, recommended retention of the present prohibition on succession. The committee's decision to authorize a second term was challenged on the floor of the convention but was upheld by a vote of 53 to 21.

The limited veto power of the governor was an object of attack by Governor Driscoll and former governors. At present no larger number is required to override a veto than the majority of all members necessary to pass a bill initially. The new provision requires two-thirds. The period for gubernatorial consideration of a bill is increased from five days to ten during a legislative session, and from five days to 45 after the session adjourns. The 40-day increase at the close of a session is designed to eliminate the practice of (a) forcing a governor unpopular with the legislature to consider a great mass of bills hurriedly or (b) submitting bills to a popular governor from week to week in violation of the constitution, a custom excused on the technicality that the chief executive's five days begin when the bill is presented to him even though the legislature may have adjourned weeks before.

The pocket veto is eliminated. By the new provision a bill becomes law at the end of 45 days unless the governor exercises his veto power. If he does veto any measure, the legislature automatically reconvenes at the end of the 45 days to act on the veto.

Perhaps the most important change affecting the governor concerns his powers over state administrative agencies. At present, the governor's constitutional authority over state administration is virtually non-existent. A major defect is his lack of control over his department heads. Some are elected by the legislature; others though appointed by the governor hold office longer than he does.

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[1] See "Jersey Constitution Revision Moves Fast," the REVIEW, September, page 452.

Independent administrative agencies, boards and commissions abound in New Jersey and constitute another hazard for a governor interested in administrative integration. Some, headed by lay commissions, have achieved widespread recognition for progressive administration. Some are powerful politically.

Administration Organization

The Executive Committee, as well as the convention as a whole, straddled the issue of administrative reorganization. It provided that all state agencies except temporary commissions be allocated among not more than twenty principal departments. Each department is to be headed by a single executive "unless otherwise provided by law." This clause obviously means that the politically potent agencies, such as the Department of Institutions and Agencies and the Department of Agriculture, are to retain their independent status. The governor, however, is given power to approve executive heads selected by commissions and power to remove after notice and an opportunity to be heard.

Single executives are to be appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate, to serve at his pleasure. The secretary of state and the attorney general are given constitutional status, to serve concurrently with the governor. Aside from the governor, these are the only executive officers named in the new constitution.

The manner of securing executive reorganization was a stumbling block. Members of the legislature who were convention delegates gave little support to the suggestion that the allocation of departments be brought about by executive order. The plan finally adopted provides that if the legislature has not completed the allocation by July 1, 1949, the governor shall call a special session to consider exclusively his plans for completing reorganization.

The customary constitutional charge to the governor to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" is given real meaning. He is authorized, by appropriate proceedings in the courts, "to enforce compliance" or "to restrain violation" of any constitutional or legislative power by any state officer or agency.

Administrative rules and regulations will be of no effect until filed with the secretary of state. The legislature is instructed to provide for publication.

Legislative changes are few in number though important in character. The one-year term for members of the House and the three-year term for members of the Senate are eliminated in favor of two- and four-year terms respectively, elections to be held in odd-numbered years. The constitutional salary of $500 is eliminated in favor of legislative determination of salary. The convention sent a memorial to the legislature suggesting an annual salary of $3,000. As a check upon ill-conceived legislation — "legislative lightning" — a one-day interim is provided between second and third reading unless a bill is given an emergency classification by a three-fourths vote. Annual sessions are retained and special sessions must be called on request of a majority of the members of each house.

The greatest structural change is in the judiciary. A study of the courts by a legislative committee in 1942 concluded that New Jersey had the "most complicated scheme of courts existing in any English-speaking state." Unlike most states, New Jersey's courts were never modernized as was the English system which served as their model. Separate courts of law and equity exist with the result that frequently more than one trial court is necessary to dispose of one controversy. The drive to replace existing courts with a completely unified and integrated state judicial system failed, but the top structure was completely rebuilt.

The judicial article eliminates the equity court as a separate system. It abolishes the state's top judicial body, the cumbersome sixteen-man Court of Errors and Appeals. The Supreme Court, whose nine judges sit on the Court of Errors and Appeals, was eliminated.

New Courts Provided

A new Supreme Court of seven justices is established. In addition to its appellate jurisdiction, the Supreme Court is charged with making rules governing administration, practice and procedure in all courts of the state. Constitutional provision is made for an administrative director to be appointed by and serve at the pleasure of the chief justice.

A Superior Court is created to be divided into appellate, law and chancery divisions. Each of the last two are to exercise such powers of the other as are necessary to complete a case.

County courts are given constitutional status, to exercise jurisdiction formerly held by the Court of Common Pleas, Orphans Court, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Court of Quarter Sessions and Court of Special Sessions.

Justices of the Supreme Court and all judges of the Superior and County Courts are to be appointed by the governor, with the consent of the Senate. Initial appointments in the Supreme and Superior Courts are for seven years; reappointment lasts during good behavior with retirement at 70. In addition to removal by impeachment, the new constitution provides that the Supreme Court may remove judges of other courts and that when it certifies any justice or judge to be incapacitated, the governor shall appoint a commission of three to make inquiry and, on its recommendation, may retire the justice or judge.

The amending process is liberalized. The present constitution requires a majority of all the members of each house in two succeeding legislatures, plus final approval by the people at a special election. On but four occasions since 1844 have these difficult requirements been met.

By the new provision an amendment is submitted to popular referendum at a general election if approved, after public hearing, by three-fifths of all the members of each house. If a three-fifths vote cannot be obtained, a majority of each house in two succeeding legislative years is required prior to the popular referendum.

Arguments over the structure of New Jersey's government proved less explosive than debate over certain of the government's powers. One of the most troublesome questions related to the legislature's control of gambling. Two of the four occasions when the present constitution was amended were concerned with gambling, the first in 1897 prohibiting all gambling, and the second in 1939 permitting pari-mutuel betting at horse races. Bingo, the major source of revenue for many church bazaars and firemen's and veterans' carnivals, remains illegal. The new constitution prohibits the legislature from authorizing gambling unless the "specific kind, restrictions and control therof" have been approved at a general election.

There are a number of other important substantive provisions. Liberal construction of laws concerning municipal corporations is authorized; county government reform is hindered by retention of sheriffs, surrogates, and clerks as constitutional officers but coroners and justices of the peace are eliminated; an anti-discrimination clause in the bill of rights prohibits segregation in the militia or schools; the right of persons in private employment to organize and bargain collectively is recognized; persons in public employment are limited to organizing and making known their grievances; the use of public funds is authorized for the transportation of children to public or private schools.

The wording of the tax article proved to be the crucial question before the convention. In 1941 the state fixed a rate of $3 per $100 valuation on second-class railroad property, that is, stations, yards and terminals. The Democratic organization in Hudson County contended that this tax gives preferential treatment to the railroads to the detriment of municipalities, since the average city rate is $5.50 and the rate in Jersey City, where 60 per cent of all second-class railroad property is located, is $7.70. A state franchise tax on railroads does not make up the difference and northern municipalities, it was argued, particularly Jersey City, lose large sums each year.

By an overwhelming vote the convention adopted a compromise which provides that owners of all real property taxed for local purposes must pay the general tax rate of the district in which the property is located. The convention then memorialized the legislature to reconsider "the entire railroad tax law in the interest of financial stability and efficient service of these vital public utilities."

With this last major obstacle settled to the satisfaction of both party organizations, the convention adopted the constitution by a vote of 77 to 1.

Bennett M. Rich
Rutgers University

Constitutional Convention Opposed in Kentucky

The holding of a popular vote on calling a convention to revise the Kentucky constitution at the November election is vigorously opposed in some quarters, and efforts to prevent it have been made by court action alleging technical defects in the procedure to place the question on the ballot.

Four States Enlarge Economic Planning Powers

Legislatures in four states—Minnesota, Michigan, California and Ohio—this year broadened state planning powers, especially in the economic field, according to the Association of State Planning and Development Agencies.

Minnesota created a Department of Business Research and Development a major objective of which is economic development. The agency will promote further use of natural resources by encouraging development of industries and diversification of agriculture. Research will be coupled with national advertising of the state's economic advantages as well as its tourist attractions.

Another important duty of the department will be investigation of violations of state laws regarding unfair and monopolistic business practices. The department is empowered to help enforce these laws. It will also promote local planning and public works programs. Functions and funds of the now-defunct State Tourist Bureau and State Resources Commission go to the new department.

Michigan's new Department of Economic Development, backed by a $75,000 appropriation for the current fiscal year, will undertake similar activities. It will take over many of the functions of the recently-abolished State Planning Commission and is empowered to advertise nationally.

In California the new State Conservation and Planning Board will absorb many functions of the Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, now abolished. The agency will coordinate all local and regional planning activities in the state and conduct economic and general planning research. Legislators appropriated $116,405 for its operation during the current fiscal year.

Ohio legislators passed a bill prolonging the life of the state Postwar Program Commission until the end of 1948. The commission handles scheduling of major public works and development of recreation.

33 States Have Uniform Traffic Codes

With the recent adoption of a uniform state traffic code in Texas the number of states with such legislation became 33, according to the American Public Works Association.

The Texas code specifies that hit-and-run drivers may be fined $5,000 and sentenced to five years in jail, and that violators of other code provisions may be fined up to $200. It also requires that accident reports be filed within 24 hours in cases of death, injury or major property damage, and sets strict minimum standards for lights and brakes, subject to inspection by the highway patrol.

Governors Seek Survey of Administrative Organization

Among resolutions adopted at the 39th annual meeting of the Governors' Conference, at Salt Lake City in July, was one requesting the Council of State Governments "to make a comprehensive survey and investigation of the over-all organization and administration of state government, including the organization and operation of the governor's office, operation of the state departments and agencies, budget administration, personnel administration, planning and development, interim commissions and relationships between the executive and legislative branches; and to recommend to the governors a program for strengthening and improving the over-all organization and administration of state government."

Wisconsin Revises State Auditing Setup

Two reorganization measures adopted by the Wisconsin legislature create a new Department of State Audit and a Department of Budgets and Accounts, superseding the former Budget Bureau. The Department of State Audit is responsible to the legislature and is charged with supervision of post-audits of the state and of local units of government requesting its services. The other department includes state pre-auditing and accounting duties as well as budgeting.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

By a vote of 2,356 to 1,744 on September 23, **Dover, New Hampshire,** (population 14,990) adopted a council-manager charter, previously passed by the legislature, after a spirited campaign. The plan was sponsored by the Veterans Civic Committee and the Citizens Civic Association. It was vigorously opposed by the city administration. A bicameral council will be succeeded by a single-chambered council of nine members elected at large. Dover is the first New Hampshire city (as distinguished from a town) to adopt the manager plan.

A council-manager charter was approved by the voters of **Bath, Maine,** on September 8, by a vote of 965 to 355. About 24 per cent of the registration participated. A council of fourteen is to be elected in February

1948, two from each ward. Nominations are by petition instead of by caucuses as formerly.

The council-manager plan was adopted by **Kinston, North Carolina,** on September 16 by a vote of 1,026 to 843—one of the heaviest ever cast in an off-year or special election. The city council must appoint a manager by January 1, 1948.

Elizabeth City, North Carolina, (population 11,815) which adopted a manager plan in 1915, has been restored to the official list of manager cities by the International City Managers Association. It was dropped from the list in 1940 because an elected mayor also served as manager.

Dade City, Florida, (2,561) has likewise been placed on the official manager list, a city manager having been appointed in September 1946 under a 1929 law.

The city council of **Canon City, Colorado,** has adopted the manager plan by ordinance, effective September 1.

In **Auburn, California,** the city council has adopted the manager plan; a manager is expected to be chosen by the end of October.

The first adoption of the council-manager plan in the state of Washington occurred on September 3, when the people of **Sunnyside,** appropriately named, voted in favor of the plan.

A vigorous campaign for the manager plan is in progress in **Portsmouth, New Hampshire,** under the auspices of the Good Government Campaign Committee of the Portsmouth Civic Association.

A town manager committee in **Newport, New Hampshire,** stemming from the textile workers union, has been studying the manager plan.

The city council of **Worcester, Massachusetts,** has acted on the certified petitions recently filed calling for a referendum on Massachusetts' Plan E—council-manager and proportional representation—and the question will be voted on at the November election. Strong popular support is indicated, cutting across party lines. Worcester now has a 41-member council elected by wards.

Petitions for a referendum on Plan E have been filed and accepted in **Fitchburg, Massachusetts,** for a vote in November.

The **Revere, Massachusetts,** Committee for Plan E is conducting a vigorous campaign for adoption of Plan E at the polls on November 4.

Rossville, Georgia, defeated a manager charter by a vote of 451 to 93 on September 2.

The **Fairmount, West Virginia,** Charter Board has completed a council-manager charter, expected to be presented to the attorney general by October 16 for his approval, following which a series of public meetings is expected looking toward an election early next year.

In **Huntington, West Virginia,** the Huntington Citizens Association has been incorporated as a non-profit organization for better local government, with the council-manager plan as one of the primary proposals for consideration.

Petitions have been circulated in **Circleville, Ohio,** calling for a vote on the manager plan at the November election.

At the annual city election on August 26 **Wakefield, Michigan,** gave an advisory vote of 452 to 308 in favor of council-manager government. It is expected that the city commission will accordingly establish a manager plan by ordinance.

A campaign for adoption of the manager plan is under way in **Chisholm, Minnesota,** supported by the American Veterans Committee.

A committee has been appointed in

Harrison, Arkansas, to consider a new form of government, with emphasis on the manager plan inasmuch as the accumulation of airport, water, sewer, garbage and other projects makes necessary the entire attention of a competent manager.

In **Mitchell, South Dakota,** a committee has been formed by the Junior Chamber of Commerce to further the council-manager plan.

In his keynote address at the convention of the Utah Municipal League on August 28, in Price, Utah, Mayor B. H. Stringham of Vernal, president of the league, strongly advocated the manager plan, which is in operation in three **Utah** municipalities and under study in at least four others. More than 450 attended the meeting.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Columbus, Nebraska,** is studying the council-manager plan with a view to aiding in its adoption there.

In **Cozad, Nebraska**, the Junior Chamber of Commerce has filed petitions with the city council asking for an election on the council-manager plan.

A study of the manager plan is being undertaken in **Broken Bow, Nebraska.**

Charter revision is under consideration in **Alva, Oklahoma**, looking to the manager plan.

A citizens' committee in **Clinton, Oklahoma,** has recommended adoption of the manager plan.

In **Tonkawa, Oklahoma,** a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan was defeated on September 2 by a vote of 443 to 174. The plan was favored by Mayor Ernest G. See, who believes that the educational work done may bring about a different result in the future.

Pawnee, Oklahoma, defeated a council-manager proposal on September 2 by a vote of 290 to 198.

Pelly, Texas, will vote December 13 on the council-manager charter for the city of **Baytown,** to result from the merger of **Pelly, Baytown** and **Goose Creek** (see the REVIEW, September 1947, page 458).

A charter for the city of **Gladewater, Texas,** providing for a manager under the title of secretary-manager, was defeated at an election August 15. B. H. Broiles, publisher of the Gladewater *Times-Tribune,* reports that the defeat resulted from the vigorous last-minute fight of the incumbent city administration and its employees.

Gainesville, Texas, on August 30 voted to abandon the manager plan, in effect since 1927, by a majority of 190.

In **Texas City, Texas,** scene of the recent nitrate explosion disaster, charter changes are contemplated, with distinct interest in the manager plan.

The **Merced, California,** Citizens Committee has been working for adoption of the council-manager plan and much local interest has been aroused.

In **Burbank, California,** a manager city since 1927, the city council voted to establish a fifteen-member committee to undertake a charter revision.

In **Hoquiam, Washington,** a committee has been working for adoption of the manager plan.

A group of **Spokane, Washington,** citizens, concerned with the quality of city government, has been considering the merits of the council-manager plan as contrasted with the existing five-man commission plan.

In **Yakima, Washington**, much interest in the council-manager plan is reported. The Chamber of Commerce has appointed a committee to study and report on the plan.

Legislation adopted in Nova Scotia this year authorizes the city council of **Halifax** to appoint a city manager or to set up an executive committee.

The Halifax *Herald* is urging appointment of a manager.

Denver Mayor Adds Staff Services

Mayor Quigg Newton of Denver, Colorado, lost no time in securing the services of a qualified staff after he assumed office on June 2. Few will deny that he entered office under trying conditions. First, he succeeded a man who had been Denver's mayor for twenty years; second, a mandate of the voters called for a charter convention and a referendum on the new city charter it would draft—all in the first six months of the new mayor's term.

To aid him in meeting the many problems of city administration, the mayor added two administrative assistants to his cabinet which already included five department heads (or managers), a secretary and a purchasing agent. One administrative assistant is in charge of public relations while the other heads the city survey staff.

The first, and probably most important, responsibility of the survey staff is the city budgets—current and capital. Until recently no one agency has been assigned to prepare and be responsible for the over-all city budgets. The survey staff, working within the general policy established by the mayor, prepared a budget for the remaining months of 1947 which was accepted by the city council without change. A capital budget has been prepared for 1947 and work continues in setting up a long-range program.

The city hospital and health department, long targets of civic criticism, were reorganized under the capable leadership of the newly appointed manager of health in accordance with recommendations by local and national experts as well as the survey staff.

Problems regarding charter revision also were brought to the survey staff for research and recommendation. Prodigious amounts of consultation and discussion followed painstaking research in the field of municipal charters. The results were incorporated in the mayor's tentative charter proposal, providing the strong mayor plan, which is the working base for the charter convention now in session.

Personnel of the survey staff has for the most part consisted of nationally-known experts called to Denver to solve particular problems. Included in this category have been consultants for the city hospital, fire, health and street departments, public buildings and municipal organization. The director of the surveys, Hugh R. Catherwood, has had long experience in local government throughout the United States. Until drafted by Mayor Newton he directed research for a state governmental research organization.

The value of Denver's survey staff already is demonstrated beyond question. This new staff agency seems certain to be continued as a vital unit of city administration.

Troy R. Westmeyer
University of Denver

Denver University Awards Fellowships

The tenth annual award of government management fellowships in the University of Denver's Department of Government Management has been announced.

The ten students will begin a twelve-months training program September 15. In the last three months of the program they will be assigned to make administrative surveys of some state or local government or agency. The completed survey is accepted as a master's thesis by the graduate college of the university.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Resources, Population Movements Studied

University Bureaus Lead in Study of Land and People

BUREAUS of government research are displaying an increasing interest in the problem of natural resources as shown by such recent publications as *The Public Land Question in New Mexico* and *The Population of New Mexico,* both published by the **Division of Research, Department of Government of the University of New Mexico**—the former by Jack E. Holmes, the latter by Ross Calvin. The **Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas,** Ethan P. Allen, director, has issued a pamphlet by Frank T. Stockton on *Natural Resources: Their Relation to Power and Peace.*

The first report on the administration of natural resources project in six southern states has been issued by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of South Carolina,** George R. Sherrill, director. The book is entitled *South Carolina's Natural Resources* and was prepared by Christian L. Larsen, assistant director of the bureau. It covers all phases of resources administration and emphasizes that cooperation — intergovernmental, interdepartmental, public-private—is an essential factor in South Carolina's administration of its resources.

"The Disintegration of American Cities" is the subject of a recent issue of *Tax Policy,* put out by the **Tax Institute,** Mabel L. Walker, executive director. Far from increasing, populations of central city areas have been declining. For example, the present population of Manhattan Island is "just about where it stood in 1900." This trend will continue into the foreseeable future and the author predicts a nation of fluid cities more than half of whose population will live outside them. Another prediction is that "the city of the future will be a less sharply defined political entity."

The "Flight to the Suburbs" is a definitely disturbing phenomenon to the **Municipal League of Seattle** in whose *Seattle Municipal News* this problem is discussed and its causes examined. A serious problem ensuing from this exodus is that "they [rural dwellers] enjoy city services without paying their tax share for them." Some suggestions for "luring" surburbanites back are offered.

Citizens' Business, published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** Robert K. Sawyer, director, warns that proposed abolition of the Division of Ground Water of the United States Geological Survey "may adversely affect the city's development" because of this agency's value to industry and construction.

The **University of Arkansas Bureau of Research,** C. O. Brannen, director, has issued a detailed analysis of *Public Water Supplies of Arkansas,* prepared by Harrison Hale, R. C. Baker, I. W. Walling, D. M. Parrish, and G. A. Billingsley in cooperation with the Geological Survey, United States Department of Interior. Individual supplies are listed with a chemical analysis of each as well as facts about ownership, source, pumpage, storage and location.

Planning and Parking Studies Reported

Citizens' Business, published by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia,** Robert K. Sawyer, director, discusses "Philadelphia's Planning Commission" and its activities of the past four years. The commission has served as planning coordinator, has conducted basic studies, and has formulated a six-year program for public improvements.

Citizens' Business is also interested in "Neighborhood Planning." The article discusses the beginning of the first neighborhood planning group, which is getting started in South Philadelphia.

Your Tax Dollar, the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.,** D. Benton Biser, director, outlines and comments on the recommendations of the planning commission and suggests that the city administration carry out the commission's program.

Off-Street Parking in Pennsylvania Municipalities (53 pages) has been published by the **Pennsylvania Municipal Publications Service** under the auspices of the **Institute of Local Government, Pennsylvania State College,** H. F. Alderfer, executive secretary. The problems resulting from street parking are listed and the advantages of off-street parking cited. Eleven tables and two appendices complete the volume.

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director, is concerned with the parking problem and advocates a stricter enforcement of parking ordinances.

Fresh Approach Needed

Urban Land, published by the **Urban Land Institute,** Newton C. Farr, president, reviews Chicago's parking problems as well as parking problems generally. It recognizes the need for a fresh approach to parking as a community problem which mere legislation cannot solve. Some of Chicago's accomplishments in easing the situation are enumerated.

In the *Portland City Club Bulletin,* published by the **City Club of Portland,** Eugene Caldwell, president, the committee appointed to study underground parking goes "on record as opposing construction of subsurface garages under any of the downtown parks." The committee's reasons are given as well as some recommendations.

Rochester's experience with municipal parking lots is reported in the *Monthly Bulletin* of the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research,** W. Earl Weller, director. Parking stations, each with its own parking period limits, were established and the article discusses their method of operation.

An off-street parking plan by Harland Bartholomew and Associates for the City Planning Commission of Schenectady is reproduced by the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.,** George L. Nichols, managing director. Present facilities and needs and future requirements and recommendations are presented, with maps.

Legislative Research Needed and Completed

"During the last 25 years basic research on the legislative process and the operation of legislatures in the states has tended to lag behind that . . . on other aspects of state government." This is the opinion of O. Douglas Weeks, of the University of Texas, author of *Research in the American State Legislative Process.* The volume was issued under the auspices of the **Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council.** It outlines areas in which research is badly needed, including the unicameral legislature, pressure groups, legislative personnel, and political control and leadership.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee,** Lee S. Greene, director, has recently issue Volume 2 of its *Papers on Constitutional Revision.*[1] The following papers are included:

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1947, page 477.

Unicameral vs. the Bicameral Legislature, Constitutional Provisions Governing Terms of the Legislature, Legislative Sessions, Compensation of Legislators, four articles by Irby R. Hudson, Vanderbilt University;

The Apportionment of Legislative Seats, by Evan A. Iverson and Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee;

Constitutional Provisions on Legislative Procedure, Constitutional Provisions on the Governor's Veto Power, each by Frank W. Prescott, University of Chattanooga;

Restrictions on the Governor's Pardon Power, by Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee;

Office of Lieutenant-Governor, by Carson Brewer, University of Tennessee.

The **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.** has issued a pamphlet, *Home Rule*, prepared by its director, Henry W. Connor, for **The Governor's Committee on Preparatory Research for the New Jersey Constitutional Convention.**

Rubbish, Sewers, Pests and Health

Norman N. Gill, Walter M. Swietlik, and George C. Saffran have presented a report to the Board of Estimates of Milwaukee on *Ashes, Rubbish and Garbage Collection* which reviews past practices, present administrative setup and operating conditions. Recommendations regarding organization, personnel, frequency of collection and disposal methods follow. The volume contains numerous tables and charts.

Just a Moment, published by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.**, Sidney Detmers, managing director, outlines recent changes in the Buffalo Health Department, listing new positions, salaries and requirements. The organization of the department is described.

In another issue the Buffalo Sewer Authority is analyzed with a summary of its financial data for 1945-46.

A committee of the **City Club of Portland**, reporting in the club's *Bulletin* on "Health Program in the Portland Public Schools" concludes, after examining dental programs, physical education, health education and mental hygiene, that "the health program in the Portland public schools is being carried on understandingly, sympathetically and, within budget limitations, vigorously."

A report to the **City Club** on "Mosquito Control in the Portland Area" discusses the methods used to cope with the problem and concludes that the Department of Public Works is taking steps in the right direction and that its continuance is imperative.

Research Brevities, **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research**, analyzes the proposed county health program and raises some questions on personnel, the desirability of state control, and the actual efficiency of the proposed plan. Tables illustrate the material.

Citizens' Business, **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**, discusses various possible uses of the Municipal Stadium which is about to be repaired.

Bureau Activities, Plans and Problems

The second cooperative study by bureaus of public administration of seven southern universities and the **Regional Study Department of TVA** is now under way. The subject is technical services available to state and local governments. The **General Education Board** of the **Rockefeller Foundation** is contributing to the financing of this study which is designed to inform state and local officials where they can get help in solving their problems.

Methods of arousing public interest and support for research bureaus were discussed at the second quarterly conference of representatives of the municipal research bureaus of New York State under the auspices of the **Citizens Public Expenditure Survey,** James E. Finke, senior research analyst. The discussion brought out the fact that the average 1947 budget for the six nonpolitical civic research bureaus in New York communities is $16,000. These bureaus are in Buffalo, Lackawanna, Rochester, Schenectady, Utica and Yonkers. Each bureau has from two to four employees.

"How Are Your Public Relations?" is discussed by George Bestrom, executive vice-president of the **Minneapolis Taxpayers Association,** in a recent **Governmental Research Association** *Notes and References.*

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Washington** has, as of September 1, 1947, changed its name to **Bureau of Governmental Research and Services.**

Annual Reports

Annual reports have been issued by: **Government Research Bureau, Inc., of Duluth,** Harry R. Reid, executive secretary; **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada,** Horace L. Brittain, director; **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, Inc.,** Merle W. DeWees, executive director; and the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research,** Horace L. Brittain, managing director; **Jasper County Tax Economy Association,** Gerald N. Hardy, secretary.

Public School Costs and Administration

The Division of Publications of the **Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia,** has issued a *Report and Recommendations on the Public School System of New Kent County, Virginia,* prepared by Wilson K. Doyle of the bureau's staff. The problems facing the county, e.g., declining population and enrollment, lack of facilities, need for three separate school systems —white, Negro and Indian, and the high tax burden, are dealt with. Recommendations include plans for a tri-county high school, better elementary school facilities for Negroes, higher salaries for teachers and publicly-owned school buses.

Increases in salaries of school teachers in San Francisco are reported in the *Bulletin* of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director. Accompanying the report are tables of comparison with other California cities regarding salaries and preparation required. Pupil and teacher ratios and per capita costs are compared with those in the 25 city school districts over 300,000 population throughout the country.

How to provide for the contemplated increases in teachers' salaries is the topic of *Citizens' Business,* issued by the **Bureau of Municipal Research in Philadelphia.** Since most of the funds must be raised through local taxes, the following proposals are discussed: mercantile license taxes, intangible property tax and additional real estate taxes.

The *Bulletin* of the **Rochester (New York) Bureau of Municipal Research** also deals with the problem of raising funds for the schools. An analysis of the formula for determining state aid for Rochester schools is presented. A table showing the actual application of this formula is included.

Cost vs. Quality

James A. Arnold, Jr., research associate of **Princeton Surveys,** has written an article on "School Expenditures and the Quality of Education" for *Notes and References* of the **Governmental Research Association.** Mr. Arnold maintains that costs are not the sole index of quality and points out the error of "measuring school performance in terms of school costs." Need for qualitative measurement is stressed.

In *Council Comment* the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, Inc.,** Merle W. De Wees, executive director, agrees with a recent school survey report that improvements can be accomplished at little additional cost but does not concur on the need for a more independent board of education. Rather, it is cooperation between the board and city officials that is needed.

Juvenile Delinquency

The **New Jersey Legislative Commission to Investigate the Causes of Juvenile Delinquency,** David Van Alstyne, Jr., chairman, and Douglas H. MacNeil, secretary, has issued a comprehensive report on its findings. The report examines the general crime and delinquency picture in New Jersey, the main causes of juvenile problems,. as well as the present methods of handling the situation. Statistics and charts are included as are recommendations for more efficient methods of handling juvenile misconduct, from the causes to the overt act.

The **Municipal League of Seattle** has published an article by Research Director Lorin Peterson on the problem of detention quarters for juvenile delinquents. The article is presented in a novel form, in the manner of a Socratic dialogue. Mr. Peterson suggests that the solution is to send children "promptly from the detention home to a foster home or wherever else the court decides" rather than to build expensive temporary detention homes.

Comparative Studies of State Tax Systems

A Comparative Study of the Tax System of the State of Washington, 188 pages, prepared by Professor Ralph I. Thayer, University of Washington, as a member of the **Advisory Committee on Taxation of the State Department of Conservation and Development,** covers state and local revenues and the incidence of taxes in nine states.

The **Oregon Tax Study Commission,** S. J. Barrick, director of research, in *State and Local Tax Administration,* 14 pages, compares the organization of tax collecting agencies in Oregon with organizations in other states and discusses control of local tax procedures.

Another general study, *State Organization for Tax and Revenue Administration,* 25 pages, by Russell Barthell and Helen Campbell, **Bureau of Public Administration, University of California,** deals with tax administration in California and the reorganization of tax administration in several other states.

The **Utah Foundation** has issued a twenty-page report consisting of comparative tables on *Property Taxes in Western States, 1925-1946.*

Personnel Problems, Mostly About Money

A tabular comparison of salaries and qualifications for state social work positions in fourteen southern states has been compiled by Professor Gladys M. Kammerer of the **Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kentucky** in *Requirements for State Social Work Positions in the South.* The author also offers suggestions, e.g., scholarship assistance, educational leave provisions, abolition of residence requirements, and readjustment of salaries, to cope with the recruitment problem.

The **San Francisco Bureau of Government Research,** discusses the "Municipal Railway Wage Problem" in a recent *Bulletin.* A table comparing rates of pay by municipal transit systems in California is included.

Another *Bulletin* of the bureau deals with the fact that public payroll increase is the major factor in the city's 61 per cent budget increase in four years. Personal service expenditures for 1943-44 and 1947-48 are compared.

The **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee,** Norman N. Gill, director, reports on seasonal wage scales paid to full-time employees and discusses the rejection by the common council of a plan to pay such employees 80 per cent of the seasonal rate.

The bureau urges that the "total" compensation of city employees be broken down and that three elements—public contribution to pension reserves, the cost of living adjustment and the basic wage—be itemized in the city and county budgets.

"Government Employment in Utah" is the topic of a recent *Research Report* of the **Utah Foundation,** Stanley J. Stephenson, managing director. The report is illustrated with graphs and charts as well as a table showing the number of state employees in each of the 48 states.

In another *Research Report* the "Personnel of the Utah State Highway Department" is reviewed. Charts and graphs are included plus tables comparing organization and personnel of highway departments in eleven western states.

Representation, Efficiency and Other Local Problems

The **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee** reports on a proposed formula, approved by Milwaukee's common council, which, if adopted by the legislature, would result in automatic redistricting within one year of each census so that each ward in the city would have one per cent of the total population of the state and elect one state assemblyman, one county supervisor and one councilman.

The **Los Angeles Bureau of Budget and Efficiency,** Francis M. Cummings, director, has been conducting a survey of organization, administration and management of the following administrative services common to several city departments: messenger service, printing and duplicating service, statistical and accounting tabulating service, public relations and reporting, and transportation of officials and employees. The reports have been issued in several parts. Part VI is a 25-page "Summary Report" (preliminary) which summarizes the findings and conclusions on each of the services and recommends the creation of a bureau of central services in the executive department to be headed by a director appointed by the mayor subject to civil service.

Just a Moment, issued by **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.,** urges the restoration of importance to primary elections, warns against unopposed nominations, and suggests that party organizations designate three candidates for each office.

Just a Moment also has issued part IV of a series on Erie County government and a chart of its structure with a list of present major county officials.

Two other recent issues of *Just a Moment* carry summaries of the main features of the amended city home rule law.

The **Tuscaloosa Chamber of Commerce,** Paul Diamond, executive secretary, has published a study of *Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and Its Sister Cities,* which is based on questionnaires sent to cities in Tuscaloosa's census range. Various aspects of local administration are covered: pay of chief city executive, municipal income, number of patrolmen and their salaries, etc. One significant item uncovered was higher salary and activity level in city manager cities.

State-Local Government Topics issued by the **State Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League,** reports on output of the 1947 legislative session, noting that new laws "provide greater authority and more responsibilities for local officials."

The P. E. L. *Newsletter* published by the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc.,** Western Division, Leslie J. Reeve, director, summarizes "The Legislative Session and Greater Pittsburgh" during 1947 and considers the legislation obtained valuable.

Citizen Planners Study Community and Region

Seek New Mechanisms for Unity, Orderly Progress

THE NEED of rescuing cities from the results of long years of haphazard growth and decay, as well as unyielding municipal boundaries, is more and more giving concern to the layman, a concern which has led to the formation of numerous civic planning groups working on metropolitan area problems. The **Regional Plan Association of New York** has assembled in a 32-page pamphlet pertinent facts on these organizations—some fifteen in number—describing their purposes, current program, publications, support, etc., with street addresses and executive officers.

"The great growth in metropolitan organization and thinking cannot be overemphasized," says Frederick P. Clark, planning director of the association, in his introduction to the publication. "The movement of our city populations across city lines to the suburbs has raised problems which would never exist were the lines not there. While metropolitan planning is still in its infancy, the reports herein from metropolitan organizations demonstrate that new and useful mechanisms for coordinated municipal action are being built."

Another publication of the New York association is *Airports of Tomorrow,* a report of the Regional Airport Conference on its plan for development of an airport system for the New York metropolitan region. Printed on slick paper, the volume is well illustrated with photographs, maps and charts. "Operation by a single agency of the major airports of the region," comments Paul Windels, president of the association, "is an essential if we are to achieve for the New Jersey-New-York-Connecticut metropolitan region the kind of integrated regional airport system that will maintain the area's prominence in air transport."

Getting the viewpoints of the groups which go to make up a city and its environs has been one task of the **Toledo Regional Planning Association**, Frank Sohn, president. Recent luncheon meetings on a master plan for the Toledo region have been devoted to "Labor's Viewpoint of Toledo Tomorrow," led by Frank Fischer, president of the Toledo Central Labor Union, as moderator, with labor officials participating, and "The Women's Viewpoint of Toledo Planning," with Mrs. C. Tracy LaCost, of the Toledo Women's Club, as moderator, and representatives of women's clubs, the schools, nurses' groups, etc., joining in the discussion.

The **Regional Association of Cleveland,** Ernest J. Bohn, director, has published its *Report No. 5 of the Cleveland Regional Geodetic Survey,* an engineering task organized by the association some years ago, and *Highway Committee Report on Cleveland Memorial Shoreway East within Gordon Park.* The association feels that the geodetic survey "is an absolute necessity for accurate engineering of public improvements. . . Nearly as important, however, is the demonstration it has been of cooperation between public agencies. Local, state and federal governments have contributed to the cost of the work and have shared in its planning and direction."

Neighborhood Planning

Problems of the neighborhood and the need to "bring back the sense of home town" are not being overlooked in New York. "As both a gigantic whole and a vast collection of parts—the five boroughs, scores of dimly outlined communities, each a sizable city in itself, and hundreds of uneasily shifting neighborhoods — New York City now constitutes the world's number one assignment in city planning," says the **Citizens Union of New York** in *The Searchlight.* The union, of which George H. Hallett, Jr., is secretary, has worked out a program for community planning which subdivides the boroughs into "recognized districts as a basis for more orderly planning and decentralization of municipal services and community development." Some 75 such districts are suggested for the four larger boroughs—sixteen in Manhattan, twenty-two in Brooklyn, thirteen in the Bronx, and twenty-four in Queens.

The union asks for the cooperation of all civic groups and the public as a whole, as well as the city administration, to put the plan into effect.

"Your investment in the **South Side Planning Board** (Chicago) will pay dividends," says that organization, Robert E. Garrigan, executive secretary, in a pamphlet which resembles a stock certificate. "Coupons" bear the labels "lives saved," "improvements for workers," "greater return in service on tax dollar," "tax dollars saved," "reduction in communicable disease rates," "wholesome recreation for everyone," "less noise, soot and smoke nuisance," etc.

Accomplishment of another of its objectives is as least partially in sight for the **Louisville Area Development Association**, Kenneth P. Vinsel, executive director. A recent bulletin points out that in 1944 the association's Committee on Parks and Recreation recommended that sixteen additional neighborhood playgrounds be developed by the city and suggested approximate locations. Land has now been acquired by the city, reports the association, for three of these playgrounds.

Planning in the Schools

City Planning as Studied in the San Francisco Public Schools, a four-page leaflet issued by the **San Francisco Planning and Housing Association,** reports on what was done in the schools of that city during 1944-1946 to bring planning to the attention of school children. In 1943 a Teachers' Council was formed which arranged for a teachers' background course in community planning under the auspices of the University of California Extension Division. This course was followed in 1944 by one for in-service training which reached many more teachers.

Several teachers began experimental work with their pupils. So successful were these pioneering efforts, reports the association, that plans were laid for their extension. In the spring of 1946 planning materials were introduced in six schools covering all grade levels from kindergarten through high school.

Aided by a father, kindergartners made a wood and paper model of their neighborhood, showing the school, two churches, stores and a dangerous nearby intersection. They investigated the intersection and its signal light and proved that the light failed to allow enough time for children to cross the wide highway. Reported to the traffic department, this led to a change in timing. Pupils also made a model of an overpass which would eliminate the need of their crossing the highway.

Each grade had its own project, older children investigating the city of early days, learning how cities grew to their present size. Material developed will be made into a *School Handbook on Community Planning.*

Philadelphia has sixteen schools participating in an experimental program of planning education supervised by a full-time staff member. The Wichita City Planning Commission has published a pamphlet for school use to aid in planning instruction.

Sixty high school students of Wayne, Michigan, plus ten college students from Detroit, aided in a comprehensive survey of residents of the community in order to compile information as a background for long-range community planning. Questions asked by the student interviewers covered employment, shopping habits, family transportation, housing, income, recreation habits and plans for the future.

Recognizing that the field of planning has greatly expanded during recent years, the Graduate School of the University of North Carolina in 1946 organized a Department of City and Regional Planning. The department cooperates with others concerned with various phases of planning—economics, mathematics, political science, sociology, health, the Institute of Government and the Institute for Research in Social Science.

Cincinnati Charter Group Lists 'Goals Achieved and to Come'

As it enters its 24th year on behalf of decency and progress in local affairs, the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee,** Forest Frank, executive secretary, takes time out to review its achievements. During the first period of its work, 1924-1935, says the *Charter News Letter,* the committee secured for Cincinnati the manager form of government with proportional representation. In the following years it elected five successive majorities to the council and through them scored many outstanding achievements:

1. Rebuilt and reconditioned the city's badly deteriorated physical plant—streets, public buildings, administrative equipment, etc.;

2. Balanced the city's budget every year—in contrast to ten years of operating deficits immediately preceding, at the same time reducing taxes to the lowest among comparable cities;

3. Attained highest credit rating in municipal bond history up to that time;

4. Introduced centralized and competitive purchasing with savings of more than $500,000 a year;

5. Built many miles of new sewers;

6. Fought for and obtained large scale reductions in gas, electric and water rates, saving every consuming family an average of better than $30 a year, and the city as a whole upwards of $50,000,000 over the years;

7. Achieved a national record in fire prevention and protection;

8. Created a waste collection and garbage disposal system that has become a model for other cities;

9. Starting from scratch, created over a thousand acres of playfields;

10. Eliminated politics from city employment, city contracts, and the day-to-day conduct of city business.

During the second period, 1935-1947, the committee was represented by four out of nine members on the city council. Even so it maintained most of its reforms and rallied support against die-hard opposition from the council majority for many constructive recommendations:

> Preparation of a master plan; legislation for the $41,000,000 bond issue authority; plan for the Millcreek Barrier dam; slum clearance, low-cost housing and flood control projects; efforts to secure blighted areas legislation from the Ohio General Assembly; passage of a strong smoke elimination ordinance.

Much remains to be done, says the *News Letter*: Making the master plan and the smoke ordinance work, constructing a master airport, rehabilitating slum areas, correcting traffic problems, streamlining the local government and services, revamping the water supply setup, bringing new industry to Cincinnati.

Come on In—The Water's Fine!

At the 25th anniversary meeting of the **General Federation of Women's Clubs** representatives of 60,000 junior members were urged to enter party politics. "Possibly the hardest work I would like you to do," said Mrs. LaFell Dickinson, president of the federation, "is to enter into party politics. Get in at the grass roots in your ward precincts. Put in candidates who believe in the things you believe in and support them with all your might."

Mrs. Edith P. Welty, councilwoman from Yonkers since 1940, told graduates of **Mather College** at **Western Reserve University** that women "can do no greater service to their families and community than to take an active part in cleaning up their own city physically, morally and politically." Mrs. Welty, who knows whereof she speaks, continued: "You who enter the field of local politics in any capacity will find it interesting, stimulating, and extremely productive of good results and, if you are a patient optimist with a sense of humor, you will find local politics a lot of fun."

"How to Run for Public Office," by Sara Sparks, appears in the *Independent Woman,* published by the **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.** Material for the article was compiled from questionnaires sent to women in public office by Mrs. Sparks, the federation's public affairs chairman.

Voter Needs Studied

Convinced that the average voter does not have the proper kind of information on candidates at his disposal, the **Baltimore Citizens League** has appointed a committee, headed by its president, Dr. C. I. Winslow, to look into the matter and make recommendations. First step in the investigation is circulation of a questionnaire to league members asking their opinion on the type of information now available on candidates, the degree to which they have found it valuable, and what additional types of information they need to vote more intelligently. When the commission has determined the kind of information needed, a study will be made to determine how best to supply it to the voter. It is hoped to have a plan of action available prior to the 1948 city election.

* * *

Yonkers Group Discusses P. R.

The **Young Men's Chamber of Commerce of Yonkers** plans a forum on proportional representation—the method of electing the city council in that city. Charles King, president, has announced that the forum will be educational, presenting speakers on both sides of the question.

* * *

Greenwich Village Traffic Problems

Greenwich Village, famed neighborhood in New York City, has been worried about traffic conditions on its rambling streets. A "town meeting," called by the **Greenwich Village Association** whose president, Wade G. Bounds, presided, was attended by a hundred residents—many of them representing neighborhood civic, religious and patriotic organizations. Four of the most dangerous intersections were discussed by the assembly while Assistant Chief Inspector George A. Loures, commanding officer of the Police Traffic Division, and his aides took copious notes. Inspector Loures promised a resurvey of the intersections in the light of the hazards described.

* * *

Seattle Text Book

A new text book on Seattle local government has been prepared jointly by the **Seattle Municipal League,** Loring Peterson, research director, and the Seattle school system. Chester D. Babcock, director of social studies in the schools, and Noah Davenport, head of the Franklin High School history department, supervised preparation of the manuscript. The *Seattle Municipal News* reports that the new book, illustrated with artwork and pictures, employs a light narrative style to give a citizen's-eye-view of the police, fire and other administrative departments of the city government, as well as the judiciary, the port of Seattle, the school district and King County.

* * *

Young Voters Active

The **Young Voters** group of the **Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League,** Frank J. Richter, president, continues its activities, holding a recent radio debate, "Is Cincinnati an Old Man's Town?" The group's Taxicab Survey Committee has presented its report to the league's Board of Directors, which commended the excellence of the report and referred it to the City Committee "for joint pointing up and final recommendation." The group's Master Plan Committee is studying the literature of the Cincinnati City Planning Commission.

* * *

'Lessons from the Flood'

Des Moines' recent experience with floods—a not uncommon occurrence—gives the **Des Moines Taxpayers Association,** Roy L. Miller, executive secretary, pause for thought. "Were it not for the inherent weaknesses of our local government," comments *Civic Flashes,* organ of the association, "much of this need not have occurred."

The bulletin points out that "the commission plan of city government is notorious all over the country as one which invites 'buck-passing' on the part of the councilmen. . . Neither individually nor collectively do our councilmen want to assume responsibility for either policy-making or administrative matters. . . Long-range planning is shunned continuously." The association complains that after the 1944 floods the city engineer made a thorough study of the situation with recommendations which, if followed, would have prevented much of this year's flood damage.

Another weakness pointed out is lack of morale among city employees, who failed to carry out orders to fill sand bags and place them on the levee at a certain point. As a result the levee was washed out. No disciplinary action has been taken, however.

* * *

Constitutional Revision

Revision of the Colorado state constitution has been made one of its program items by the **League of Women Voters of Colorado,** reports Ruth E. Pike, specialist in sociology of the Bureau of State and Community Service, University of Colorado Extension Division.

An attractive red, white and blue leaflet, titled *A Constitutional Convention for Illinois,* has been published by the **League of Women Voters of Illinois,** Mrs. Walter T. Fisher, president. Liberally sprinkled with cartoons and maps, it stresses the need for revision of Illinois' antiquated basic law and describes the procedure necessary to secure such revision.

'Let's Talk It Over'

The **National Institute of Social Relations,** Frank L. Weil, president, has been organized by some of the men and officers who were directly responsible for the war department's orientation program. These men have decided to carry on, in civilian life, the work they began in the service. The organization's keynote is "Let's talk it over," and it endeavors to promote discussion groups in the local community where citizens may gather and debate their problems—local to international. Six communities conducted experimental studies in community education. In each there has been established a community discussion council broadly representative of all major sections—officials, business, labor, veterans, women, youth, clergy, educators, etc. The institute seeks the answers to many questions: "What is the best way in which to proceed in order to arouse community interest in discussion of vital local, national and international issues? What kind of people in the community prove to be "the best helpers"? What gets and holds their interest? What is the best way in which they can help? What kind of people should be selected for training as discussion leaders? What is the minimum effective training program in discussion leadership?

* * *

Voter Education

The **League of Women Voters of Boston,** Mrs. John J. Doyle, executive secretary, has announced that its voter education program is being widened in scope and placed on a year-round basis. A revised edition of its voter's manual and primer will be available to school children, particularly civics classes. Further education of voters in the use of voting machines is planned as well as a voter-service booth on Boston Common, where information on candidates for city council and school committee will be distributed. The league continues its support of Plan E for Boston (manager plan with proportional representation for city council and school committee)—a major project since 1937.

* * *

Students Draft Constitution

Summer students of Professor James Robinson, government professor at **Northeastern State College of Oklahoma,** have prepared a proposed new state constitution in anticipation of a much discussed constitutional convention which may be called within the next two years. The students made an analysis of the state's present document, comparing it with the provisions of other state constitutions. In their new document they have incorporated the best features of all constitutions, adding a few improvements of their own. One of the guides consulted was the National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution.*

* * *

Strictly Personal

The Citizens League of Cleveland has appointed **Guy Larcom, Jr.,** as its new director, succeeding Colonel Robert W. Chamberlain. Mr. Larcom, formerly with the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Hartford Courant,* has been in the housing field for a number of years, most recently local action specialist, Region I, Office of the Housing Expediter in Boston, Massachusetts.

The Citizens Planning Association for the Development of the Cincinnati Area has appointed **Sherwood L. Reeder,** formerly director of master planning for the Cincinnati Planning Commission, as its executive secretary. Mr. Reeder succeeds **Walton R. L. Taylor** who has resigned to join the staff of the Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Ten P. R. Referenda

Six Votes on Adoption Four Votes on Repeal

THE question of adopting new charters providing proportional representation for the election of the city council and school board will be presented to the voters of six cities on November 4, unless some defect is found in one or more of the petitions on file. On the same day four cities will vote on repeal of P. R.

Referenda on adoption of P. R. as part of the Massachusetts "Plan E" (council-manager plan) are scheduled in response to petitions filed in Worcester, Pittsfield, Fitchburg, Somerville, Medford and Revere. Plan E committees in these cities secured many more signatures to the petitions than necessary and plan vigorous campaigns.

The question of P. R. repeal will come up in New York City, Long Beach (New York), Cincinnati and Boulder (Colo.).

Groups considering changes in the Toledo charter have abandoned plans for precipitating a fifth P. R. repeal referendum this year. Only one proposal reached the city council, the so-called Damas plan which asked a vote on abandonment of the present charter for one providing the strong mayor plan with a council of nine elected by majority vote at large. It was defeated in the council, which voted against suspension of the rules to permit the issue to be placed on the November ballot.

There has been talk of a repeal referendum in Wheeling, West Virginia, at an election next spring. The Wheeling Association, which secured adoption of P. R. in 1935, is preparing to lead the defense if the attack materializes.

The Cincinnati *Post* observed editorially on August 8 that, "The last council before P. R. comprised 32 members, all but one of whom was a puppet of the political machine" and expressed the opinion, "It is hardly a mere coincidence that during this time [before P. R.] of extravagance and waste of tax money, there was no effective minority to challenge the Republican organization's majority."

Making a similar point the New York *Herald Tribune* stated on September 6:

> It [abolition of P. R.] would certainly weaken Republican representation in the city and, since Republicans rarely draw their full vote in the "off" years when municipal elections are held, would raise a real possibility of a return to the old days when the board of aldermen was a virtual monopoly of the Democratic party hacks. Worse than the change in party composition would be the certain deterioration in the quality of the councilmen. The able and independent minds which have been attracted to the council in recent years, and which P. R. has forced the organizations to seek out and support, would have no further entry once the seats were in effect restored as gifts of the machine.

The Communist Threat

Both in New York and Cincinnati an attempt has been made by repeal forces to capitalize on the intense unpopularity of the Communists by asserting that P. R. with its chance for minority representation plays into their hands. Dealing with the issue as presented in Cincinnati, the *Catholic Telegraph-Register,* published by the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, stated:

> The condition of Ireland is somewhat similar to that of Cincinnati, where we have good citizens, a stable community, a healthy militant conservatism, and where there is no danger of electing revolutionary radicals to the council of our city. The P. R. of Cincinnati has stood the test of 21 years. Before the advent of P. R. in Cincinnati we had a record of politics in the Queen City which will always be a disgraceful page in our history.

Dealing with this issue in New York, where the election of two avowed Communists among 23 councilmen in 1945 has been made the principal ground of attack on P. R., the New York *Herald Tribune* observed in the editorial quoted above:

> Gerrymandering the Communists out of the council is not going to gerrymander them out of the city. Proportional representation has given them their fair representation, no more and no less, and so long as they are a legal party there is a great deal to be said for having them tagged and in the open rather than operating under the disguises at which they are so adept. There is no real Red issue here. The move to abolish P. R. is really a retrogressive move by the parties to regain the old, comfortable machine control of the council, and this newspaper sees no particular reason why the people of the city should oblige them.

Of the six Massachusetts communities which may vote on the question of adopting a P.R.—manager form of government this fall, Somerville, Medford and Revere are situated close to Cambridge, whose success in municipal improvement since adopting Plan E has contributed greatly to the interest in Massachusetts in the possibilities of this form of government.[1] Five of the cities have substantial importance as manufacturing centers.

Catholic Newspaper Points Out Advantages of P. R.

In an editorial in its August 22 issue, titled "P. R. in Cincinnati," the third of a series on the subject, the *Catholic Telegraph-Register* lists some of the benefits which it believes P. R. has brought to the city:

"For 21 years the P. R. system has given us honest government in the Queen City. For 21 years the P. R. system has assured minority representation in the council of the city of Cincinnati. For 21 years the matching of Republicans and Charterites in the central place of counting votes has prevented irregularities and dishonesty. The counting of votes in one central place is very important to exclude dishonest counting. For 21 years the minority in council, whether that minority was made up of Republicans or of Charterites, assured the city that measures before the council would be discussed publicly. Public opinion owing to discussion did influence the majority members. . . .

"If the P. R. system is rejected in Cincinnati we shall have in due time only one party in control. There will be nine members of that one party. These nine members will be elected not on the basis of their moral principles but on their willingness to

(Continued on page 538)

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[1] See "Cambridge Does It Again," the REVIEW, September 1947, page 444.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Blue Earth County Surveys Public Health

Issues Report on Activities of Three Government Levels

THE Council on Intergovernmental Relations of Blue Earth County, Minnesota, has issued its second report on the possibilities of cooperative activities of the governmental units in the area. In *A Study of Public Health Administration in Blue Earth County, Minnesota* (86 pages), it chose to select one significant activity in which several governmental units participate to demonstrate the possibilities of better service through closer intergovernmental cooperation.

It selected the field of public health for the following reasons:

1. Since it is the concern of such a large number of governmental units and agencies, it is admirably suited to demonstrate the practical use of the community reporting system recommended in the study;
2. The health services now being provided by local units of government are at a minimum;
3. Public health provides, on a smaller scale and more concretely, all the problems and complicating factors involved in the over-all field of intergovernmental relations;
4. Health is one of the most fertile fields for intergovernmental cooperation—most health problems are shared by all jurisdictions;
5. A considerable expansion of governmental activity in the field of public health may be expected, stimulated especially at the federal level.

Functions that the council surveyed included maintenance of vital statistics, communicable disease control, sanitation, inspection of food, facilities and institutions, maintenance of water supply, garbage removal and sewage disposal, maternity and infant care, preschool and school health, care of crippled and dependent children, nursing service, laboratory service, housing and several other phases of health administration.

Jurisdictions it surveyed included units of federal, state and local governments and numerous non-governmental organizations engaged in public health work. The major recommendation it presented was that legislation permitting a community health unit to be established by one or more counties be enacted. The council recognized that this recommendation contained nothing original and, in fact, that such legislation was already in effect in three-fourths of the states.

County Has 300 Offices

The council observed that Blue Earth County contained 155 units of local government, offices of 105 state agencies and offices of 38 federal agencies, comprising a total of 298 units and offices. It emphasized that while local government functions were increasing in number and complexity, the available financial resources and skilled personnel were not experiencing comparable growth. The result was greater dependence on the state and federal governments for financial assistance and technical guidance. Inevitably such assistance is accompanied by controls imposed upon the local units until, as the council observed, the term "local government" could be changed to the more apt term "government locally."

The council stated that the solution would be found in consolidation and cooperation, but it foresaw little progress through compulsory methods. It recommended practical demonstration of cooperative action in various functional fields. It reiterated its belief that coordinated reporting of all government in the community was a first essential to a unified approach to functions overlapping jurisdictional lines.

The need for effective reporting to establish a receptive public attitude toward governmental improvement was emphasized by the council's statement regarding the public attitude toward a broad governmental program for public health. It declared:

> The traditional fear of governmental interference is especially evident in the field of health, where the personal element is so much involved. This factor continues to act as a brake against extending the health program.
>
> Although there has been widespread participation in the Blue Cross and other hospital insurance programs, the community is united in its opposition to whatever savors of "socialized medicine."
>
> There is a resistance to any extension of federal activity and to the local use of federal funds.
>
> The good relations that exist between the State Health Department and local units depend upon the state's "hands off" policy rather than upon an effective and cooperative working agreement.
>
> Local health officers themselves reflect the passive attitude of the community toward sanitary conditions.
>
> Among the different units there is the tendency to think only in terms of their own assignments. An instance of this is the failure of county and school to pool their staffs of public health nurses, even in the face of the present critical shortage.

Census Bureau Reports on Counties

The U. S. Bureau of the Census recently released two publications, *County Finances: 1945, Preliminary Summary* and *County Employment in 1947,* constituting the latest issues in the two series initiated several years ago.

County Finances: 1945 observes developments in the year beginning the postwar period and compares the new trends with those of the war years. County governments entered the period with moderate fund balances accumulated during the war as a result of the high level of economic activity which had facilitated prompt payment of local taxes and increased the yield of some locally-shared state taxes. Another contributing factor was that capital expenditures had decreased greatly and even maintenance expenditures for highways and buildings had dropped below prewar figures. Consequently, in each of the years 1942 through 1945, general revenues exceeded total expenditures, including debt service charges.

Total revenue of the 3,050 "independent county governments" in 1945 ($1,720,000,000) exceeded that of 1944 by almost 4 per cent. General expenditures ($1,696,000,000) represented slightly more than 4 per cent increase over 1944. The largest percentage of increase took place for highways; the smallest for public welfare. It is asserted that 1945 probably represents only the beginning of the anticipated rise in postwar capital expenditures.

Debt service requirements decreased almost 11 per cent in the year, and net debt decreased 7 per cent. From 1942 to 1945 total gross debt decreased from two billion to one and a half billion dollars. The largest county indebtedness, computed on a per capita basis, was borne by counties containing more than 250,000 population.

The financial survey revealed the increasing importance of county-owned enterprises. In 1945, 100 were reported not including those economic undertakings whose accounts were not maintained separately from the general accounts of the county. Their operating revenues amounted to $10,000,000 and their long-term debt to $23,000,000. The 32 alcoholic beverage dispensaries of North Carolina and Maryland counties alone had gross profits of $5,600,000. Many county airports had not yet been returned by the army at the close of 1945. Other enterprises included 22 water supply systems and several toll bridges.

County Employment in 1947 is part of the *Government Employment* series of the Census Bureau and is published annually. It contains comparative statistics for large county governments for the month of January of each year and, on the basis of sampling methods of compilation, presents general statistics for all county governments.

Excluding school employees, there were 343,000 county employees in January 1947, representing an 8 per cent increase over the preceding January. In total amount of payroll, the increase in the one-year period was 14 per cent. Comparison with January 1940 and January 1943 figures revealed that 1947 county employment was 5 per cent above the prewar level and 11 per cent above the low figure reached in the middle of the war period. In terms of payroll, however, the January 1947 figures were 64 per cent above those for January 1940.

Seven per cent of all government employees or 14 per cent of all local government employees were employed by counties in January 1947. California led the list in number of county employees with twice as many as the next highest state, Tennessee. Adding those in New York, Virginia, Ohio, Texas and Michigan, almost half of the county employees in the United States are in these seven states. It was emphasized, however, that in making comparisons among states due regard must be given to the fact that the distribution of functions between the state and its counties varies greatly from state to state.

Oregon Authorizes County Planning

The 1947 Oregon legislature adopted a statute authorizing any county in the state to establish a planning commission.[1] Any commission established by a county would have jurisdiction over preparation of a land development pattern, land-use regulations and subdivision control in unincorporated areas. In enacting the law the legislature followed the recommendations of the Governor's Committee on Rural Zoning, appointed in 1945 at the suggestion of the League of Oregon Cities.

In making its study of conditions in unincorporated areas, the committee ascertained that the fringe areas of many cities were almost as densely populated as the cities themselves. It anticipated that from 25 per cent to 40 per cent of future industrial development and 50 per cent of residential development would be outside the large cities. Already subdivisions are being developed without regard to coordination with roads, streets or sidewalks in the area. Residential areas in the suburbs also are being blighted by the intrusion of industry.

The statute permits any county court (legislative body) to appoint a county planning commission to prepare a pattern for the physical and economic development of the county. The pattern could include zoning and land-use regulations and after its adoption by the commission it would be submitted to the county court for enactment of appropriate ordinances. Ordinances establishing zoning and land-use regulation would require final approval by popular referendum.

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[1] Chapter 537, Oregon Laws 1947.

Texas Legislature Enacts Road Reform

The 1947 Texas legislature enacted an optional county road law which will permit local roads to operate as a county unit rather than as four separate precincts as at present. Adoption of the plan by any county requires an initiative petition signed by at least 10 per cent of the voters and approval by popular referendum.

The plan establishes a county road department including the commissioners court (legislative body) as the policy-making body and the county road engineer, appointed by the commissioners court for an indefinite term, as chief executive officer. The engineer appoints and removes road department personnel with the approval of the commissioners court, supervises administration of the road department, prepares road budgets and specifications, and serves as custodian of all equipment.

Approximately 30 Texas counties voted on the plan in August when a proposed constitutional amendment also was submitted to the voters of the state.

County road jurisdiction in Texas also was enlarged recently by the attorney general's ruling that counties are authorized to spend road funds within city limits if the city approves.

Correction.—In this department for September, page 468, Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish were inadvertently placed in Alabama instead of Louisiana.

CATHOLIC NEWSPAPER POINTS OUT ADVANTAGES OF P. R.

(Continued from page 534)

be controlled by the bosses. The bosses do not want independent men, nor do they want men of high moral principles. . . .

"Coming elections are apt to be very bitter. We hope our people will become thoroughly aroused, and we trust that the electorate will not turn over the city of Cincinnati to political bosses. If we have nine members of one political party in council, those men, in all probability, will carry out the bidding always of the political bosses. . . .

"The editors of this paper again ask their readers to think seriously before rejecting the P. R. system which has insured an honest and a better moral government of the city for 21 years."

P. R. League Will Meet November 14

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League, to be held in connection with the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, is scheduled for November 14 at the Hermitage Hotel, Nashville, Tennessee. Reports on this fall's P. R. elections as well as the referenda described above will be presented. The program for all conference sessions (November 12-14) will be mailed to P. R. League members in the near future.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Price Fixing Hit by Purchase Agents

Cite City Officers' Aid in Federal Anti-trust Drive

AID OF governmental purchasing agents in the current anti-trust drive of the U. S. Department of Justice was revealed at the opening sessions of the National Institute of Governmental Purchasing in New York City in September. Public purchasing agents were urged to further governmental economy by investigating and reporting all cases of identical bids as well as cases where only one bid is received.

Citing the fact that taxpayers' money can be saved by reporting suspected instances of collusive bidding on contracts offered to local governments, Joseph W. Nicholson, purchasing agent of Milwaukee, stated: "As a result of such reports by public purchasing agents, federal complaints are now pending against manufacturers of fire alarm, mimeograph and chlorinating equipment, also against manufacturers of surgical dressings and business forms."

Cases have already been concluded successfully by the Department of Justice against parking meter and fire engine manufacturers.

Use of the purchasing agents' institute as a clearing house for information on price-fixing and similar evidences of collusive bidding for governmental contracts was urged by Mr. Nicholson and by James A. Murtagh, commissioner of investigation of the City of New York. Mr. Murtagh said, "If you know of any racketeering or conspiracy to fix prices you should bring it before the Department of Justice. Only in that manner can you put an end to racketeering."

The agents were warned to watch invitations for bids carefully so as to prevent insertion of language in effect excluding all but one bidder or manufacturer, and to require the bidder to name the manufacturer of the product offered.

San Francisco Adopts Sales Tax

San Francisco, second largest of the California cities, has now followed the lead of Los Angeles, Long Beach and over 50 smaller municipalities of the state in enacting a city sales tax.

The San Francisco tax became effective October 1 and will be levied at the rate of one-half of one per cent. It is expected to yield about six million dollars annually. In Los Angeles a tax at the same rate is anticipated in the 1947-48 budget to produce more than nine million dollars.

The first large city to adopt a sales tax was New York City, whose tax is now 2 per cent. It produced more than $45,000,000 last year. St. Louis, Kansas City and New Orleans are other large municipalities where sales taxes have been in effect for some time.

In upstate New York, Erie County recently adopted a sales tax, revenues from which are earmarked exclusively for local school districts.

Income Tax for School District

Under broad revenue powers conferred by the 1947 session of the Pennsylvania legislature, the Coraopolis school district of that state has become the third local unit of government in the United States to enact an income tax; the other two are Philadelphia and Toledo.

The new income tax is provided for in the district's 1947-48 budget, which calls for a tax of one per cent on all wages, commissions and fees of residents and on net profits of business and industry. The tax is to become effective January 1, but is dependent on passage by the school board of a special local tax law.

The district imposed the income tax pursuant to authority granted by the 1947 Pennsylvania legislature, giving political subdivisions, except first-class cities and second-class townships, authority to tax "privileges, transactions, subjects, occupations and personal property" if not taxed by the state. Not only local income taxes but also sales, amusement, wage and occupation taxes in large variety may be levied. Excepted are taxes on gross receipts of utilities and such others as might be imposed by the state in the future. In case the state imposes a tax already imposed by a local government, the municipal ordinance involved is automatically vacated.

Local Borrowing Heavy

Multi-million dollar financing by the states and their local subdivisions is pushing the volume of new bond sales this year to new peaks. Aided by issuance of $105,000,000 revenue bonds of the recently organized Chicago Transit Authority, state and municipal bond sales for August 1947 reached $189,585,733, according to *The Daily Bond Buyer.* Other large issues included $22,868,000 of the Boston Metropolitan Commission, $10,000,000 of the state of New Jersey, and $5,000,000 of the state of North Carolina. The August 1947 total compared with $67,525,776 issued in August 1946. For the first eight months of 1947, issues totaled $1,747,218,569, compared with $807,235,995 for the corresponding 1946 period.

Despite the large volume of new borrowing, authorizations continue virtually unabated. *The Bond Buyer's* "Inventory of Proposed State and Municipal Bond Issues," compiled periodically from the record of authorizations approved by legislatures, the voters, local governing bodies, etc., and announced plans for new financing, reached a total of $6,223,000,000 at September 1, 1947. It had climbed from $2,368,000,000 November 15, 1945, to $4,577,000,000 November 15, 1946, and passed the six billion level by July 1, 1947. Of the September 1, 1947, total $2,850,000,000 represents proposals for states and state agencies, $3,374,000,000 for municipalities.

St. Louis Finances Surveyed

Recommendations for economy in administration and services and for additional revenues to strengthen the city's finances have been made to St. Louis citizens and officials by the Citizens Tax Commission, Robert E. Blake, chairman, in a recent report to Mayor A. P. Kaufmann.

Citing the fact that the city's general operating fund ended each year from 1928 to 1942 with a cumulative deficit, and has now used up a modest surplus built during the war years, the commission recommended a broad program to reduce expenditures and increase efficiency, and proposed a variety of new revenue sources for official consideration.

Specific recommendations for economy included transfer of two city institutions for the insane and mentally deficient to the state, employment of experts to review the administrative units of the city, and revision and modernization of the city charter. It was pointed out that St. Louis is the only place in Missouri having its own institutions for the care of the mentally ill, all other cities and counties sending their mental cases to state institutions.

An interesting feature of the commission's report is that it attempted to follow up in some detail the recommendations made in a survey report of 1941 prepared by the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute with the assistance of Griffenhagen and Associates. In no department did it find that all the 1941 recommendations had been followed, and in some instances it found compliance to have been negligible.

Revenue proposals were led by the suggested use of a city income tax, preferably in conjunction with a 50 per cent reduction in the state income tax with the city tax as an offset and to be collected by the state. Other proposals were for increases in city liquor taxes, imposition of an amusement admissions tax, a sewer service charge equal to 25 per cent of the water bill, increase in the city cigarette tax from two to three cents per pack, and increased city participation in such state-collected charges as the gasoline tax, drivers license fees, etc. It was also recommended that the proposed survey of the city include examination of water department finances to determine whether there was a water fund surplus which might be used for general purposes.

Sales Tax Vote in Oregon

At a special election to be held October 7, voters of Oregon will pass on two tax measures, one referred by the legislature and one on the ballot by petition. The measures are a sales tax and a tax on cigarettes, the latter not to be effective, however, if the sales tax is enacted.

Not only is the fate of the cigarette tax (if approved by the voters) contingent on the fate of the sales tax, but effectiveness of other legislation also depends on the voters' judgment on the sales tax. Most of the sales tax revenue would be earmarked to replace school, city and county real property taxes, with part to support the state general fund. If the sales tax fails of passage, then under 1947 legislation the state income tax will be put on a withholding basis and exemptions will be lowered; if the sales tax is enacted income tax exemptions will be raised.

Water Rates in Oregon Cities Studied

A comprehensive study and tabulation of water rates and other pertinent data on water supply and distribution systems in cities in Oregon, has been published in the August issue of *Western City,* monthly organ of the leagues of municipalities in the far west.

Based on material compiled by Henry F. Beistel, research assistant of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, the study provides detailed information on the systems and water rates in 125 cities. Of the total, 114 are municipally-owned and eleven are privately owned. Rates are shown on the basis of fixed quantities of water consumed in the various brackets and for various classes of consumers, facilitating intercity comparisons by the reader. An interesting feature is the inclusion of data on policy in respect to charges for service to city, fire and school purposes.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . . *Edited by James E. Gates*

Boundary Commission Makes Progress

Has Cooperation and Good Will of Local Authorities

THE LOCAL Government Boundary Commission in Great Britain[1] has approached its tremendous task—making, so far as practicable, all local government authorities effective and convenient units—with caution and with great respect for the traditions and reputation of the system which it has the duty of reforming, reports *Local Government Finance* (London), official journal of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants. The commission has already achieved much by securing "the active good will and cooperation of the local authorities themselves," an essential condition for the successful accomplishment of the commission's aims.

Following its appointment in October 1945, the commission commenced investigations in fifteen major areas. In the first eight months it held 191 conferences with representatives of local authorities of all types—at the authorities' own offices.

In the course of these investigations it became evident that in nearly all cases the problem is complicated by the existence of common or interrelated problems affecting a number of local authorities, or by the cumulative effect upon a county or counties of proposals for extension by a number of county boroughs and of claims for county borough status by non-county boroughs. This has meant that the several areas must of necessity be reviewed together. For example, in the review of five areas in Staffordshire and Worcestershire, and of four in Somerset and Gloucestershire, conferences with 30 and 23 authorities respectively were involved.

Some measure of the overlapping complication can be gathered from the fact that 37 counties and 80 county boroughs have indicated their desire for some alteration; while in addition 44 authorities have proposed the creation —either individually or in amalgamation—of 33 new county boroughs.

The major policy issues involved in the work of the commission led the Minister of Health, when questioned on the commission's report, to observe that he "would prefer the whole matter to be examined in a kind of national discussion and debate, because it may be necessary to alter the commission's powers very widely indeed."

It is clear that the commission has raised the whole question of the aggregate pattern—or patterns—of the structure of the local government system as at present, and the answers to the question may produce even more revolutionary proposals than are at present within the purview of the commission —such as regional bodies.

Compensation Plan for Nationalized Utilities Protested

The Association of Municipal Corporations of the United Kingdom has made strong protests to the Prime Minister relative to the compensation to be paid municipal undertakings under the transport and electricity bills, as well as that part of the government's proposal which would exclude elected representatives from the day-to-day control of local transport and electricity supply.

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[1] See "England Plans Area Changes," by Shena D. Simon, the REVIEW, July 1945, page 332.

A proposal that compensation should be paid for loss of profits was put to the Standing Committee of the House, where it was defeated, on the basis that so far as undertakings promoted capital expansion out of reserve it was taken out of the pockets of consumers and not from the pockets of taxpayers. The Minister of Fuel said that in so far as local authorities incurred an actual loss financially he would consider devising a system of compensation.

Later the Minister of Fuel advanced the amount of £5,000,000, for electricity undertakings, which was to be confined to "the problem of the increased overhead charges which local authorities would have to meet for the purpose of adjusting their municipal accounts." In the case of transport the figure has been set at £2,500,000, and for ports and harbors £200,000.

It seems clear that there is to be no compensation for loss of contributions to the general city revenues, or for loss of right to income tax setoff benefits. As one critic put it, there was to be "no reward for the virtuous and no penalty for those who have over-indulged in borrowing to finance capital expenditure."

Interest Rates on Old Loans Reduced in United Kingdom

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, according to the *Municipal Journal and Local Government Administrator* (London) has announced that £15,000,000 has become available to reduce the interest on loans borrowed at high rates by local authorities in past years from the local loans fund. The chancellor said:

> The redemption of local loans stock has created a disposable surplus of £15,000,000 in the local loans fund. This surplus will be used to reduce all rates of interest on outstanding balances from the fund, in excess of 4¼ per cent, to this figure. This does not affect the so-called "Addison" loans to local authorities, where relief is already given by the exchequer. This reduction will take effect from 1st June, 1947.
>
> Two-thirds of all the local authorities concerned, numbering nearly 2,000, will benefit from these reductions of interest rates. Most of these are small authorities, with very limited financial resources. This relief will, therefore, be a further practical example of the benefit to the nation of cheaper money.

English Local Finance Reported to Commons

Incomes of local authorities in England and Wales, their sources and magnitude, are revealed in a report made to the House of Commons. Total revenues raised locally, by years from 1936 to 1943, and the additional revenue from exchequer grants during each of these years, were as follows:

Year Ended March 31	Income from Local Rates (£ Millions)	Income from Government Grants (£ Millions)
1936	164.9	132.9
1937	172.8	135.6
1938	177.3	136.1
1939	191.4	140.2
1940	201.3	181.9*
1941	203.9	226.0*
1942	198.9	278.3*
1943	200.4	248.1*

*Includes reimbursement from government departments in respect of emergency services.

Saskatchewan Utilities— All but One Publicly-Owned

The entire Saskatchewan holdings—exclusive of the Lloydminster unit—of Canadian Utilities Limited, with head offices at Calgary, Alberta, have been purchased by the Saskatchewan Power Commission for $3,600,000, according to a statement placed before the legislature by the provincial minister of natural resources and industrial development.

The purchase adds 419 miles of transmission and 217 miles of distribution lines to the Saskatchewan Power Commission holdings. It includes 21 oil and three steam generating units and a total of 11,147 new consumers in 38 new electric unit communities.

With the exception of one private company and a few isolated units all of the electric power system of Saskatchewan is now under public ownership.

Storm of Criticism in Union of South Africa

Remonstrances have been voiced repeatedly during the past few years against the central government's attitude toward local government in the Union of South Africa, reports the *South African Municipal Magazine* (Johannesburg). But such remonstrance has never been so outspoken as it was recently when in a short space of time the government was taken to task by members of the Institute of Treasurers and Accountants, the United Municipal Executive, and by delegates to the Cape Province Municipal Congress.

According to I. Q. Holmes of the institute, the government has become a "slave to the very unwise and exasperating habit of 'passing the buck,' with the result that most South African municipalities are finding it exceedingly difficult today to cope with the burdens thrown upon their backs by the government, and indeed the financial resources of several towns have been almost crippled by the government's 'devil take the hindmost' game of delegating national functions to local authorities without giving them the necessary financial assistance."

The criticism of the United Municipal Executive was directed to what it called a tendency of the government "to pass legislation with a flagrant disregard for the opinion of municipal authorities." It adds, "the government often makes itself look rather more than foolish by refusing to consider outside opinion—at the time of writing it is proposed to suspend the unemployment insurance act owing to the complaints received from municipal and private sources in many parts of the country."

Much of the contention is laid to the fact that provincial legislation for control of local affairs was introduced no less than 40 years ago (at the time of the union) and has not been overhauled sufficiently to meet present-day conditions. One of the members of the United Municipal Executive commented that, "If a complete collapse of local government in South Africa is to be prevented the government must be brought to its senses."

Capetown Develops Industrial Site

For years Capetown, South Africa, has had very little land within its boundaries to offer to industries, but soon, it is reported, there will be plenty of sites for sale in the Epping Industrial Township. Having concluded its negotiations with the government regarding cost, the city has secured title to the Epping Forest Reserve and the town's planners have already completed the design of what they declare to be "the finest laid out industrial area in the Southern Hemisphere."

It is planned to dispose of the sites by private sale at £1,600 per acre. The city will provide roads, drainage, sewerage, water, electric light and power, and railway service lines. The layout also makes provision for an emergency hospital, recreation center, railway yards, bus station, fire station and gardens for the use of workers during lunch hours.

Monkeys to Go Says Durban Council

A final decision has been reached on the long-debated question of whether or not Durban's monkeys should be exterminated. On May 9, by sixteen votes to four, the city council authorized the destruction by humane means of most of the monkeys in the city at a cost of about £100.

Causes of Drift Cityward in Australia

The causes, reputed or otherwise, of the drift toward centralization of population in Australia have been analyzed by the Central Planning Authority of Victoria, in its *Planning Bulletin,* as follows:

1. Decline of gold mining;
2. Scarcity and want of continuity of employment;
3. Closing of small industries and removal of larger ones from country centers to metropolitan areas;
4. Better opportunities for employment at higher wages and under better conditions in the city;
5. Lack in country districts of various trades at which young men could become skilled workmen;
6. Neglect in development of country resources;
7. Impediments to the occupation of land in mining districts by old-time restrictions and objections;
8. Want of systematized rural organization;
9. General dullness of country life;
10. Deficiencies and disabilities surrounding country life;
11. Unattractiveness of the agricultural industry to young men;
12. Isolation of farm life;
13. Effect of railway freights on secondary industries in the country;
14. Absorption by city firms of a large measure of trade which formerly went to country houses, thus restricting the growth of country industries and businesses and closing avenues of employment in country towns and swelling the stream of population to the city.

George Bernard Shaw Becomes Municipal Officer

George Bernard Shaw was recently made the first freeman of the borough of St. Pancras, London, where the distinguished playwright and author served as vestryman from 1897 to 1900 and then—when the vestries became boroughs—as a member of the first borough council.

According to a fellow-member of this first borough council, Mr. Shaw was a diligent member, attending all meetings of the council and its committees. On one occasion, it is recounted, one of his plays was opening at a West End theatre. It was a great success and at the fall of the curtain there was a call for the author, which only ceased when the audience was told the author was not present. He was attending a subcommittee meeting of the health committee of the borough council.

A member of the Fabian Society, he was always outspoken and vehement on behalf of any reform of municipal machinery and, according to *Local Government Service* (London), "gave six of the best years of his life to the cause of running and improving local government."

Unable to attend the ceremony, GBS sent a characteristic message that "we must insist on Parliament getting back to the municipal system, the committee system, and really be able to get to work."

Books in Review

Trend of Tax Delinquency, 1930-1946, Cities of Over 50,000 Population. By Frederick L. Bird. New York, Dun & Bradstreet, Municipal Service Department, 1947. 39 pp. $3.

Initiated in 1932, this annual study of tax delinquency and tax collections in cities of over 50,000 population now gives the picture of depression, recovery World War II, and the first postwar year. Year-end current tax delinquency, which has declined steadily since 1933, continued its downward course in 1946, the median for the group of cities standing at 3.20 per cent of the year's levy compared with 3.30 per cent in 1945. Median delinquency had risen from 10.15 per cent in 1930 to a 1933 peak of 26.35 and by 1939 had fallen below the 1930 level.

The study shows, however, that total tax collections are now past their peak, the back tax payments of the years of prosperity having made their inroads on the accumulated backlog of delinquent taxes which was the legacy of the depression. The median ratio of combined current and back tax collections to the year's levy had drifted down from 101.2 per cent in 1943 to 100.8 per cent in 1945 and 100.3 per cent in 1946.

Other data shown for cities in the over 50,000 group are the percentage uncollected at the end of the 1946 fiscal year of each of the three preceding tax levies, and the relationship of the accumulated total of uncollected taxes to the 1946 levy.

W. S. S.

The Making of the New Jersey Constitution. Reprint of Introduction to the Proceedings of the New Jersey State Constitutional Convention of 1844 Together with a New Foreword. By John Bebout. 1945. cxx pp. $1. (Apply New Jersey League of Women Voters, 790 Broad Street, Newark.)

Like all the states, New Jersey has had a long and checkered career in state constitutional developments. This evolution began in remote English history and continued in the colonial period. Out of this ancient history and the fires of the Revolution came the constitution of 1776 which endured until 1844 when a new fundamental law for New Jersey took its place. In spite of a number of amendments in 1875, the fundamentals of the constitution of 1844 were still in force in 1947.

For a broad understanding of constitutional problems in New Jersey, a careful reading of Mr. Bebout's essay on the making of the constitution of 1844 is recommended. Like many of the early state constitutions, New Jersey's fundamental law of 1776 was emphatically on the side of legislative supremacy. As the author indicates, the constitution of 1776 was criticized on that score and for other reasons such as the lack of a comprehensive bill of rights.

The proponents of a new constitution were strongly motivated by the doctrine of a separation of powers, the balanced symmetry of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. Accordingly, the most significant divisions in the convention of 1844 had to do with such questions as position and powers of the governor, composition of the courts, terms of the legislature, and methods of amendment.

The makers of the constitution of 1844 were determined to avoid legislative supremacy, as the framers of the 1776 document were adamant against executive dominance. They embraced the separation of powers doctrine but unfortunately produced a weak executive without broad powers over an integrated administrative mechanism. As public administration has expanded in functions and intensity, this 1844 decision has plagued New Jersey to this day.

Since this fundamental issue has again been raised in the New Jersey constitutional convention of 1947, Mr. Bebout's analysis of the historical evolution of legislative supremacy and separation of powers in New Jersey makes timely reading, and students of state government and administration will get a deeper appreciation of the historical forces making for a weak executive in many American states.

Arthur W. Bromage
University of Michigan

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments.)

Budgets

State Budgets Submitted in 1947. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 23 pp.

Employment

City Employment in 1946; Industrial and Occupational Shifts of Employed Workers: August 1945 to August 1946; and **State and Local Government Employment in Selected Metropolitan Areas in 1947.** Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 56, 12, and 11 pp. respectively.

Federal Government

United States Government Manual—1947 (Second Edition—Revised through June 1, 1947. Washington 25, D. C., Government Information Service, Office of Government Reports, 1947. v, 713 pp. $1. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.)

Fire Prevention

Local Fire Administration in Pennsylvania. By Elizabeth Smedley. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, 1947. iv, 138 pp.

Standards for Grandstands, Tents and Other Places of Outdoor Assembly. By Committee on Places of Outdoor Assembly. Boston, National Fire Protection Association, 1946. 23 pp. 25 cents.

Governmental Activities

An Inventory of Governmental Activities in the United States.[1] By Carl H. Chatters. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1947. 15 pp. 75 cents.

Hospitals

The Hospital Act and Your Community. Washington 25, D. C., Division of Hospital Facilities, U. S. Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency, 1947. 16 pp. illus.

Hospital Quiz. Hospital Survey and Construction Program—Law and Regulations. What Is a Hospital System? Why We Need More Hospitals. Washington, D. C., U. S. Public Health Service, Division of Hospital Facilities, 1947. 15, 11, 7 and 12 pages respectively.

Labor and Industry

Management-Labor Cooperation in Cutting Costs. A Statement by the Labor Committee on National Policy. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1947. 4 pp.

Massachusetts Proposals for Better Industrial Relations. The Report of the Governor's Labor-Management Committee. Boston, The New England Council, 1947. 41 pp.

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[1] For a discussion of this publication see page 503.

Population

Migration in the United States: August 1945 to August 1946. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 10 pp.

New York City's Population Growth 1790-1970. New York City, Consolidated Edison Company, Economic Research Department, 1946. 28 pp.

Public Opinion Polls

Qualitative Measurement of Public Opinion. The Quintamensional Plan of Question Design. By George Gallup. Princeton, New Jersey, American Institute of Public Opinion, 1947. 8 pp.

Public Safety

Accident Facts—1947 Edition. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1947. 96 pp. 50 cents.

Purchasing

Proceedings of the First Annual Conference and Products Exhibit of the National Institute of Governmental Purchasing. Tips on Buying—A Practical Guide to Efficient and Economical Public Buying. Washington, D. C., The National Institute of Governmental Purchasing, 1946 and 1947. 27 and 8 pp. respectively.

Taxation and Finance

Central Service Charges Against State Special Revenue Funds. By John C. Crowley. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1947. 8 pp. 35 cents.

City Property Taxes in Wartime. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 8 pp.

Federal-State Tax Coordination. Washington, D. C., U. S. Treasury Department, Division of Tax Research, 1947. 61 pp.

Finance Commission of the City of Boston, Reports and Communications. Boston, Printing Department, 1947. 263 pp.

Financial Statement and Assessments 1946. Montreal, The Montreal Metropolitan Commission, 1947. 15 pp.

Governmental Debt in the United States 1946. By Wylie Kilpatrick and N. B. Gerry. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 12 pp.

The Illinois Bond Financing. By Richard Yates Rowe. (Address before Municipal Forum of New York.) New York, the Forum, 1947. 9 pp. 50 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders, apply to John A. Keane, 30 Pine Street, New York.)

Liberty Taxes. By Bradford B. Smith. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, The Foundation for Economic Education, 1947. 19 pp. 25 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Municipal Finance—1947 Conference Issue. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1947. 64 pp. 50 cents.

Municipal Funds and Their Balance Sheets (Third Edition). Chicago 37, National Committee on Municipal Accounting, 1947. 76 pp. $1.

New Tax Laws of Pennsylvania. 1947 General Assembly. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1947. 17 pp.

Presidential Address. By Rollin F. Agard. (Address before Municipal Finance Officers Association.) Chicago, the Association, 1947. 4 pp. 35 cents.

Report of the Motor Vehicle License Division of the Oklahoma Tax Commission for the Calendar Year 1945. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1947. 54 pp.

Revenue Administration 1946. Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Conference of the National Association of Tax Administrators, Seattle, Washington, August 5-7, 1946. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1947. 73 pp. $1.50.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

On Guard for Local Government

Editorial reprinted from the Richmond (Va.) *Times-Dispatch*

ONE of the agencies which has done most to promote good local government in the United States is the National Municipal League, founded more than half a century ago by such men as Theodore Roosevelt and Louis D. Brandeis. It keeps abreast of developments in its chosen sphere throughout the country, and helps local groups who are seeking to better the government under which they live. Its monthly magazine, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, has been termed indispensable by officials interested in improved governmental services.

"To show what's wrong with state governments," says a recent League publication, "it is not necessary to go back to the nineteenth century Kansas legislature which passed a law changing *pi* from 3.14159 to a round number. There are fresher illustrations."

Here in Virginia a legislative commission is studying the efficiency of the state government, with the idea of making recommendations to the next General Assembly, and here in Richmond we are to vote November 4 on a new city charter, giving Richmond a modern form of administration. Both efforts are the sort of thing which the National Municipal League seeks to further, as being in the interests of good government.

Dr. George H. Gallup, the straw-vote man, is vice president of the League, and he declares: "The brightest spot on the domestic horizon is the revolt of disgusted citizens against antiquated and wasteful local government. Chiefly they are turning to the council-manager plan recommended by the League since 1915 as the most efficient system of local government. Last year there were 80 adoptions of the plan as compared with the previous record of 48 in 1921. So far this year there have been 56 [now 70—Editor] adoptions."

The National Municipal League is keenly aware of the battle now going forward in Richmond for better government. In a current bulletin it speaks of the "assaults on greed or the more prevalent evil of sheer inefficiency that have been made by angry voters in such cities as Hartford, Richmond, Ypsilanti, New Orleans, Hoboken, Denver, Steubenville, Hot Springs, Berkeley, Chicago, Augusta and Boston." Inefficiency is what an aroused citizenry is shooting at in Richmond, of course—inefficiency and waste which are inevitable with an outmoded form of government that all but fifteen cities in the country have discarded.

The National Municipal League is a first-rate organization, and it deserves to raise the added budget it is now seeking, in order to enlarge its services. Former Democratic Governor Charles Edison, of New Jersey, is its able president, and William Collins, president of a construction firm, is chairman of the fund-raising drive. The League has had a normal budget in the past of below $50,000 a year, and it is trying to get $110,000—certainly little enough, considering the amount of work that needs to be done in improving local government throughout the United States.

We have only one criticism of the National Municipal League. It credits Sumter, South Carolina, in a current pamphlet, with having inaugurated the council-manager form of government in 1912, whereas "every schoolboy knows"—well, almost every Virginia schoolboy—that the council-manager form originated in Staunton in 1908. Such, certainly, is the view of the International City Managers' Association, which put a tablet on the Staunton City Hall to the memory of the late Charles E. Ashburner, who served as Staunton's first city manager from 1908 to 1911, and who is described thereon as "First city manager in the United States." Possibly the National Municipal League holds that since Staunton had a two-chamber council at the outset, whereas the modern form calls for a one-chamber council, Staunton must give way to Sumter. However, the International City Managers' Association continues to list Staunton as the first city in the world with the council-manager form, so we are content to string along with the charming town in the Shenandoah Valley, and to back it against all comers for the honor of having pioneered in this important field.

If the National Municipal League will but atone for this grievous sin, we shall be only too happy to give it a triple-plated, copper-riveted, 100 per cent clean bill of health.

A welcome and much appreciated editorial. The facts are that Staunton was first to have a city manager (1908) and Sumter was first to have the council-manager plan (1912). There was a vital difference.

As the editorial concedes, Staunton's antique structure provided an elective mayor and a council of two houses to which a manager was added by ordinance in a despairing effort to get some business done. The council-manager plan calls for a single small elective council (of which one voting member or chairman usually gets the courtesy title of mayor) to provide unification of powers in place of such scatteration of ultimate authority as Staunton continued to provide.

So it was Sumter that set the council-manager movement going and the more than 750 such charters that have followed have fortunately stayed true to the Sumter principles. In the early days, indeed, Staunton was a hazard to the movement for it would have been a calamity if Manager Ashburner's personal achievements in Staunton had led cities elsewhere to copy that three-headed tanglefoot Staunton setup on some theory that they were following the pioneer! Ultimately, Staunton altered its charter and embraced the true council-manager form.

EDITOR

Did We Modernize Congress?

Representative Kefauver analyzes progress made by 1946 act and demands public support of job still to be done.

By **ESTES KEFAUVER***

THE answer must be a definite no to the question, "Did we modernize Congress?" The newspapers, after the passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, carried banners, "Congress Streamlined" or "Federal Legislature Modernized." Indeed, it was a noteworthy achievement and the members of the La Follette-Monroney committee deserve all the praise that was given them. The partial victory came after an uphill fight in both the Senate and House to shake Congress loose from two decades of inertia that had blocked all real attempts to remedy obvious defects in the legislative machinery.

Senator La Follette and Representative Monroney deserve all the credit given them for piloting the bill through Congress. We join sincerely in the applause of a grateful nation. Yet the authors of the bill would be the first to admit that the job has just begun.

The same is true of the political scientist, Dr. George B. Galloway, who, as staff director for the Joint Committee on the Organizaton of Congress, directed the research and had much to do with the drafting of the bill. He states: "Taken as a whole, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 took some very desirable first steps toward modernizing our national legislature. But they are only first steps and deal with only part of the problem. Indeed, if reorganization stops here, some of the changes may do more harm than good."

The need for a real reorganization of Congress has been pressing for many years. Dropping archaic procedures, eliminating overlapping committees, giving members more time to work, keeping congressmen better informed and improving liaison with the executive are a few of the problems which have been presented for action through many sessions by various House and Senate members.

The necessity of a "twentieth century Congress" in a "twentieth century world" resulted, early in 1945, in the creation of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, headed by the late Senator Francis Maloney and, after his death, by Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., with Representative A. S. Mike Monroney as vice chairman.

Unwisely, we think, the scope of the inquiry was limited. Nevertheless, this committee produced one of the most important reports ever placed before the national legislature. The hearings before the group reveal that senators and congressmen presented more than 260 ideas for improving the present functioning of the legislative institution. The hear-

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ings, report and the Legislative Reorganization Act[1] deserve serious attention not only from students of government and the 3200 men and women employed to help run Congress but from voters and citizens throughout the country.

The Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress was limited by the act creating it from making many basic recommendations; furthermore, it was unable to agree among its own members on reorganization matters within its jurisdiction; and finally, the limited recommendations it eventually did make were whittled away by the Senate and House through political bargaining and jockeying. These are tough foes to face in any reform movement.

La Follette-Monroney Act

Congress did a fairly good job of consolidating and realigning its committees. The standing committees were reduced from 48 to 19 in the House and from 33 to 15 in the Senate. The act defines their jurisdiction so as to avoid considerable overlapping, it limits the number of committees on which a member may serve, authorizes larger staffs including professional assistants and adds to their investigative power.

The Revenue and Appropriation Committees are directed to cooperate in analyzing the federal budget and present a budget of their own.

The act provides for expansion of legislative reference and bill-drafting services. It requires the registration of lobbyists. Congress is relieved of much detail by the substitution of administrative or judicial procedures for private bills concerning pensions, tort claims, bridges or correction of military or naval records. Congressional salaries were increased and members are made eligible for an exceptionally generous contributory retirement system.

It is generally agreed that about 50 per cent of the committee professional staffs qualify by experience and education. In many cases clerical personnel or others have been upgraded to these positions as committee experts.

Most of the committees, however, have been careful in selection and many have not permanently filled these career posts. Still others have restricted the pay far below the maximum allowed. One reason for partial failure was the lack of immediately available qualified personnel for these posts. Undoubtedly a training period will be required before the staffing is fully effective.

Some progress was made in reducing legislation on appropriation bills. Amendments in the nature of expenditure limitations are often added. Many are actually legislative in their intent. Legislation of this type was not eliminated but the increasing trend in this direction was reduced.

The requirement providing that all appropriation bills be reported to the House three calendar days before their consideration was observed on most bills, but violated in the closing days of the session. This restriction was to permit the full membership to be informed on the money items in the bill and to make the full hearings available for study three days before the bill was considered.

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[1] Public Law 601, 79th Congress.

All committees, with the exception of the House Appropriations Committee and its subcommittees, held open hearings. Despite the clear intent of the act, all House Appropriation Committee hearings remained closed, executive sessions. The Senate Appropriations Committees, however, observed the act, as did all other standing committees of the Congress.

A conspicuous failure of reorganization was the failure to carry out, and in most instances even to try, the sections provided to improve the handling of the vast fiscal problems of a $35,000,000,000 government.

No money can be spent that is not appropriated by Congress, which has full responsibility for final determination on governmental expenses. For years the obsolete methods, inadequate staffs, uncertain and hodgepodge accounting systems have been severely criticized by students of Congress.

Fiscal System Unimproved

To correct some of the most apparent deficiencies in the historic system of appropriating, the reorganization act recommended many reforms designed to tighten and improve fiscal control. Few were put into force. Despite this lack of use of the act, it was blamed by many critics within and without Congress for the delay in appropriation bills. Since practically none of the reforms was even tried this criticism was patently unfounded.

The provision for the legislative budget was an outstanding failure largely because of lack of advance staff work prior to the convening of Congress in January. To make this valuable provision effective, a skilled, expert staff should confer often with agency budget officers while their needs are being formulated and follow through with careful observation until the sums are fixed in the President's budget. With this advance staff work the legislative budget would become more than a pious hope as it was characterized on the floor of the House.

No evidence was presented that the country did not need to adopt an over-all fiscal policy at the start of each Congress, carefully estimating the total expenditures for the year to be made by Congress, and determining as nearly as possible anticipated income. Despite this, both houses missed their estimates of expenditures in the legislative budget so far that the resolution adopting it was allowed to die in conference and no final action was taken.

Much of the good resulting from the brave reduction of standing committees was nullified by the creation of select and too many subcommittees. The Senate bill prohibited select committees and, while the House refused to agree, the spirit of the reorganization act was to have all investigatory work done by regular committees. After the Senate "broke the ice" by creating the War Investigation Committee, we witnessed the setting up of more than a dozen special groups.

Some regular committees have far too many subcommittees. The result is poor attendance and the same difficulty on the part of members in looking after their various committee assignments. An unwholesome but natural desire on the part of the leadership to give as many members as possible the honor of being chairman of a subcommittee was a principal reason for this contortion of the reorganization act.

The La Follette-Monroney act intended that committee staffs be selected on a merit basis. This policy has not been followed in many cases. The act gives the committee the power of selection. This means the majority in power and usually the exclusive prerogative has been assumed by the chairman. A real merit system with a guarantee of tenure if satisfactory work is done is the obvious answer. The reorganization committee recommended a director general of personnel. This provision was tossed out by the Senate as "dictatorial" or "totalitaristic." It should have been given a trial.

'Bridging the Gap'

Congress and the executive should act cooperatively in the formation of legislation, not as antagonists in a struggle for power. Methods must be found to enable the executive and Congress to have a better understanding of the facts. Nothing was done in this regard by the reorganization measure. Closer unity is especially necessary in the solution of international problems. On the home front, in dealing with domestic issues, there is a desperate need for more direct liaison and for a clearer understanding between the executive and legislative branches. The need is especially pressing when control of Congress and executive departments is divided.

The most effective way to "bridge the gap between the ends of Pennsylvania Avenue" can be effected by a mere change in the rules of the House and Senate. In the resolutions which Senator Fulbright and I have proposed, a change in the rules of the respective bodies of Congress would permit cabinet members and heads of agencies to meet members of Congress face to face and talk things over.

The House resolution provides that not more than two hours would be set aside at least every two weeks to question administrative officials on the floor. Half the time would be devoted to making a report in answer to written questions which had previously been approved by the proper legislative committee, submitted to the official and printed in the *Congressional Record.* The latter half of the period would be reserved for oral questions by members of the House, which must be germane to the preceding discussion.

The speaker would disallow and the executive need not answer any improper question or one which could not be answered for reasons of national security. The control of time during the latter half of the period would be divided equally between the chairman and ranking minority member of the committee which issued the invitation. The proceedings would be printed in the *Record* for all to read, unless in an executive session.

This method would keep the members fully and currently informed on the big issues of the day. There is no present system for this purpose. Annual reports of the agencies are lengthy post mortems. Few members read them. Committee hearings pertain only to a particular bill and do not contain over-all factual reports of the operation of the departments. The plan would be of benefit to the executives. It would require them to know their departments. They would have to make decisions before appearing. It would give them an opportunity of presenting their proposals to the full membership.

This is one way of improving the channels of communication between Congress and the executive branch at a time when our salvation at home and abroad depends on their ability to work together. It requires no constitutional amendment, simply an amendment of the rules of the House or of the Senate. The La Follette-Monroney committee could not consider this proposal because the resolution creating it ruled out any "procedural" amendments.

Policy Committees

Most students of congressional reorganization recommend the formation of Senate and House majority and minority policy committees. Dr. Galloway in his report for the American Political Science Association gives them the names of legislative councils. One of the results of the multiple committee system is the dividing of legislative leadership among the chairmen of committees. The proposal is to have in each house a majority policy committee composed of the chairmen of the new streamlined committees and a minority policy committee composed of the ranking minority members. The speaker, majority and minority leaders would be included as members.

The majority committee should meet regularly. It would coordinate all work of the committee. It should have regular meetings with the President and heads of agencies. A full and free exchange of ideas at these meetings would be of great benefit. The majority committees would be the over-all planning group for the party charged with responsibility.

The Appropriation Committee does the spending, the Ways and Means Committee of the House the money raising. There is little coordination between the two. A majority policy committee would be a step toward bringing together their activities. Tom Finletter, in his excellent book, *Can Representative Government Do The Job,* makes what I consider an unanswerable case for policy committees.

The Senate retained a provision for majority and minority committees. They did good work although their effectiveness was reduced because they did not consist of all chairmen and ranking minority committee members and they were used largely as political strategy groups.

Congress should develop a substitute for the seniority rule for committee chairmanships. Chairmen of committees wield a powerful influence. If the committee does not have a capable chairman, or if his ideas are at variance with the public or congressional will, legislation which must be channeled through his particular committee will bog down or be contorted so as not to meet the needs of the public interest. In three-fourths of the cases, the senior member of the majority party on a particular committee is an acceptable chairman. There is, however, the exceptional case, in which the senior member, because of poor health, may not be able to serve, or because of incompetency or unfitness he is not able to handle the duties of the position; in other cases he may be completely out of harmony with the desires of the preponderant majority of the members, both of his committee and of Congress.

I suggest that the senior majority member be chairman unless a majority of the members on the majority side, in secret vote, decide otherwise. If a majority of the members feel that another member should be chairman, it is obvious that the committee would not and could not properly function if the seniority rule for chairmanship were followed. The expression of the majority members as to the chairmanship should, under the rule, be made at the beginning of each Congress. The selection then made should be for the entire Congress.

District of Columbia

A committee in each house of Congress has jurisdiction over the District of Columbia. Two days a month in each House are set aside to consideration of District bills. Citizens of the District consume a substantial part of the time of all members of Congress with calls and letters relative to District problems. A system of self-government for the District should be effectuated. Most of the District bills handled by Congress should be acted upon by the government of the District. Failure to relieve itself of the government of the District is one of the glaring shortcomings of the reorganization act.

Thus it will be seen that Congress has not been modernized. In short, the battle for modernizing Congress is merely beginning. Congress has at least been jolted out of its doldrums, but the gains must be retained and the task completed. Public support must be enlisted for this difficult task.

The objective we urge is not merely a physical face-lifting that will send the Senate snuffboxes to museums and install mechanical devices in congressional offices. We want to give Congress real independence and actual political freedom to enable it to respond quickly and effectively to the will of the millions it represents—the American people.

Upon a more effective Congress, upon a continuation of the noble effort begun in 1946, may depend the preservation of democracy in the United States.

Horizons Beyond the Smoke

Pittsburgh, once noted for its grime and perpetual haze, tackles and solves many problems of urban redevelopment.

By **MARSHALL STALLEY***

PITTSBURGH is the test of industrialism everywhere to renew itself, to rebuild upon the gritty ruins of the past a society more equitable, more spacious, more in the human scale."

This is the challenge[1] which confronted the city several years ago. Pittsburgh has accepted that challenge. A "Civic Program for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County" is its response.[2]

Early in the war it was recognized that the job of developing and advancing a comprehensive civic program for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County could not be accomplished without effective organization. Accordingly the leadership of the community—civic, political, industrial, labor—created in the spring of 1943 the Allegheny Conference on Community Development.

While born of the war period, it was early determined that the conference was more than a war measure and more even than a "postwar" measure. It was this early recognition of the need for continuity and integration of civic effort that was as responsible, perhaps, as any one factor for the success of the conference.

A civic movement that is unmatched anywhere in the country, plus an agreed-upon program of action, is under way in the Pittsburgh area. It has as its objective to improve the livability of the community. This objective is being reached through the steady accomplishment of consecutive, related, well planned measures.

Individual improvements, under way or projected for the immediate future, are more like a chain than a series of independent projects. Each project is important not only in itself but as part of one over-all community program.

Pittsburgh is part of a state and part of the nation. The development of a comprehensive civic program for the Pittsburgh area revealed broad gaps in the powers granted local government by the state. To bridge these gaps enabling acts were drafted under the sponsorship of the conference and its cooperating agencies. A legislative program was designed to help the Pittsburgh community attack and solve its own problems by its own ingenuity and from its own resources.

Leaders of both political parties, city and county officials, and the legislative delegation from Allegheny County shared in the conferences that shaped the legislation and arranged for its introduction in the General Assembly.

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*Mr. Stalley is assistant director of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development. He was formerly assistant director of the Metropolitan Cleveland Development Council.

[1] Described by *Fortune* in its February 1947 survey of Pittsburgh.

[2] See also *Pittsburgh—Challenge and Response,* a 24-page illustrated brochure published by the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, 1947.

The legislative program, tagged as "the Pittsburgh Package" but with benefits extending to the whole county, has been accomplished. It is now law.

The results of the program are: (1) a county-wide smoke control program can now be developed as railroads are brought under the county regulatory powers; (2) the county can build incinerators and other disposal facilities for the 131 municipalities within the county; (3) the county is enabled to create a transit and traffic commission to study mass transportation; (4) Allegheny County's Planning Commission can control subdivision plans in growing suburban communities; (5) the city is given a Department of Parks and Recreation; (6) the city is permitted to create a public parking authority to provide and operate parking facilities; (7) the Penn-Lincoln Parkway is speeded as government is freed from the burden of consequential damages in building express highways in Pittsburgh; and (8) the city and other political subdivisions can broaden their sources of revenue beyond real estate taxation.

In addition, the 1947 General Assembly broadened the insurance acts to permit insurance companies to invest in real estate and housing in Pennsylvania. The 1945 General Assembly also made a major contribution to the civic program for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County by permitting: (1) organization of the Allegheny County Sanitary Authority to purify rivers; (2) organization of the Pittsburgh Redevelopment Authority to facilitate the rebuilding of blighted areas; (3) a survey of a river-rail-truck terminal for the port of Pittsburgh with a $100,000 grant from the state.

Recognizing the need to keep Pittsburgh as well as Allegheny County a modern community with modern services, the conference recommended and the voters approved a $34,000,000 county bond issue in May 1946, and a $21,000,000 city bond issue on September 9, 1947. These bond issue programs, developed on a sound financial basis, are providing not only vitally needed city and county capital improvements but also local financial contributions which, together with state and federal funds, make possible other large-scale public facilities, particularly highways and airports, without increase in tax rates for debt purposes.

Accomplishments

Specifically, what has been done and what is the status of the program? In smoke and flood control, historic problems in Pittsburgh, major accomplishments are already evident. The city's smoke abatement ordinance prohibiting dense smoke from any source went into full effect October 1, 1947. A county-wide smoke control ordinance is in the making. The county commissioners have appointed a director of their smoke control program and a citizens advisory committee to achieve its accomplishment.

Railroads are turning to diesel locomotives. Plans are under way to gasify coal. Smokeless fuels and smokeless burning equipment are becoming increasingly available.

A vast program for flood protection for Pittsburgh and the Upper Ohio Valley is under way. It was undertaken by the federal government following the 1936 St. Patrick's Day flood.

Six flood control reservoirs have already been built by army engineers in the Allegheny River and the Monongahela River watersheds and afford considerable protection to this whole industrial region. A seventh, the great Conemaugh River dam, is now under construction.

A united community effort, led by the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh and vigorously supported by public officials and the Allegheny conference, brought an increased congressional appropriation at the last session for the Conemaugh Dam. The completion of this dam on schedule is assured.

Pittsburgh was born at the "Point"—the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. As the oldest section of the city, the Point has become decayed and blighted. Thirty-six acres of uneconomically used land, a commercial slum, will be replaced by a state-financed and maintained park. Funds are available and land is now being acquired.

The Point Park Committee of the conference includes in its membership the governor, the mayor, the chairman of the board of county commissioners, the executive secretary of the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association, and the executive director of the conference. This group has assisted in the development of the Point Park related facilities and, together with the conference as a whole, recommended the establishment of an urban redevelopment authority.

The Pittsburgh Redevelopment Authority, armed with power of eminent domain, was created on November 12, 1946. It is ready to assemble land for insurance companies and other redevelopers. A large insurance company is now surveying the 23 acres adjacent to the Point Park area for large-scale redevelopment into a modern commercial area.

Conference studies have centered on the need for housing. They conclude that state and federal action is necessary to aid slum clearance, low-rent housing and urban redevelopment. Pittsburgh recognizes the need for both public and private action to provide housing for all income levels. It's out to get housing in every way it can.

Highways and Parking

An extensive program of providing limited access, arterial highways in the Pittsburgh district is under way. The Penn-Lincoln Parkway, the major unit in the regional highway network, is in construction. The first limited access, non-toll freeway in Pennsylvania, 25 miles long, it will in effect bring Pennsylvania's great turnpike to downtown Pittsburgh and through to the new Greater Pittsburgh Airport. This "super" class airport is already under construction. Public funds are available to finance it.

In Pittsburgh off-street parking is regarded as an extension of the street system. A parking study made by the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association for the conference recommended establishment of a public parking authority. Permissive legislation, a part of the conference's legislative program, was passed by the 1947 legislature. And the mayor has appointed the authority, a citizens' body vested with powers of eminent domain. The authority is making plans now for a series of public parking facilities to provide adequate parking at the right locations and at reasonable rates. Revenues from parking fees will cover costs of construction and operation.

Allegheny County has its share of municipalities—one city of the second class (Pittsburgh), three cities of the third class (Duquesne, Clairton and McKeesport), 69 boroughs, 23 townships of the first class, 29 townships of the second class, and 118 school districts, a total of 243 political subdivisions. The solution to problems existing throughout the entire county area, however, is being approached increasingly on a county-wide basis.

County-wide Activities

A study made jointly by the Pennsylvania Economy League and the Allegheny conference recommends that disposal of garbage and rubbish be operated on a county-wide basis. To strengthen and make adequate the legal responsibility of the county commissioners to engage in garbage and refuse disposal and to charge the municipalities within the county for this service, state enabling legislation was required. Accordingly, one bill in the conference's legislative program, granting the county necessary legal powers, was passed in the 1947 legislature. The county commissioners are now considering development of the disposal program on a county-wide basis.

Sewage disposal was another problem cutting across political boundaries. The conference recognized that adequate facilities for its treatment and disposal were essential to the stream pollution abatement program, and recommended sewage disposal on a county-wide basis. In March 1946 the board of county commissioners created the Allegheny County Sanitary Authority. This agency is now preparing plans for construction of a system of intercepting sewers and central treatment facilities, a county-wide program.

Other functions of local government will be operated on a county-wide basis. Responsibility for airports has been consolidated within the county government. County-wide smoke control has already been mentioned.

The development of expanded county-wide recreation facilities is a part of the total civic program. A survey of recreational facilities of municipalities within the county has been made by the Federation of Social Agencies through a financial contribution from the Allegheny conference. Recognizing the importance of public recreation to the life of the community, the conference supported state legislation permitting removal of the bureaus of parks and recreation from the Pittsburgh department of public works and creation of a separate recreation department. Immediately after the passage of the state enabling legislation, the mayor and city council moved to establish a department of parks and recreation with cabinet status.

Adequate county-wide mass transportation facilities and services is another objective of the Allegheny conference. In the absence of any official county-wide agency concerned with matters of transit and traffic, the conference recommended establishment of a county transit and traffic commission to study and make plans for improved mass transportation. Again the county was without the necessary state enabling legislation to create such a commission. And again the conference included in its legislative program a bill to provide for such an official planning agency. The bill passed the legislature and in September 1947 the board of county commissioners announced that the commission would soon be appointed.

Studies under Way

Further, a comprehensive privately-financed mass transportation study is under way. Initiated on October 1, 1947, it is being made by the Allegheny conference in partnership with the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association and the Pennsylvania Economy League. Upon its completion the study will be presented to the County Transit and Traffic Commission and other interested parties.

In February 1947 the conference launched an industrial economic research program. The program is being carried out by the conference's research staff with the advice of a committee of economists and industrial research specialists from the universities and corporations in the Pittsburgh area. Basic information is being secured from the 1400 manufacturing concerns employing ten or more persons located in Allegheny County and three adjacent counties.

A committee of the conference, charged with the responsibility of appraising the adequacy of sites for industrial expansion, recommended creation of an industrial development corporation or council which would be concerned with development of site locations and in seeking out industrial concerns which might be persuaded to locate in the area. The organization of the Industrial Development Council was announced in September 1947. The conference's industrial inventory, when completed and analyzed, will be made available to the council for appropriate use.

While Pittsburgh is an industrial center, it is also an important agricultural production and marketing area. The conference is concerned with the advancement of the area for agricultural purposes and is sponsoring an inventory in cooperation with the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce. The study is financed by the conference and is being carried out by the School of Agriculture of Pennsylvania State College. It was initiated October 1, 1947, and will study the trends of agricultural production in the Pittsburgh marketing area and determine the adequacy of its facilities for the marketing of farm products.

A review of the development of the civic program for Pittsburgh and Allegheny County and an analysis of the experiences of the Allegheny conference reveal certain factors and make evident certain conclusions:

1. Pittsburgh has no magic formula for civic progress which it recommends for adoption by other urban areas, or which is necessarily applicable to communities other than Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Since early in 1943, however, when the conference was first organized, there has been a continuing experience which has proved valid as an approach to the area's problems which we are glad to share with other people for what it may be worth.

2. From the beginning, recognition has been given to the continuing, long-term responsibility of the conference. The problems which needed to be dealt with existed prior to the war, but have been accentuated and made more dramatic, acute and evident by the emergency of the war period. While the conference started during the war, it was in no sense a "war baby" designed to meet only a temporary need.

Whole Community Considered

3. Another important aspect in the objectives of the conference has been the concern with the *total* community. Leadership within the conference, however, while recognizing its interest in and responsibility toward the entire community and the multitudinous and inter-related problems of the community, realize that it is not possible nor practical to do everything at once. Emphasis has been placed and effort concentrated on those aspects of the total community which appear to be the more serious problems and on which, at the same time, something could actually be done; in other words, developing a realistic priority schedule, putting first things first, determining what are first things according not only to the relative urgency of the problem but also to the extent to which there was recognition of the problem and the degree to which the people and the resources of the local community could be utilized and applied to bring about solutions.

In a sense, the conference is forever being pushed to do something about this or that, and at the same time forever carving out and limiting its activities within certain well defined areas. Also, the conference has endeavored to do thoroughly whatever it has decided to go into rather than merely giving lip service or casual attention or cursory treatment.

4. Still another factor which is evident in reviewing the history of the conference was the determination when the conference was formed that it would in no sense be a federation of existing agencies. This has meant that it has become not an organization of agencies but rather a "conference," as its name indicates, of people. It thus avoids the pitfalls of dealing with individuals as representatives of agencies with a preconceived position or a limited, restricted or "agency" point of view. All members of the conference serve as individuals though, of course, in most instances they bring with them supporting influence and points of view from various groups and agencies. This policy has meant that prior approval by other agencies before the conference can take a position on a particular program or issue is unnecessary. The

individual member is free to act as a person.

5. An element of primary importance in the work of the conference is research and fact-finding. Great attention has been given to research, and a staff has been provided to perform this function. In several instances research is provided also by the staffs of other agencies which make studies for the conference. But the conference does not simply let the facts speak for themselves. Facts are known to address deaf ears and go unheard when unassisted. The conference undertakes to get the facts a hearing.

6. Inherent in the program of the conference is its nonpartisan character. A partnership has been established between public officials and the citizenry. It is this teamwork approach between citizens and the community's agencies—public, private and civic—that is providing the vital force of continuity of effort to strengthen the livability of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County.

7. In a large measure the basis of financial support for the conference was developed and agreed to in the very beginning so that it was clear that sufficient funds would be available to carry out the work of the conference on a continuing basis.

8. Public understanding leading to citizen participation and support is another tenet in the philosophy and program of the conference. It is evident that the extent of public information and education determines the rate of community progress. Major emphasis has been placed, therefore, on utilizing various channels of communication and methods of influencing public opinion in carrying out a comprehensive public relations and community education program.

In conclusion, it is appropriate to ask: What in essence is the reason for the success of the civic program in the Pittsburgh area and the work of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development? Park H. Martin, executive director of the conference, has stated it thus:

> Pittsburgh became great not only because of its natural resources but also because of the dynamic leadership of the men of another generation together with the labors of its people. I am convinced that this day and generation has in Pittsburgh the leaders, in both public and private life, that it has the people and the will to revitalize and make Pittsburgh a better place in which to live, work and play—a place in keeping with our hopes and desires. The challenge to do this has not been directed to any one individual, not to any one group, but to all of us. Pittsburgh has accepted that challenge.

City Blight a National Problem

Solution demands genuine cooperation between cities, states and nation, the professions, and alert citizens.

By F. STUART CHAPIN, JR.*

AN ACUTE and crucial problem in the domestic sphere of the nation's well-being is urban blight. It concerns not merely the interrelated physical-social-economic-political concomitants of urban blight—congestion, slums, delinquency, flight to the suburbs, declining property values, outmoded forms of municipal administration and the like—but also the more basic qualities which admit of good, healthful and prosperous life in a city.

It is a problem of simultaneously arresting decline and decay and bringing cities into step with a vastly altered kind of life, restoring to them a vitality, healthfulness and attractiveness in environment they enjoyed several generations ago.

As Tracy B. Augur pointed out in a discussion of "Planning Cities for the Atomic Age,"[1] this is a national problem requiring a kind of planning and action as fundamentally foreign to our accustomed modes of thinking as the planning we are proposing today in the international scene.

The problem lacks the dramatic qualities of a Hiroshima or a Negasaki as a public demonstration. It has not the same kind of rallying appeal as the two world wars which this generation has witnessed, nor does it command the same high-pitched concentration and determination with which a nation applies itself in time of war. Yet, if we as a people have demonstrated a capacity to plan and act on a sweeping scale in matters of national security, there is hope that we can plan and act on an equivalent scale in matters of domestic security.

Our cities affect the nation's domestic security in a major way when it is considered that more than 80 per cent of all wages or salaries are earned in urban areas and more than 56 per cent of the people now live in incorporated places. In a nation where a predominant proportion of the people and their opportunities for earning a living are so inseparably tied up in urban centers, it is a matter of tremendous concern to that nation to examine trends of decline and decay in the urban environment. This is true if for no other reason than for the implications these trends possess for the stability of federal revenues or, in a broader sense, the entire national economy.

Beyond these economic implications there are more fundamental

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[1] A paper presented before the American Institute of Planners in New York May 5, 1946, and abstracted in *The American City,* August 1946.

ones: implications of a declining population and considerations of future national security.

Urban blight is endemic in nearly every city of the nation today. Estimates developed from the U. S. census indicate that more than one quarter of the country's urban dwelling structures were in various stages of deterioration in 1940. The picture is much more grim today. Even with the postwar emphasis upon housing, the increase in the rate of decay resulting from the slow-down in residential construction during the war has not yet been whittled down to any appreciable extent.

Although there are no available parallel estimates relating to commercial, industrial and other kinds of slum areas, governmental controls placed upon nonessential construction during and after the war appear to have had a similar effect in the nonresidential sections of cities.

Urban blight is spreading. With few exceptions the handful of cities which are taking remedial steps are scarcely checking the increase. For the most part preventive steps have been ineffectual. This apparent inadequacy to meet the problem is not the result of a lack of technical skills or scientific techniques. The know-how exists but there is a lag between the ability to deal with the problem and the ability to act on the problem.

This lag exists basically because of a diffidence on the part of the various professions which have an interest in the problem to get together, because of a failure of the people and their elected representatives to recognize the critical effect the spread of urban blight is having upon cities, and because of the resultant absence of concerted action to put specialized skills and techniques to work.

The absence of interprofessional unity, organized public opinion and adequate legislative authority has forced cities to improvise and patch on an all too puny scale. Meanwhile blight persists and makes greater inroads.

For a time cities can struggle along improvising and patching. By fully utilizing existing powers and controls, many communities will carry out a variety of needed improvements and bring considerable relief where conditions are most critical. Cities will spill out into the open country in a little more orderly fashion; land uses will be better grouped and perhaps wider highways will be built into the new areas and carved out of the old town to facilitate traffic movement.

Patching Won't Help

Yet will we have anything more than an improved kind of sprawl? Will we have achieved any lasting progress in improving the urban environment? Are these developments capable of getting at the roots of urban blight?

What of present-day trends? We have been witnessing a trend of industrial decentralization; we are on the verge of seeing modern aviation develop into a vast freight and transit system; and with the development of atomic energy, we have been alerted for even greater changes. Are present-day planning methods and powers capable of placing cities abreast of these trends?

Attempts have been made to answer some of these questions. As between two extreme theories—one which, for all purposes, ignores the problems of our old cities and favors the development of new towns, and the other which centers all energies upon the rehabilitation of cities within the limited framework which now exists—the last has been the generally accepted approach to urban blight.

There is still another alternative, however—a proposal which combines elements from both these schools of thought. It is a proposal which draws upon an idea Ebenezer Howard first advanced in his *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* nearly 50 years ago and subsequently applied in his demonstration communities, Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City. It is a proposal which has its contemporary application in the *Greater London Plan 1944* and the 1946 British New Towns Act.

The possibilities of this proposal, as applied to an American city, were recently presented diagramatically.[2] The typical American urban agglomeration was broken down into functional parts and rearranged into an open-order pattern of urban units. For the purposes of illustration each unit was given a hypothetical size of 30,000 population and a diameter of two miles. Each was separated from others in the pattern by belts of open country which, taken as a system, were to provide high speed travel routes between dispersed units and to the central commercial, shopping and cultural facilities or to the decentralized production centers. The increased distance to places of work, shopping and cultural activity would be offset by the savings in time provided by steady-flow parkways built for fast moving traffic.

It is not the purpose of this discussion to compare the pros and cons of these and other alternatives, nor is it to present any detailed proposal for the solution of the problem of urban blight. This is yet to be developed in the American scene. It is a basic assumption of this discussion, however, that the solution must ultimately come from urban redevelopment measures as broad and sweeping as those just presented. It is this broader concept of urban redevelopment—a concept in which rehabilitation of blighted areas is synthesized with urban dispersal—which, it is submitted, is the kind of concept which should increasingly guide replanning energies in the future.

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

Minimum Essentials

What course of action will put us on our way toward this kind of replanning? In the beginning it is imperative to recognize two vitally important prerequisites of a broad scale urban redevelopment program.

The first is one of bringing the contributing professions together. Before any action program can move ahead with any continuing success, it must have the active support of specialists in such fields as land economics, city planning, housing, public administration, urban sociology and public health. This implies that the resulting plan and action program must be a product of collaborative study. It implies an interprofessional unity[3] and a fortitude to work for the accomplishment of measures deemed necessary, however drastic and unprecedented in terms of past thinking and practice.

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[2] *Ibid.*

The second prerequisite follows naturally — development of public understanding of the seriousness of urban blight and the general magnitude of the problem. Once professional groups are united and actively at work on the problem, a broad and continuing program of public education must be undertaken. In cities across the nation the man on the street must have some appreciation of the problem and its implications to our whole domestic economy. Steps taken toward developing a public awareness of the problem are extremely important in preparing the public for redevelopment measures which may lie ahead.

These are basic prerequisites to developing and carrying forward a workable plan for urban redevelopment on a nation-wide front. However, they immediately involve other considerations. Even assuming that cities had the assistance of such a team of specialists and an understanding citizenry, the kind of measures which it is contended are needed cannot be brought about by local action alone. It seems fairly evident that they must come as a cooperative enterprise of federal, state and local governments.

What, then, are some of the minimum essentials of an integrated federal-state-local action program? What kind of preconditioning of federal, state and local policy will be required to provide secure foundations for developing a nation-wide urban redevelopment program?

Federal Activity

The implications of urban blight to the national economy and the general welfare of the country have already been emphasized. There is certainly basis then for federal activity in urban development. Before the federal government can be in a position to take effective action in such a program, however, it must face the problem squarely and take the lead in establishing the over-all pattern for a cooperative federal-state-local attack upon the problem.

Congress has recognized the problem indirectly in housing measures by calling for clearance of slums in carrying out public housing programs. But this type of legislation, which is a measure to provide housing for certain low-income groups and to replace bad housing with good, does not provide a direct attack upon the more comprehensive problem of urban blight.

Emphasis upon the slum clearance feature in this legislation may actually have served to confuse the general public and as a result many have come to an erroneous conclusion that the housing program per se is a slum elimination program.[4] At best, the slum clearance features of housing legislation have been blunt instruments dealing a few glancing blows here and there on the total problem.

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[3] Some progress is already being made in this direction. In the field of city planning an Interprofessional Urban Planning Committee has been formed with representation from the American Institute of Architects, American Institute of Planners, American Society of Civil Engineers, American Society of Landscape Architects and the American Society of Planning Officials. This committee has been working on a bill for federal aid to urban planning and redevelopment.

Though the slum clearance features of housing legislation are the only authorized activities of the federal government which touch on the problem of urban blight, numerous proposals for a direct approach have been advanced. Among those of prewar and war years the three better known were: (1) the Greer-Hansen plan, published by the National Planning Association, (2) the Urban Land Institute plan backed by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, and (3) the proposal developed by the Federal Housing Administration and presented in a handbook it published on urban redevelopment.

While features of the first two plans were actually incorporated into bills, in the metamorphic processes of committee study those and various housing bills before the present and the last Congress were combined into the pending Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill.

While the redevelopment features of this bill give greater recognition to the problem of urban blight than heretofore, they do not envision urban redevelopment in its broadest sense as a means of both eliminating slums and achieving urban dispersal. The bill lacks the stature to accomplish the sweeping and drastic action needed. Certainly the incorporation of urban redevelopment into a bill whose primary interest is housing merely perpetuates the popular myth that a housing program and a slum elimination program are one and the same. Moreover the compromise secured in this bill does not reflect the inter-professional unity so sorely needed.

Until the many aspects of the problem have received the thorough study of specialists previously mentioned, a precise definition of the federal role cannot be accurately determined. This much appears to be certain, however. To provide the proper climate for a direct frontal attack upon urban blight the federal government must take some positive steps which, as a very minimum, will include the following:

1. Establish a national policy relative to urban planning, development and redevelopment;
2. Provide for integration and coordination of present and future federal activities affecting urban planning, development and redevelopment; and
3. Take the lead in outlining a program for cooperative federal-state-local action to deal with urban planning, development and redevelopment problems.

In so breaking the ground for a

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[4] This distinction has been made time and time again, yet even among men in the housing field confusion persists. In terms of the total community, not only are there conditions of blight in commercial, industrial and roadside areas to which this program does not extend, but also the replacement of a residential slum with new housing is not always a remedy for blight. Unless and until the problem is treated on a comprehensive basis in terms of the many other factors of blight even new housing may revert to a slum status.

future attack upon urban blight, such action has a double responsibility. It must be founded upon a full appreciation of the basic inadequacies and inconsistencies of urban growth and expansion in the past and geared not only to correct such deficiencies but to prevent their recurrence. At the same time it must possess the vision and the flexibility to permit cities to fall into stride with the developments which we are told lie ahead in the Atomic age.[5]

States' Interest

What is the situation at the state level? Certainly the state is concerned with urban problems if for no other reason than the fact that municipalities are creatures of the state and the powers to deal with these problems must originate in the state. More directly associated with the problem in hand, however, the state has a financial stake in urban communities. Since a dominant proportion of its tax revenues come from urban sources, it is of considerable concern to the state to safeguard these vital revenue sources.

That recent state interest in urban redevelopment legislation stems from a concern over this fundamental relation to state finances is doubtful. If the problem and its implications to the state's financial future were more fully understood, we would see more concern over the problem in our state capitals; broader, more sweeping remedial powers being extended to localities; and more widespread acceptance of the practice followed in a few states of providing financial and technical planning assistance in treating urban ailments.

However inadequate and frugal present overtures to the problem may appear, they may be regarded as useful temporary expedients and certainly as exceedingly valuable indoctrinating steps toward the more sweeping action which must ultimately be taken.

The most promising prospects of adequate state action upon urban planning and development problems appear to be tied up with the initiative and incentives which the federal government may offer. Assuming the initiative and the lead is forthcoming at the national level, the state's part in a triply focused attack upon urban blight would include, as a minimum, the following:

1. Generally streamline local government providing, among other things, for extension of home rule with greater local powers, consolidation of local governments (particularly in metropolitan areas), etc.
2. Adopt a policy establishing the state's interest and responsibilities in urban planning and development.
3. Provide a plan for state participation and cooperation in a federal-state-local program for urban planning and development.

We come finally to the problem

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[5] Conclusions reached in a report recently submitted to the Economic and Employment Commission of the United Nations Economic and Social Council indicate that the best official thinking on developments-to-come envisions the possibilities of (1) an open pattern for living in place of the present crowded pattern of urban areas, and (2) a decentralized pattern for industry vastly different from that of our Detroits and Pittsburghs of today.

The Mockery of Classification

Nebraska legislature, abetted by local representatives, disregards prohibition against special acts for cities.

By A. C. BRECKENRIDGE*

THE constitutions of forty states contain prohibitions against special legislation for cities, a restriction adopted as a result of the many abuses of legislating separately for each town and city. Thereafter, laws which applied to them were to be general laws.

But state legislatures found it necessary or convenient to classify cities and legislate according to their needs or desires rather than extend to them discretionary powers. The courts sanctioned classification as long as it was not "classification run mad"[1] and indeed proclaimed that it was necessary and founded on certain manifest peculiarities which distinguished one city from another. For, they held, if laws applied alike to each city many would prove not only unnecessary but often detrimental.

How many classes could the legislature provide? There is no nationwide rule, but we know there cannot be as many classes as there are cities. None the less, many states have classified cities to the extent that within a class there is but a single city. And generally the courts sanction classification by the simple expedient of the accident of population, and population alone, disregarding such factors as social and economic differences.

This endorsement by the courts reaffirmed some of the deceptions common before special legislation was prohibited. Significantly, the problem was one considered recently in the highly informative study on state-local relations by the Council of State Governments.[2] Among the conclusions in this report are two applying to the subject of classification, general laws and special legislation.

> 1. The desirable solution to state-local legal relations must (a) free state legislatures from the burden of local legislation and (b) grant adequate discretionary powers to localities.
>
> 2. This end may be achieved through a system of general, optional laws or a system of constitutional home rule. The system of general laws and home rule may be profitably combined.

These recommendations are not altogether new. But they indicate continued abuse by many state legislatures in making detailed laws for their local subdivisions and a general nation-wide failure to extend the privileges of local self-government in purely local affairs.

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[1] See *Pittsburg, Ft. W. & C. Ry. Co.* v. *Martin,* 53 Ohio St. 386, 41 N. E. 690 (1895); also *State ex rel. Knisely* v. *Jones,* 66 Ohio St. 453, 64 N. E. 424 (1902), holding void a classification of cities into eleven different classes, so that each of the eleven larger cities in the state fell into separate categories.

[2] *State-Local Relations,* Chicago, 1946.

Nebraska recently had the opportunity to test these recommendations in lieu of special legislation by classification, but it chose the latter course. Nebraska's constitution prohibits special legislation for towns and cities. It permits classification of cities and requires legislation by general laws. As a result there are five classes of cities in the state and classification is based upon population status.

Up to 1947 cities of the metropolitan class were those having or which might have a population of 100,000 or more. Cities of the primary class were those having or which might have a population of more than 40,000 but less than 100,000. The smaller cities are designated as first class, second class and villages according to population. According to the 1940 census Omaha was the only city of the metropolitan class, with a population of 223,844; Lincoln with a population of 81,984 was the only city of the primary class. The third city had a population of less than 20,000.

General Law?

On March 18, 1947, Governor Val Petersen approved a bill changing the population requirements for cities of the metropolitan class to those having or which might have a population of more than 150,000, and for the primary class to those having more than 40,000 but less than 150,000. This action was taken because enthusiastic citizens discovered unofficially that Lincoln's population had reached 100,000 and thereby was placed in the same class as Omaha. The legislature quickly corrected the situation to retain the *status quo*.[3] A general law? Yes, for it applies to those cities having a population within a wide range. Actually, of course, it is special legislation designed to keep the cities of Omaha and Lincoln in separate classes.

Fifty years ago the Nebraska Supreme Court decried the system of classification which was in reality special legislation: "If, by a consideration of a law classifying cities on a basis of population, it can be determined that another city or cities may at a future time, without the aid of additional legislation, enter and become a member or members of the particular class, the classification is a general one, and so is the law establishing it."[4]

By its recent action, however, the legislature has defied the principle of general legislation, and rejected an opportunity to prove the validity of such extensive and arbitrary classification.

It may be argued that the problems of these two cities are so different that this separation is necessary and desirable. This might be true for cities having legislative charters, but Omaha and Lincoln have home rule charters under constitutional home rule! Therefore, if the conclusions and recommendations of the Council of State Governments are valid, the solution to many state-local legal problems was Lincoln's entry into the metropolitan class. These cities presumably enjoy the "system of general laws and home rule," yet the legislature, spurred by local representatives, thwarts the prohibition against special legislation and makes mockery of the principles of general laws on matters of statewide concern.

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[3] LB 138, effective September 7, 1947.

[4] *State* v. *Stuht,* 52 Neb. 209 (1897), 223.

The objections to the normal growth into a class of greater population in this case was that Lincoln would have been adversely affected by certain "general laws" controlling a metropolitan utilities district, a system of municipal courts, a municipal university and special sewage and drainage districts.

Yet, this is not a substantiation for such class legislation. Actually, the general laws could have been recast, with powers of discretion to either city in adopting them, depending upon need or other test of desirability. Nevertheless, the legislature and the representatives for these cities wanted to keep them in separate classes to prevent loss of any future opportunity for what amounts to special legislation.

CITY BLIGHT A NATIONAL PROBLEM

(Continued from Page 570)

at the local level. Here, of course, the problem is most tangible. The conditions associated with urban blight are quite familiar. Our special concern here is one of considering steps which might be taken locally to set the stage for a full-scale federal-state-local attack upon urban blight. If local government is to function effectively in such a joint attack, the following are submitted as minimum prerequisites to forceful local action:

1. Generally modernize local government carrying out consolidation and liberalized home rule prerogatives permitted by state legislation.
2. Make urban-wide comprehensive planning an integral and continuously functioning part of local government. This implies the existence of a local planning agency thoroughly familiar with and actively pursuing its functions of developing a coordinated plan for its entire urban area and an implementing program specifying immediate and long-range measures for bringing about sound growth and expansion and the necessary rehabilitation and redevelopment provided for in this plan.
3. Enlist community-wide participation in studying, planning and development measures. This implies carrying on a research and action program which is a collaborative enterprise of local government, organized private interests and citizen organizations.

These federal-state-local steps — minimum essentials for a full-scale direct attack upon urban blight — have been stated in general terms intentionally. They are submitted as tentative anchoring posts which might serve as a common footing for interprofessional collaboration in detailing a cooperative federal-state-local program of action. Some such general definition of prerequisites is desirable and necessary as a first stage approach to the problem. Once fairly general agreement can be reached, it will be possible to move on to the more drastic and controversial measures which it is contended herein are inevitable if the problem is to be satisfactorily solved.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Fringe Dwellers Present Governmental Puzzle

Flint, Michigan, Situation an Example of Difficulties

POPULATIONS of American cities continue to spill over into the fringe area adjacent to city boundaries, largely in the search for cheaper land for small homes and for some of the advantages of both city and country life. These population moves result in problems in many areas that are more or less metropolitan in character.

Arthur Bromage, professor of political science at the University of Michigan, recently dealt with these problems before the Flint League of Women Voters, basing his discussions both on a study of the fringe area of Flint by I. Harding Hughes, research fellow of the Social Science Research Project,[1] and on his own observations. This area includes four townships and the city of Mt. Morris. Professor Bromage said, in part:

"In 1940 some 37,000 persons lived in this fringe area; in 1947 this number had increased to an estimated 49,000. When the city of Flint is included this entire area of 144 square miles comprises the Flint Metropolitan District area as defined by the U. S. Census in 1940.

"For local governmental services, other than schools, the fringe dweller must depend on: (1) the county, (2) the township, (3) sale of services from the 'core' city, and (4) his own initiative.

"The breakdown of the metropolitan area into one county, four townships, 37 school districts, two cities, and one special district tends to discourage over-all planning and integration of public administration. Yet the fringe dweller has chosen this way of life, although there are thousands of vacant lots within the city of Flint.

Solutions Suggested

"There is no magic, crystal-ball formula for the solution of the fringe problem. Seven possible solutions can be considered:

"(1) *Annexation.* To obtain annexations to the 'core' city is a most difficult task today. It requires the consent of the area to be annexed and of the voters in the city and the balance of the township. Since 1920 there has been a marked slow-down in the extension of city boundaries by annexation. Fringe areas tend to develop their own community sense and to resist annexation. Core cities and especially those under fifteen-mill limitation are hesitant to take on additional burdens in capital improvements.

"(2) *Incorporation of new cities.* Some of the densely settled sections of fringe areas can usually qualify to incorporate as home rule cities. This would tend to solve some of the most critical area problems in more densely settled sections. However, it means a multiplication of governmental units, more administrative 'overhead' and produces a small city which must make heavy capital outlays for water supply and sewage treatment. It leaves the balance of any township with diminished tax resources. In the Ann Arbor area the new fifth-class home rule city of East Ann Arbor has just been incorporated. A new city administration is now struggling with organizational problems and must ultimately face heavy capital outlays for public works.

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1946, page 414, as to this project.

"(3) *Incorporation of villages.* Since a village remains as part of the township, there is little advantage to local residents in village incorporation.

"(4) *Charter townships.* Under a Michigan law of 1947, it is possible for townships of more than 5,000 population (or of 2,000 population if adjacent to cities of more than 25,000) to incorporate by referendum as charter townships. Such a township would have a township board made up of the supervisor, clerk, treasurer and four trustees, and the township board could hire a 'superintendent' (manager) or entrust the management of township functions to the supervisor. The law invests charter townships with many of the functions of cities including a police force, fire protection and broad powers in public works administration.

"My objection to the charter township law is this: It allows a township to function as a city without allowing it to have a home rule charter and the freedom of governmental organization available to a home rule city. If the charter township does not hire a superintendent, the whole burden of administration will be thrust on a politically elected officer—the supervisor.

"(5) *County reorganization.* It has been suggested by some that the county be reorganized, that county managers be established and that counties administer some of the critical water supply and sewage disposal problems. In the Flint area the county is larger than the fringe problem. County home rule waits upon amendment of the state constitution and county managers wait upon home rule.

"(6) *Sale of services* by the 'core' city. The most flexible arrangement of all is sale of water and sewage disposal facilities by the core city to individual householders in the fringe or to governmental units in the fringe which in turn sell to individuals. From the point of view of the 'core' city, this relieves much of the pressure for annexation and tends to make corporate boundaries rigid. It means expansion of capital improvements for an indefinite and unplanned market, to which the city is under no legal obligation.

'Best Promise'

"(7) *A metropolitan district authority.* Under Michigan law, two or more cities, villages and townships or any combination or parts thereof can form a metropolitan district to provide any, all, or any combination of: parks, water supply, sewage disposal, drainage and transportation. There are many political difficulties in establishing metropolitan districts. It requires a vote of each separate governmental unit which comes into the district. It is my judgment, however, that a metropolitan district authority offers the best 'promise' of achieving a unified administrative treatment of critical problems throughout the fringe area. The metropolitan district would have a separate governmental organization established by a charter submitted to a vote in each local unit.

"From the seven possible solutions each core city and fringe area in Michigan will have to find its own solutions. In Ann Arbor, we have turned down annexations and have one new city. In Redford township, outside Detroit, a portion of the township has petitioned for a vote on city incorporation. As time progresses, it seems likely that a few townships will consider and vote on being "charter" townships. In the Detroit area, sale of services has been a prominent feature in water supply. In Grand Rapids, the Metropolitan Grand Rapids Planning Association has given favorable consideration to the metropolitan district idea."

Colorado Moves Toward Administrative Reorganization

The Colorado legislature has created a Committee on Reorganization as a temporary state agency, to exist until March 31, 1949; it consists of three senators and four representatives. Its functions are as follows:

To study the structure, functions, administrative policies and procedures of state agencies, including departments, institutions, bureaus, boards and commissions;

To prepare a plan of general organization showing agencies proposed to be continued or created, and those to be consolidated or abolished;

To prepare drafts of constitutional amendments and statutes, embodying findings based on the committee's studies, for submission to the legislature;

To prepare drafts of executive orders, embodying such findings as do not require constitutional or statutory changes, for submission to the governor;

To hold hearings with regard to its studies and findings.

Advisory Council to Study Social Security Program

A complete study of the federal social security program is to be made by an advisory council recently appointed by Senator Eugene D. Millikin, chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance. This is in accordance with a Senate resolution directing the Committee on Finance to make an investigation of social security, with special reference to coverage, benefits and taxes, and authorizing appointment of an advisory council to assist and advise the committee in the investigation.

The council consists of seventeen members, headed by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., as chairman, and Professor Sumner H. Slichter (Harvard) as vice chairman.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The voters of the town of **Claremont, New Hampshire,** on October 21 adopted the council-manager plan as set forth in a special act passed by the 1947 legislature. The vote was 2,433 to 1,326. The charter provides that Claremont shall be a city, with an election on December 9 of a council of nine members, three at large and two from each of three wards, to take office in January.

The council-manager plan was adopted in **Golden, Colorado,** on October 11 by a vote of 217 to 180. Registration for the election was about 1,000. At the November election a city council of nine members—one at large and two from each ward—is to be elected.

The charter board of **Fairmont, West Virginia,** completed its draft of a council-manager charter on September 29 and has submitted it to the state attorney general for official approval. A public meeting for explanation and discussion of the charter was set for November 3 at the courthouse. If ratified by a subsequent popular referendum the charter will become effective July 1, 1948. It prescribes a council of seven, elected at large, which appoints the manager, clerk, attorney and police judge.

The town manager plan, adopted in 1946, was recently reaffirmed in **Richmond, Maine,** by a large majority at a special town meeting.

Referenda on Plan E—council-manager plan with proportional representation—are scheduled in six Massachusetts cities on November 4: **Worcester, Medford, Quincy, Pittsfield, Fitchburg** and **Revere.** The referendum sought for the same date in **Somerville** will not be held; the board of aldermen held the 7,100-signature petition for a 45-day "protest period," making it impossible to place the question before the people on November 4. Effort of petition sponsors to force release of the petitions was unsuccessful.

Danville, Virginia, will vote on November 18 on the question of adopting the council-manager plan.

A movement for the council-manager plan is under way in **Charleston, S. C.**

The Chamber of Commerce of **Kent, Ohio,** includes the council-manager plan as point two of a ten-point program of work for community betterment. First point is creation of a city planning commission.

The **Rittman, Ohio,** *Press* is taking an interest in promoting adoption of the council-manager plan.

The city council of **Green Bay, Wisconsin,** has rejected a proposal for a referendum on the manager plan.

The manager plan has been an active issue in the council election at **Greenville, Mississippi.**

The charter of **Alexandria, Minnesota,** is in process of revision and the council-manager plan is being studied in that connection.

The **Holton, Kansas,** Chamber of Commerce is giving publicity to the manager plan. It sponsored a public meeting at which the city manager of Atchison, Kansas, was a speaker.

The Civic Improvement League of **Leavenworth, Kansas,** is studying the manager plan with a view to securing a public referendum on the question of adoption.

The city council of **Brewton, Alabama,** on October 1 abandoned the manager plan which it had adopted by ordinance on January 14, 1947.

The **Perry, Oklahoma,** *Daily Journal* has engaged in a charter educational campaign, including consideration of the manager plan.

The **Great Falls, Montana,** city council has fixed December 1, 1947, for a referendum on a petition to change the city's government from its present aldermanic form to the council-manager plan. The petitions were circulated and filed by the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The **Englewood, Colorado,** *Press* has pointed out the advantage of the manager plan in relieving present part-time officials of administrative duties that would be assumed by a full-time trained manager.

In **Pueblo, Colorado,** a group of citizens is working for the amendment of the city charter to substitute the council-manager plan for the present commission plan.

The League of Women Voters of **Los Alamos, New Mexico,** is interested in the council-manager plan for that community, which is in process of becoming a city.

A committee of the **Monrovia, California,** Chamber of Commerce is to investigate the council-manager plan. At least two members of the city council are reported to favor the plan, and there is a possibility of its being voted on at the April municipal election.

The **Santa Cruz, California,** board of freeholders has incorporated the council-manager plan in the new charter it is drafting. The charter is expected to be ready for popular vote in February or March.

A group in **Klamath Falls, Oregon,** is endeavoring to obtain a popular vote on the manager plan at the April 1948 election.

The council-manager plan is under consideration in **Bellingham, Washington,** especially by the League of Women Voters.

Large Cities Institute Rent Control

Four large cities now have rent control in operation while at least four others have been taking steps toward its establishment. Meanwhile, rent control measures adopted by New York and Chicago have withstood their first legal tests.

In Chicago a circuit decision in September denied a request of 52 hotels for a temporary injunction to restrain enforcement of that city's ordinance controlling hotel rents. The court held that the state legislature intended to empower municipalities to control rents of non-transients in hotels. The judge added that the shortage of dwellings in Chicago would be sufficient grounds in his opinion to uphold an ordinance aimed at dealing with an emergency.

New York City's rent control law was also upheld in a test case when a hotel owner was found guilty of starting eviction proceedings without giving the required five days advance notice to the city rent commission.

The New York rent measure has been amended to give the city rent commission broad powers to control evictions as well as authority to impose rent ceilings on newly renovated structures decontrolled by the federal government. The commission was also empowered to prosecute violators of either the city or federal rent laws.

In Philadelphia a city rent control commission with rigid powers over rentals and evictions has also been established. The ordinance requires landlords to give six months written notice of eviction proceedings except in cases of non-payment of rent or to permit demolition to make way for city improvements. In addition, the ordinance provides that, if state controls are not established in the interim, rents will be frozen as of February 29, 1948, when the federal rent measure expires.

Buffalo now limits rent increases to 15 per cent of June 30 ceilings for hotels, apartment hotels and rooming houses. Penalties of a $500 fine, or 90-day imprisonment, or both, for violation of the ordinance have been authorized.

Measures to regulate rentals, especially in hotels, and to control evictions, have been under consideration in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Minneapolis and Newark, according to the American Municipal Association.

Connecticut Considers Four Constitutional Amendments

The Connecticut legislature at its 1947 session took final action on four proposed constitutional amendments and sent them on to the state's 169 towns, which are in process of voting on them. Twenty-two of the towns will not vote until 1948. The amendments are briefly as follows:

1. *Four-year term for governor and other state officials.* The present two-year term (one year prior to 1884) for governor, lieutenant governor, secretary, treasurer and comptroller would be increased to four years effective in 1951. The elected attorney general and the appointed state department heads (except the commissioner of health) now have four-year terms. State elections for administrative officers would fall between presidential elections.

2. *Four-year term for probate judges.* The two-year term of probate judges would be increased to four years, the same as in the common pleas and district courts. Certain higher judges now have eight-year terms.

3. *Method of appointing minor judges.* Judges of minor courts, now appointed by resolution of the legislature, would be appointed by the legislature on nomination of the governor, as is already done in the case of judges of the Superior Court and the Supreme Court of Errors.

4. *Forfeit and restoration of civil rights.* The present constitution provides that "the privileges of an elector shall be

forfeited by a conviction of bribery, forgery, perjury, duelling, fraudulent bankruptcy, theft or other offense for which an infamous punishment is inflicted." The legislature may restore the privileges by vote of two-thirds of the members of both houses. Various injustices are reported to have arisen under the present procedure. It is proposed to give the legislature power to prescribe the offenses entailing forfeiture of rights and the conditions and methods of restoration.

Michigan League Seeks Better Legislation

At its 1947 annual meeting, held in Marquette in September, the Michigan Municipal League advocated consideration of municipal revenue needs at the special session of the legislature in January. It showed its intention to watch proposed legislation intently, as has been done since the State Supreme Court ruled that cities could legally contribute to the league's support.

Constitutional revision was also advocated by league officials and delegates. The legislature, at the urging of Governor Sigler, has ordered a referendum on the question of general constitutional revision to be held in November 1948.

The league meeting was attended by some four hundred people, with approximately a hundred Michigan cities and villages represented.

Tennessee League Fosters Constitutional Home Rule

Declaring that Tennessee municipalities are now governed primarily by so-called private acts of the state legislature, that this practice has been abolished in 40 states, and that 28 states have granted home rule to cities, the Tennessee Municipal League at its 1947 convention adopted a resolution to continue its efforts for constitutional home rule. It urged that a limited constitutional convention to give cities home rule be called by the 1949 legislature, and that "the issue of municipal home rule and a limited constitutional convention for this purpose be presented to the electorate of Tennessee."

Kentucky Votes on Constitutional Convention

Efforts to prevent a popular vote on November 4 as to the question of calling a constitutional convention in Kentucky have been unsuccessful in the courts, including the Court of Appeals. The idea of a convention has been urged by numerous civic organizations and has been endorsed by both candidates for governor.

Revised Minneapolis Charter Progresses toward Vote

The charter commission of Minneapolis, Minnesota, has prepared a tentative draft of a new charter and it is hoped that a final draft can be submitted to popular vote by January 15, 1948. The unofficial Citizens' Charter Committee is cooperating with the commission on completion of the charter and public education concerning it.

The charter commission seeks to remedy existing decentralization and diffusion of powers by concentrating legislative power in the city council and administrative authority in the mayor, aside from education which remains under an elective board. An outline of the charter as partially completed indicates that various changes previously contemplated[1] have been abandoned.

According to the present outline city council membership remains at 26, with two members from each of

(Continued on Page 593)

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1947, page 207.

Debt, Expenditure and Tax Trends Explored

Pay-As-You-Go Financing Urged in Several Reports

BECAUSE of "rapidly increasing costs of local government and limited revenue sources . . . ways to reduce costs" are being sought. In order to save interest charges on the public debt, "Pay-As-You-Go For Local Government" is recommended by Roy E. Brown, director of field surveys of the **Tax Foundation,** in the *Tax Review.*

If the city of Utica had been on a pay-as-you-go plan since World War I, the city would now have a $10,000,000 surplus instead of a $6,000,000 debt, says the bulletin of the **Municipal Research Bureau of Utica,** William R. Coates, executive director.

The bureau discusses the financing of Utica's sewers in a recent issue of *Your City.* It suggests that Utica substitute a pay-as-you-go plan for borrowing to finance its sewage needs.

Another issue of *Your City* recommends pay-as-you-go as the best method of financing Utica's streets.

The school building program for Des Moines is reviewed in *Civic Flashes,* publication of the **Des Moines Taxpayers Association,** Roy L. Miller, executive secretary. The problem of needs vs. costs is presented by tables of needed buildings and their cost.

The **New Jersey Taxpayers Association,** A. R. Everson, executive vice president, has compiled a 32-page booklet of statistics relating to taxes, debts and expenditures of 565 local government units arranged by counties.

The bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director, devotes an issue to the 1947-48 budget for San Francisco.

Another issue reviews budget and capital expenditure financing. The pay-as-you-go plan is contrasted with borrowing, with emphasis on the fact that the former needs both a master plan and a long range capital budget based upon the plan.

Golden Gate Bridge traffic and revenue are examined in another bulletin.

The financial condition of Schenectady is reviewed in *Research Brevities* by the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research,** George L. Nichols, managing director. Fiscal requirements are enumerated and it is suggested that costs "should be financed from current income rather than borrowing."

"Debt Retirement and the City's Financial Program" is the topic of another *Research Brevities.* A table showing the debt service schedule of Schenectady, 1936-1960, is included.

The problem of securing funds for local capital improvements is the topic of a recent bulletin of the **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee,** Norman N. Gill, director.

"Payroll Tax Spending Is Studied by Citizens' Finance Group" reports the *Toledo Municipal News,* published by the **Municipal League of Toledo,** Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary. One of the conclusions reached was: "Payroll income tax surplus collection should be held in reserve until 1948 and then used to reduce levies for present city debts." Consideration of charter amendment to reduce the legal requirement of a 65 per cent vote to approve bond issues is also suggested.

A recent *Newsletter* of the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director, analyzes the bond issue proposal voted on at the September 9 primary and "judges the success of the bond issue to be in the best interests of the community." Statistics on projected indebtedness and proposed improvements are included.

The **Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce** has issued a study by its **Bureau of Governmental Research,** Carl E. Dortch, director, on *Bonded Debt in Indianapolis.* This report presents statistical data, graphs and tables and includes a financial plan for public improvement.

The **Woonsocket Taxpayers Association,** William H. Cunningham, executive director, discusses *Debt Reduction in the City of Woonsocket* and concludes that the present policy of continued debt reduction can and should be maintained. The article urges a partial or complete pay-as-you-go plan based "on sound and careful planning of needed public improvements and the method of financing the program."

The Civic Federation of Chicago, Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, has issued its fourteenth annual study of debts, taxes and assessments. Numerous tables are included in this report which covers such topics as debt—funded and constitutional; debt—floating; property taxes—collections; property taxes—extensions; property taxes—rates; assessments.

Citizens' Business, published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** Robert K. Sawyer, director, warns against departing from the practice "of making all its bond issues mature serially," calling such a departure a "decided step backward."

John F. Sly, director of **Princeton Surveys, Princeton University,** discusses "Long-Time Protection for the Local Taxpayer" in the *Tax Review.* He suggests a municipal finance formula: cash basis budgeting, credit facilities for the deflationary years, statewide standards of sound fiscal policy and state supervision of unsound municipalities.

Tax and Spending Facts from Here and There

The **Tennessee Taxpayers Association,** William R. Pouder, executive secretary, reports on *Trends in Public Finance,* with tables and comparative statistics on revenues, as well as a discussion of federal taxation.

The Montana Taxpayer for June, published by the **Montana Taxpayers Association,** A. T. Hibbard, president, reports on airport revenues and expenditures in Montana cities and counties. The September issue is devoted to significant Montana tax facts. Graphs and tables summarize the facts by cities and counties.

A chart of the *Pennsylvania State Tax System with Revision of 1947* has been published by the **Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce,** Leonard P. Fox, general secretary.

The provisions of the Collier-Burns California Highway Act which will provide $65,000,000 additional revenue are outlined and reviewed by John M. Peirce of the Western Oil and Gas Association, Los Angeles, in *The Tax Digest* of the **California Taxpayers Association.** In the same issue are tables showing receipts and cost payments of California cities in 1945 and 1946.

Another *Tax Digest* discusses the 50 per cent increase in California property taxes between 1940-41 and 1946-47. The same issue compares school costs for 1944-45 and 1945-46.

A factual analysis of the cost of the new program of school financing in Utah is the topic of a *Research Report* by the **Utah Foundation,** Stanley J. Stephenson, managing director. Tables and graphs show costs and sources of funds.

"Receipts from so-called highway

taxes—gasoline, motor vehicle licenses, drivers' licenses and truck taxes—have never paid for the entire cost of Wisconsin highways," says the *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* published by the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** Paul N. Reynolds, executive director, reporting in detail on highway receipts and expenditures.

"Expenditures not assessed valuations govern the size of tax bills," points out **Government Research Inc. of Los Angeles,** Ed F. Thompson, executive secretary, in its *Monthly Bulletin.* The real responsibility, says the bulletin, rests with five tax levying bodies: county, city, school district and water and flood control districts.

A proposed sales tax bill for the state of Oregon has been studied by a committee of the **City Club of Portland, Oregon,** Margaret Clarke, executive secretary, and reviewed in the club's *Bulletin.* The committee concludes that the sales tax is neither necessary nor desirable, but in the same issue a committee recommends approval of a cigarette tax bill.

To Be Continued

Volume 2 of *Fiscal Facts Concerning the City of New York* has been compiled by the **New York Citizens' Budget Commission,** Henry J. Amy, executive director. It is a 108-page statistical summary of the city's finances since 1940, including the fiscal year 1946-47. Volume 1, issued in 1940, covered the period 1919 through 1938. Tables in the present volume provide blank spaces for each year through 1963-64. The commission promises to issue an annual supplement to enable the holder of the volume to keep it up to date.

A recent *New York State Taxpayer,* published by the **Citizens Public Expenditure Survey,** Walter O. Howe, executive vice president, contains graphs and tables comparing full value tax rates, assessments and burdens in 50 New York cities.

Property tax levies for 1947 by counties, school districts and cities and towns in county areas are tabulated in an issue of *Wyoming News and Views,* issued by the **Wyoming Taxpayers Association,** Percy F. Jowett, executive director.

The increase in property tax rates facing Des Moines taxpayers is the topic of a bulletin of the **Des Moines Taxpayers Association.** Proposed expenditures and proposed property tax levies are compared with past ones.

The **Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines,** Glenn N. Hoffman, secretary, discusses local tax levies and budgets for 1948. Tables showing the adopted tax levies and tax increases accompany the report.

Citizens' Business, **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** presents a financial study of an area in South Philadelphia, showing the disproportion between revenues and expenditures there.

The third of a series of quarterly studies by the **Nevada Taxpayers Association,** Dryden Kuser, director, appears in the *Nevada Tax Review* under the title, "The Tax Burden in Nevada." Distribution of taxes, analysis of increased assessed valuation, as well as comparisons of Nevada taxes with other states, are included.

The Iowa Taxpayer issued by the **Iowa Taxpayers Association,** Joe L. Long, executive secretary, lists 1947 and 1946 tax rates for Iowa's 115 cities in tabular form.

The Municipality, published by the **League of Wisconsin Municipalities,** Frederick N. MacMillin, executive secretary, discusses the possibility of utilizing sewerage service charges as a source of municipal revenue. The article includes the purposes, authority and mechanics of "sewer rentals."

"Taxes and Income in Western States" are reviewed in a *Research Report* of the **Utah Foundation.** The report covers the years 1930 to 1946 and includes a comparison of federal, state and local taxes, population and income of mountain states 1930-1940-1946.

Budget Problems Analyzed

The deficit in Michigan's finances is discussed in a bulletin of the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director. Alternatives to continued deficits are suggested.

The **Dade County Research Foundation,** John F. Willmott, executive director, has issued an analysis of the proposed budget for the city of Miami for 1947-48, with graphs, tables and reports on where the city money comes from and where it goes.

Comments, published by the **Lackawanna Tax Research Bureau,** analyzes Lackawanna expenditure trends since 1924. Spectacular increases in Department of Public Works expenditures are attributed partly to the fact that the department had become "an unofficial refuge for many who through age or physical deficiencies were unable to obtain employment in industry and who did not wish to obtain welfare relief."

The basic principles of municipal budget problems are outlined in an article by A. E. Buck, Jr., of the **California Taxpayers Association,** in *The Tax Digest.* Among topics covered are principles of budgeting, variations of budgets, purchasing procedure, personnel controls and budget theory.

"All signs point to an impending financial crisis for the city of St. Louis," says *Mind Your Business,* bulletin of the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis,** Victor D. Brannon, director. This is due to the fact that operating costs are at a new high and in excess of officially estimated receipts. The 1947-48 budget appropriations are compared with expenditures of 1939-40 and 1946-47.

A deficit of $6,000,000 to $9,000,000 in the Detroit budget will result from state elimination of liquor tax grants, restrictions on horse racing, and revision of educational aid, according to *Bureau Notes,* published by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.**

State and Federal Aid

Comments, published by the **Lackawanna Tax Research Bureau,** discusses the reduction of state aid for Lackawanna as well as the simultaneous increase in city costs. Another issue reports on city revenues and the new budget.

State-Local Government Topics, issued by the **State Division, Pennsylvania Economy League,** reports on current highway problems with special attention to the reorganization of state-local highway relationships. The post-war improvement program is also discussed.

Your Government Affairs, published by the **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council,** Robert M. Goodrich, executive director, discusses "Federal School Aid." "Because there is no limit to the demands which eventually may be made on the federal government for educational grants, it is most important that every aspect . . . be examined thoroughly before any initial step is taken."

State aid for Providence is discussed in a bulletin of the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director. The article examines Providence tax problems in the light of new state aid legislation.

The **Municipal Research Bureau of the Akron, Ohio, Chamber of Commerce** recently issued a pamphlet on *Equity of Ohio State Distributions of*

Subsidies and Locally Shared Taxes, by H. G. McGee and Kenneth Tench.

The *Kansas Government Journal,* John G. Stutz, editor, reviews a plan by the **Joint Local Government Finance Committee** to increase revenue and equalize government costs in Kansas.

GRA Conference, Other Bureau News

"The Past and Present as Springboards to the Future" was the keynote of the 1947 conference of the **Governmental Research Association** at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, October 8-11. A brochure bearing this title, carrying articles by Lent D. Upson on "The Past," Carter W. Atkins on "The Present," Luther Gulick on "The Future," and John F. Sly on "The Needs," was distributed at the annual dinner Friday evening, October 10. Speakers at this meeting were Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey on "Our Federal System, Can We Make It Work?" and Charles Beard, who delivered "Concluding Remarks" in the light of 40 years of governmental research history since the establishment of the **New York Bureau of Municipal Research.**

The annual GRA award was presented by Robert J. M. Matteson, **Institute of Public Administration,** to the **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council,** Robert M. Goodrich, executive director, for *A Study of State and Local Relationships.* William Anderson of the University of Minnesota was chairman of the Awards Committee.

GRA Secretary G. Gordon Tegnell reports that some 400 governmental researchers and others attended the various sessions of the conference, which was opened by Luther Gulick as chairman of the Conference Program Committee at a luncheon Wednesday, October 8, at which Mayor O'Dwyer of New York City and Henry Bruere, president of the Bowery Savings Bank, were speakers.

Conference sessions discussed "Securing Public Acceptance for Citizen Research" and "Proven Methods of Effective Governmental Research." The latter topic was covered by reports on such diverse matters as the Indianapolis urban redevelopment program, the Hartford charter revision campaign, the New Orleans administrative reorganization and a Philadelphia program for adequate water supply. There was also a workshop session on publications and a citizen research clinic.

On Saturday, October 11, the conference went on a boat tour of New York Harbor under the auspices of the Port of New York authority.

The following officers and trustees were elected for the coming year: president, Carl P. Herbert, secretary of the St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research; vice president, Robert E. Pickup, executive director of the Providence Governmental Research Bureau; trustees, Henry W. Connor, director of the Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research; Merle W. DeWees, executive director of the New Haven Taxpayers Research Council; Richard A. Atkins, secretary of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau; N. Bradford Trenham, general manager of the California Taxpayers Association; Walter L. Pierpoint, president and manager of the Association of Omaha Taxpayers.

The quarterly bulletin of the **Western Governmental Research Association,** *Governmental Research Notes,* reports on the seventh annual WGRA conference held at San Diego October 30 – November 1. Six panels were planned as follows: Handling Pieces of Paper, Standardization of Procedures, How Private Research Agencies Aid

Government, Employee Counseling—A New Government Function, Administrative Control Devices, Measurements in Budgeting.

The **Tennessee Taxpayers Association** reports on a July training school for governmental research workers conducted by the **University of Denver** and the **Tax Foundation.** "This is the first year since World War II that the training school has been conducted. The entire series of lectures was designed to improve methods for interesting the citizen in his local, state and federal government." William R. Pouder, executive secretary of the association, served as an instructor.

A "History of the League of Texas Municipalities," by Lynn F. Anderson, research assistant, **Bureau of Municipal Research, the University of Texas,** has appeared in two installments in *Texas Municipalities.*

Western City, published by the **League of California Cities,** Howard Gardner, assistant secretary, reports on the Twelfth Institute of Government sponsored by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Washington,** held at the university this summer.

The **Social Science Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico** has issued its annual report on its first year of activity.

At its tenth anniversary celebration, the **Institute of Local and State Government of the University of Pennsylvania,** H. F. Alderfer, executive secretary, was praised by Governor Duff, Mayor Samuel of Philadelphia, and Director Buckley of Philadelphia's Department of Public Works, reports the Department of Internal Affairs, William S. Livengood, Jr., secretary.

Government Service, published by the **Milwaukee Government Service League,** Richard Christopherson, president, discusses the activities of the **Research Clearing House of Milwaukee.** "A little known organization in Milwaukee is quietly contributing to the city and county's future through its research activities. . . . It has 25 members, representatives of city, county and civic agencies who pool their research knowledge."

Payroll Problems—State and Local

The **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee** analyzes the Milwaukee job situation, especially in regard to new positions. City and county jobs have hit a new peak and 413 new positions are requested. A table listing the number of employees under Milwaukee common council and county board jurisdictions is included.

Salary increases for firemen and policemen are opposed by the **Des Moines Taxpayers Association** in *Civic Flashes.* The reasons for this position are given with supporting figures.

"State Government Personnel in Utah" is the topic of a *Research Report* of the **Utah Foundation.** Some of the subjects covered are: permanent personnel, gross payrolls, size of employing units, classification of salaries by $25 brackets, and salary increases. Numerous tables are included.

Municipal appointments and salaries are listed in *Just a Moment,* **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** Sidney Detmers, managing director. The article recommends that "war emergency" appointments cease now as they are a threat to the merit system.

Strictly Personal

Henry R. Pearson has been appointed director of Utah Foundation, effective October 1. He will continue to direct the research program—as he has since April 1, 1946, and will also assume the duties of the former managing director, **Stanley J. Stephenson.**

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

We the People Rise to the Occasion

Citizens Organize Campaign Groups on Ballot Questions

THE election on November 4—an "off-year" so far as state and national affairs are concerned—has brought numerous referenda on city charters and charter amendments, many of which have aroused much interest in the community concerned.[1] Organizations already established have rallied in support of constructive measures; where the occasion demanded new groups have sprung up for specific campaigns.

An outstandingly constructive campaign has been conducted by the **Richmond Civic Association,** Hugh R. Thompson, Jr., executive secretary, organized in support of the council-manager charter presented to Richmond voters for adoption in November. "Vote for Progress . . . Vote for Charter," is its slogan.

The association has organized the city on an area basis, each area with its leader. Areas are organized by sections and blocks, each with its leader. Large area diagrams have been prepared for workers with blanks to be filled in with names, addresses and phone numbers of area, section and block leaders and committeemen; ward and precinct maps were also supplied to workers. A *Speaker's Manual* and mimeographed instructions to area chairmen, co-chairmen and area committees, as well as section and precinct leaders, leave nothing to the imagination.

One of the early tasks of the association was the conduct of a vigorous campaign to get voters to register. "Your Vote Is Democracy—Are You Qualified?" inquires its six-page folder which explains the whys and wherefores of registration.

The association has done an outstanding publicity job in which the daily papers — *Times-Dispatch* and *News Leader*—have cooperated to educate the voters. "The greatest blessing that can come to Richmond from this campaign," says the *News Leader* editorially, "will be the awakenment of some thousands of those who fight for the new charter."

Supporting the charter also are the **Chamber of Commerce,** which has issued two pamphlets, *City Governments,* describing the major forms of government in U. S. cities, and *Digest of the Proposed Charter for the City of Richmond;* the **Junior Chamber of Commerce,** which conducted a series of radio broadcasts on the charter; veterans' groups, women's organizations, businessmen, labor, etc. "We confess to surprise at the solidarity of the support the charter is getting," the *News Leader* says editorially. "We almost hesitate to report so favorable an outlook lest it produce complacency in the heart of anyone who looks to the upbuilding of a greater Richmond. . . . Never to our knowledge was as strong sentiment shown in Richmond for any change in government as is now displayed for the ratification of the new charter."

Organizations in support of manager charters were important factors in the campaigns waged in Dover and

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[1] Since this issue will go to press previous to election day, results of referenda discussed will be reported in December.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire. In Dover, the first city in the state to adopt the manager plan, the September 23 victory of 2,356 to 1,744 for a manager act passed by the 1947 legislature is credited in large part to the **Veterans Civic Committee,** Ralph E. Wiggin, Jr., chairman, later expanded to include non-veterans as the **Citizens' Civic Association.** The principal weapon of these veterans was "their unlimited enthusiasm and their unimpeachable position of having nothing to gain from a change in government," reports the *New Hampshire Sunday News.* The opposition, on the other hand, was spearheaded by officeholders and city employees.

The **Portsmouth Good Government Campaign Committee,** Frank E. Jordan, campaign manager, has also been conducting a campaign for adoption of a manager charter granted by the legislature, in a vote scheduled for November 4. It is organized by wards and is making a house-to-house canvass to bring the charter to the attention of voters.

New York's P. R. Battle

The **New York Keep P. R. Committee,** of which Richard S. Childs is chairman, and John J. Lamula, campaign manager, has been coordinating the civic forces of the city in opposition to an amendment to supplant the P. R. method of electing council. It is distributing thousands of leaflets headed in large red letters "DANGER." "Keep proportional representation—people's rule" is its slogan. Since there will be ten referenda on the voting machine the leaflet directs voters to "Vote 'No' at the End of the Row," admonishing them to "Be Sure to Register."

Working with the committee are many other groups. The **New York League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Walter Neale, president, has made special efforts to urge registration so that voters may be able to express themselves on the P. R. question, the veterans' bonus, housing loan and subsidies, and judges and other candidates to be voted for. "Don't Be Late for '48" its registration circular cautions, pointing out that unless voters enroll in their party this fall they cannot vote in the spring 1948 primaries when delegates to national party conventions—to choose presidential candidates and write party platforms—will be chosen. The league is furnishing speakers on P. R. and other election subjects.

The **Commerce and Industry Association of New York,** George H. McCaffrey, director of research, has prepared a seventeen-page memorandum "concerning election of the New York City council by P. R." The memo points out that the association supported P. R. at the time of its adoption in 1936 and has continued to do so; that on reviewing the evidence of the past eleven years it "reaffirms its former position in unqualified support of proportional representation."

The **Citizens Union of the City of New York,** George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary, has also joined actively in the fight to retain P. R. One of its recent publications offers rebuttals to seventeen objections commonly raised against P. R. The **Men's City Club,** the **Women's City Club,** and many others — citywide, borough-wide and neighborhood—are adding their weight to the campaign for retention.

Cincinnati Committee

In Cincinnati, where the use of P. R. is also at stake, the **City Charter Committee,** Forest Frank, executive director, has come to the rescue with its usual thoroughness. A 40-page *Speakers' Manual* has been issued, showing the results of elections under the system and answering objections raised by opponents. A recent issue of the committee's *Charter News Letter* likens tactics of the opposition to those of Hitler and Mussolini, particularly in the use of the "big lie." "The technique of the 'big lie'," says the bulletin, "does violence to logic and common sense. In essence, it consists of making false statements and, by simple reiteration, seducing the public into their acceptance as literal truths. . . . The local machine strategists are displaying keen awareness of the uses and techniques of the 'big lie'." The bulletin lists the false statements circulated by the opposition with comments on the true state of affairs.

Numerous debates on P. R. have been conducted in Cincinnati. One of them, featuring Charles P. Taft for the system and Stewart Cooper against, was arranged by the **League of Women Voters** and the **Junior Chamber of Commerce.** "Debates like the one at the Gibson on Tuesday would add interest to any political campaign," says the Cincinnati *Times-Star* editorially. "We don't suppose many votes were changed. But certainly the speeches gave information in a very agreeable form to help the voters arrive at a reasonable and proper decision."

A special **Citizens Committee** in support of P. R. has been organized in Cincinnati, according to announcement by Robert E. Goldman, chairman of the City Charter Committee's campaign.

The charter committee is also, as in past years, vigorously supporting a slate of nine councilmanic candidates for the November 4 election.

The use of P. R. is also on the ballot in **Long Beach, New York,** where the **Citizens' Union,** under the leadership of Albert A. Arditti, is waging a vigorous fight for its retention.

Massachusetts Cities

In six Massachusetts cities—Worcester, Pittsfield, Medford, Quincy, Fitchburg and Revere—citizen committees have secured sufficient petitions to place the state's optional law, providing the council-manager plan with P. R. for election of the council and school board, on the November 4 ballot. All six groups, supported by many local organizations, are waging vigorous campaigns.

The movement in Worcester has strong popular support which cuts across party lines. The **Worcester Plan E Committee** is headed by Timothy F. Daley as chairman; Mrs. Robert B. Service, Jr., is chairman of its speakers bureau. The **Worcester League of Women Voters,** an active pioneer in the Plan E movement, is conducting a series of teas to acquaint women with the proposed new charter.

The **Quincy Taxpayers Association,** William M. Edmonston, executive secretary, filed petitions placing Plan E on the ballot and is waging a campaign in its behalf.

The 300 members of the **Revere committee,** Gerald L. Woodland, chairman, are striving for a "maximum of button-hole conversations." In the first precincts covered in their drive, workers report the voters overwhelmingly in favor of Plan E. The **Fitchburg Committee for Plan E** has Tuure Tenander as its chairman. Both major parties as well as labor groups are represented on the committee, which is planning distribution of a twelve-page leaflet on Plan E to all households of the city. Ray F. Henderson is secretary of the **Plan "E" Charter Organization of Medford,** which is conducting a vigorous campaign; and Paul Tamburello heads the **Pittsfield City Manager Committee,** in which city the **League of Women Voters** has also been active.

Publications on Citizen Activities

Community Planning for Peacetime Living (177 pages), edited by Louis Wirth, Ernest R. Hilgard and I. James Quillen, is a report of the 1945 **Stanford (California) Workshop on Community Leadership.** Part I, "A Sociologist Looks at the Community," is a series of eight lectures by Professor Louis Wirth; Part II: "California Leaders Analyze the Community's Problems," is devoted to lectures by Mel Scott, Paul R. Hanna, and others. It discusses specific community problems—youth, housing, economic development, health, education. The book may be purchased at $1.50 from the Stanford University Press.

The People Design the City (28 pages), by Stuart Parry Walsh and Miriam Roher Resnick, is the story of a city—Santa Rosa, California—where citizens tackled their local problems. They elected three young businessmen to their five-man legislative body, which hired a city manager as full of initiative, enthusiasm and ability as his council. Citizens' committees listed Santa Rosa's needs, studied and made recommendations on its financial problems. The pamphlet lists four necessary tools for local planning: (1) a local government body which wants to get things done, (2) city employees who know their jobs and who have ability to work with the people, (3) participation by the people, (4) teamwork between the citizen and the city hall and county courthouse. It has been published by the **California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission** at Sacramento.

Citizen Participation in Community Services (70 pages)—"A Survey of Volunteer Needs and Opportunities in New York City, Together with a Plan for a Citizens' Service Organization," was published by the **New York National War Fund.** Edward L. Lindeman has prepared the foreword. *A Program for Community Action* (30 pages) has been issued by the **Minnesota Postwar Council,** St. Paul, Roy B. Jewett, director. Both publications aim at capitalizing on the experiences of volunteers during the war in behalf of activity in time of peace.

The **Kansas City (Missouri) Chamber of Commerce, Merchants Association, Real Estate Board** and **Downtown Committee** have published a *Condensed Digest of the Parking Clinic,* which was held a year ago in that city (45 pages).

United Citizen Action to Improve Georgia's Human Resources, "A Guide to the Establishment of Community Coordinating Councils" (24 pages), has been prepared by the **Georgia Citizens Council** for use by community leaders. It is attractively illustrated with black and white drawings.

Community Adult Education of the University of Michigan Extension Service has reissued *Learning for Living—Invigorating Community Meetings.* The fourteen-page pamphlet was prepared by J. B. Edmonson, Alvin F. Zander and William C. Morse.

Washington—A Plan for Civic Improvements (120 pages) has been prepared for the commissioners of the District of Columbia by the **Washington, D. C., Citizens' Planning Committee,** Gordon R. Young, chairman. Liberally sprinkled with maps and graphs, the study describes the "runaway" growth of the city during World War II, its need for a plan, with recommendations as to necessary improvements and their financing.

The **Jasper County Tax Economy Association** (Carthage, Missouri), Gerald N. Hardy, executive secretary, has published a two-page *Special Project Report on Zoning Provisions,* giving the results of a survey of zoning experience in 45 cities, located mostly in the southwest.

The Anaheim Community Planning Project is a twenty-page "comprehensive long range, all inclusive civic program of improvement devised for the purpose of creating the Anaheim Master Plan," prepared by the **Anaheim Chamber of Commerce,** E. W. Moeller, secretary-manager, and sponsored by the city council, planning commission, Kiwanis and Lions Clubs and Realty Board.

Set Its Bones Before They Knit is the apt title of a two-color, sixteen-page brochure on community planning issued by the **Indiana Economic Council,** Kenneth L. Schellie, director.

How to Be Effective Legislatively is a report on the legislative workship of the **American Association of University Women,** held at Dallas, Texas, last spring, in connection with the association's national biennial convention. Under the leadership of Mrs. Harry E. Merritt and Dr. Bessie C. Randolph subjects for discussion included: (1) How to awaken an interest in legislation among members; (2) how to search out and employ effective legislative procedures at state and national levels; (3) how to familiarize members with legislative procedures. Representatives from various states and communities recited their tactics and experiences in securing passage of particular bills.

On July 19, the **Montana Study Commission** of the University of Montana, Miss Ruth W. Robinson, acting director, concluded its experimental research program on community education in the field of the humanities, and issued its *Third Progress Report,* covering the period from September 1, 1946, to July 19 this year. Twelve community study groups have carried on activities under its auspices, using first the technique developed in Lonepine as set forth in *Life in Montana as Seen in Lonepine, a Small Community,* followed by other projects based on local community needs and available staff assistance.

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Municipal League for China

Over a hundred leading citizens of Peiping and Tientsin, representing various professions, met in the former city to organize the **Municipal League.** Leaders in the movement included Dr. Chang Po-ling, president of the National Nankai University at Tientsin; Dr. Hu Shih, president of the National Peking University, and Dr. Mei Yichi, president of Tsinghua University, Peiping.

China's democracy, said Dr. Hu Shih, former ambassador to the U. S., should begin with the city. With this conviction the new organization plans to commence its work in Peiping and Tientsin, later extending it to cities all over the country. This year, when general elections will occur, the league will encourage citizens to cast their ballots, make known election law regulations, and work for the smooth conduct of elections.

Dr. Hu voiced his optimism as to the future of the new organization. He appealed to the public, particularly the press, to assist in publicizing the movement.

One of the first tasks the organization has set for itself is the drafting of a model city charter, to be published in the near future.

Among those elected to the executive committee was Mr. T'an Ping-hsun, director of the Public Works Bureau of Peiping, to whom this department is indebted for information on the Municipal League's formation.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Local Officials Want Consolidation

Discuss Cooperation of Cities and Counties

CITY-COUNTY consolidation and cooperation continue to be a topic in the news in urban areas seeking to improve the operations of their local governmental units. In Dougherty County, Georgia, the grand jury has recommended continuation of a committee appointed by its predecessor in order to enable it to study more fully the problems of merger of the county with the city of Albany and to report its findings in March 1948.

The grand jury pointed to the desirable results that have been achieved in functional city-county consolidation in the fields of health and education in the county, and it noted that fifteen years ago, "a popular election held on the question showed a majority of the qualified voters favoring some such consolidation. A bill was passed in the state legislature authorizing the consolidation, but was vetoed by the governor at the request of a minority of the voters."

In Fulton County, Georgia, a county commissioner called on county officials and those of the city of Atlanta to "stop yapping at one another and cutting each others' throats—we've got to realize we're all part of a great community." He declared if someone would develop a feasible plan of consolidating the duplicate functions of city and county, he would "sit up nights" to listen to him. He cited duplicating police and taxing units as examples of overlapping services with duplicate personnel which should "by all means" be eliminated.

In Salt Lake City, Utah, the deputy county attorney of Salt Lake County informed a professional women's club in a speech that consolidation of city and county is a "must" if maximum efficiency is to be attained. He declared, "at present there is much duplication of effort because of the overlapping of city and county functions, and this could be eliminated at considerable savings to the taxpayers if administration of the two bodies were combined."

In the state of Washington, King County and the city of Seattle have moved one step closer to consolidation. Both the city council and the county commissioners have given their approval to amalgamation of their respective health departments. The city health director will become chief administrative officer for both units immediately, but formal consolidation will require state legislation.

Home Rule Petition Filed in Jackson County, Missouri

A citizens' charter committee in Jackson County (Kansas City), Missouri, has filed with the county court petitions bearing 68,202 signatures and calling for appointment of a commission to draft a new county charter. It thus completes the first phase of the process by which the county may become a "home rule" county under the provisions of the new state constitution.

Only 41,616 signatures (20 per cent of the votes cast for governor in the last election) were needed, and hence the charter committee is confident that when the election board checks the petitions there will be a sufficient surplus to offset any invalid signatures.

After the election board certifies to

the adequacy of the petitions, the county court will apprise the circuit and probate judges of the results, who will in turn meet and appoint seven Democrats and seven Republicans to draft the home rule charter. The charter will be submitted to popular referendum for adoption by the electorate of the county. Sentiment for the manager plan is strong.

Florida County Defeats Governmental Improvements

Five bills involving improvements in local government for Orange County, Florida, passed by the 1947 legislature, were defeated in a popular referendum on September 9 by a vote of 2500 in favor to 4000 against. The bills included:

1. Appointment rather than election of the superintendent of public instruction and inclusion of technical qualifications for the position;
2. Consolidation of the offices of tax assessor and tax collector into the elective office of county tax officer;
3. Consolidation of offices of clerk of circuit court, clerk of criminal court of record, clerk of county court and supervisor of registration into the elective office of clerk of Orange County;
4. Change in method of electing county commissioners, reduction of their salaries, and appointment of a "secretary-engineer" to serve as executive officer of the board; and
5. Providing the option whereby any municipality in the county could, upon popular vote, request the county to collect municipal taxes on a cost basis.

Wisconsin Counties to Provide Veteran Housing

The 1947 Wisconsin legislature has authorized establishment of county veterans' housing authorities by resolution of the county boards. Such authorities are to be created whenever "there is a shortage of safe or sanitary dwelling accommodations for veterans in such county" and "such shortage will not be alleviated within a reasonable length of time without the functioning of a veterans' housing authority." Such county authorities would be eligible for state aid on the same basis as the similar city authorities.

The authority would operate under the direction of five commissioners appointed by the county board. They would be unpaid for their services. The county treasurer would be *ex officio* treasurer of the authority. The authority would have no power to tax or levy an assessment, but it would incur indebtedness without obligating the county. Thus it will not be subject to the debt limitation laws.

The state soon will have available approximately $8,000,000, collected as a result of doubling the tax on hard liquors and wines, which will be used as grants-in-aid to local veterans' housing authorities. The grants may be up to 10 per cent of total investment in the housing projects with additional grants in emergency cases.

County Centralization of Roads Progressing in Washington

The state of Washington reports progress in the consolidation of county road districts permissible under the state highway laws of 1937. King County is the latest to consolidate its north and south road districts to form a centralized county system. Counties which previously had taken such action include Chelan, Clark, Yakima and Spokane.

New York Justices Consider Grievance Committee

The justices of peace of New York State have received the suggestion that there be established a statewide grievance committee to receive complaints directed against any justice of peace and to investigate their validity. In order to secure greater public confidence, it is suggested that only part of the committee represent the justices and that the remainder be composed of prominent lawyers and laymen interested in the field. The subject is discussed in the state bulletin for justices of peace, *Justice Court Topics*.

Counties Operate Federal Labor Camps

As the U. S. Department of Agriculture relinquishes its jurisdiction over its labor camps in Texas, counties are assuming responsibility for their operation in several instances. Nueces County will pay the federal government $1.00 for the lease of a camp within its boundaries, Cameron County has decided upon a six-months trial operation, Willacy County has applied for jurisdiction over such a camp, and Hidalgo County, after considering the matter, decided to permit two municipalities within its boundaries to operate the camp.

North Carolina and Texas County Officials Meet

The North Carolina State Association of County Commissioners met recently in its fortieth annual convention. It met jointly with the County Accountants' Association. Over 225 county officials attended.

The County Judges and Commissioners Association of Texas held its annual convention November 2-5 in Laredo, Texas.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from Page 579)

the existing wards. The mayor is to appoint department heads with consent of the council except for the departments of civil service, city planning, public health, libraries and parks. For each of these departments the mayor would appoint a board with overlapping terms (except that certain members of some boards are *ex officio*) and the board would appoint the department head.

Financial administration would be centralized in a department of finance with six divisions—accounts, budget, treasury, assessments, purchases and licenses. The director of finance, appointed by the mayor with council consent, would appoint division heads. The present board of estimate and taxation (largely *ex officio*) and the elective comptroller and treasurer, would be superseded.

Correction: In "Legislatures Deal with Youth Problems," page 512 of the October REVIEW, it was stated that the Massachusetts legislature, on the recommendation of the State Child Council, provided for a state-wide juvenile court system. This statement was erroneous; the recommendation was rejected by the legislature together with a somewhat similar proposal by Governor Bradford.

Other Charter Revisions

Besides the Minneapolis charter activities and the continued movement for council-manager charters (pages 576-7), several large cities are considering charter revision. Denver, referred to last month (page 520), will vote November 13 on a strong-mayor charter.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Virginia Cities Frame 1948 Program

Will Seek Additional Tax Powers from Legislature

THE League of Virginia Municipalities took note of the pressing financial problem besetting all Old Dominion cities and towns by adopting an eight-point legislative program at its September meeting in Roanoke. The program will be pressed before the General Assembly which convenes at Richmond next January. It provides:

1. Two-thirds of the profits from beer excise tax to be returned to the counties, cities and towns on the same basis as profits from the state's alcoholic beverage control stores;
2. Alteration of the state's capital tax policy to permit localities to tax all tangible personal property now classified as "capital" except inventories;
3. Material increase in the state's support of free public schools;
4. Cities, counties and towns to receive not less than one-half of any state sales tax if such tax is adopted;
5. Counties, cities and towns to be authorized to impose local payroll taxes;
6. Legislation to permit state police to arrest violators of town ordinances, violators to be tried under local ordinances;
7. Substantial increase in the maximum local license taxes on receipts of public utilities as allowed by state code;
8. Special legislation to finance the construction and operation of airports so that localities can meet federal requirements and grants.

The convention heard J. Woodall Rodgers, former Dallas mayor and president of the American Municipal Association, attack county-controlled legislatures for withholding proper taxing powers from cities and towns. The result, he said, has been to place localities "in a strait-jacket."

Mayor W. C. Fitzpatrick of Farmville was elected president of the Virginia league, succeeding Mayor T. W. Preston of Bristol.

ELMORE D. HEINS

Roanoke, Virginia

Assessors Raise Property Valuations

As a result of increased real estate values, as well as new construction, over three billion dollars in property valuations have been added to assessment rolls of 49 metropolitan areas of over 100,000 population. Latest figures in these areas totaled $43,220,000,000 compared to a previous total of $39,830,000,000. Increases in 35 of the localities represent a comparison of 1947 to 1946 assessments; in the remaining fourteen, 1946 assessments are compared with those of 1945.

The survey, made by the National Association of Assessing Officers, places Los Angeles County at the head of the list with a 32.47 per cent increase in assessed values since January 1, 1947. Other high percentage increases were reported by Flint, Michigan, 20.92 per cent; Oklahoma County (Oklahoma City), 19.25 per cent; Norfolk, Virginia, 16.22 per cent; San Diego County, 15.12 per cent; and Knoxville, Tennessee, 14.81 per cent. Average rise for the entire group was 8.51 per cent; smallest increase was reported by Reading, Pennsylvania, 0.20 per cent.

Greatest increase in dollars was New

York City's $1,030,000,000 assessment rise, 6.47 per cent. The city's assessments now total over $16,900,000,000. Los Angeles had a dollar increase of $798,000,000; Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), $168,000,000.

New construction accounted for 100 per cent of assessment increases in Denver, Elizabeth, New Jersey, Houston, Minneapolis and the counties of Lucas (Toledo), Mahoning (Youngstown), Ohio, and San Diego. The percentage assessment increase for these seven localities averaged 4.1 per cent.

Increases in assessment totals were the result of new construction almost exclusively in Des Moines, Louisville and Sacramento though other minor factors entered in. In some cities, total valuations on assessment rolls were inincreased also by municipal annexation of outlying territory.

Generally increased property values caused the bulk of assessment increases in Buffalo, Flint, Syracuse and Worcester, Massachusetts. The Oklahoma County increase resulted from a re-assessment survey conducted during the past eighteen months.

Roanoke Excise Ruled Invalid

The realty transfer tax of one per cent, enacted by the Roanoke city council last February, was ruled invalid on October 1 by Judge Dirk A. Kuyk of Roanoke Hustings Court. The court held that the tax is a property tax levy and as such violates the uniformity clause of the state constitution. Appeal from the decision is expected to be made by the city.

Adopted February 17, 1947, the excise became effective March 19, and had to the time of the decision yielded the city $49,216, or about $8,000 monthly. It is interesting to note that the city, in its brief supporting the tax, disclaimed that the tax was a privilege tax, and relied instead on its standing as a transaction tax. The state has long had a tax on the privilege of recordation of deeds.

Selective Sales Tax in St. John, N. B.

In the United States selectivity in a sales or gross receipts tax is typically secured by granting exemptions to certain types of goods or services, generally on the theory that taxation at the designated rate would be onerous on the exempted items. An interesting attempt to secure the same result by a different method, but without providing actual exemptions, is reported for some Canadian cities, of which St. John, New Brunswick, is cited as an example.

In St. John the mill rate of the sales or turnover tax is applied not directly against the gross sales but against a percentage of such sales which varies for different types of business. The percentage of gross taxed is 10 per cent for groceries, meats, fish, dairies, tobacco, fuel, food, automobile, garage and lumber dealers; for fruit stores it is 12½ per cent; for clothing stores, general stores, hardware stores, shoe stores, drug stores, stationery stores, florists, and paint, plumbing and wall paper dealers, it is 17 per cent. Jewelry, restaurant, furniture, fur, radio, refrigerator, typewriter, adding machine, auto accessory and battery, and gift shops pay on 23 per cent of their gross, and mail order houses on 25 per cent, while retail businesses not specifically enumerated pay on 20 per cent.

Toledo School Boundaries Obstacle to Tax Increase

At the November election voters of Toledo and its school district will pass on proposals to annex to the city that part of the school district presently outside the city limits. The reason: to permit the schools and Lucas County to realize tax increases planned as part of the local revenue program when the city income tax was adopted last year.

Briefly, it may be noted that the city income tax measure provided that when accumulations from the tax amount to $480,000 or more, the city will reduce its property tax rate for city purposes $1 per $1000 of assessed valuation. The $1, released within the state constitutional tax rate limit of $10, was to be used for school and county purposes. Now, however, it has been discovered that neither county nor school district can make full use of the released rate, since local rates in part of the areas of the school district outside the city are within the $10 limit by amounts less than $1 per $1,000. These areas make it impossible for the schools and county to realize the full revenue potential of the released city tax. If the areas are annexed, the existing township levy will be removed, and schools and county can levy the revenues planned when the city income tax was enacted.

Admissions Tax Imposed by 30 More Cities

Taxes on admissions to movies or other forms of public entertainment have been adopted in 30 cities during the past year. Officials of other cities, including Cleveland, Cincinnati and St. Paul, are considering the tax as an aid to pressing fiscal problems.

State legislation adopted this year has spurred adoption of the tax. Ohio's legislature passed a measure providing for abandonment of admissions taxes by the state and permitting cities to levy them by ordinance.

Five legislatures this year—those of New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia—permitted some or all of their cities to levy local admissions taxes, according to the American Municipal Association. Meanwhile cities in states lacking specific authority proceeded to impose such taxes under their constitutional home rule powers. Some cities achieved the same end under their general licensing powers by fixing the amount of the license fees on theaters and other places of amusement at a percentage of the admission charge or at a flat rate per ticket sold.

Philadelphia, the largest city imposing an admissions tax, received $3,284,699 from this source in 1946. Philadelphia's tax rate was increased on July 1, 1946, from 4 to 10 per cent of the admission price. A newly imposed 10 per cent tax in Norfolk, Virginia, is expected to yield $460,000 for the coming year, while Richmond, Virginia, anticipates a revenue of $250,000 from its 5 per cent admissions tax, effective at the beginning of the year.

St. Louis officials expect a $13,000 yield from a 3 per cent gross receipts license tax on boxing and wrestling events. A similar tax on automobile racing, motorcycle racing, baseball, football, professional basketball, ice skating, ice hockey, soccer, softball, tennis, roller skating, rodeos, wild west shows, and horse and stock shows is expected to yield $90,000.

Among smaller cities, Petersburg, Virginia, estimates a 1947 revenue of $50,000 from its 10 per cent admissions tax; Bakersfield, California, expects $30,000 this year from a tax of one cent of each admission charge in excess of fifteen cents; Abbeville, Alabama, a city of 2,000, expects to receive $12,000 from its admissions tax.

More than 65 Washington cities have enacted admissions taxes since the state withdrew from that field in 1943. Eight California cities report the use of such taxes while several Oregon municipalities tax vaudeville performances.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Rome, French Cities Vote by P. R.

Use List System for Municipal Elections

VOTERS of the city of Rome, Italy, on October 12 elected their municipal council by a list system of proportional representation. Five days later, October 19, municipalities of over 9,000 population throughout France also selected their local councils by a list system of P. R.[1]

Under the French regulations voters were permitted to indicate a preference for five candidates, marking crosses against their names, "splitting" their ballots between parties if they so desired. Except in Paris the entire commune constituted one electoral district.

The French elections generally were marked by the large number of votes polled by General Charles deGaulle's party, gained mainly at the expense of the Popular Republican party. Partial returns credit his "Reunion of the French People," with 39 per cent of the total vote over the country, the Communists with 30 per cent, Socialists 19 per cent, and the Popular Republicans 9 per cent.

According to preliminary figures reported in the *New York Times*, the deGaullists secured 47 of the 96 seats on the Paris municipal council; the Communists elected 27. In Bordeaux deGaulle followers secured 20 seats out of 37 on the council. In Bayonne the deGaullists polled 80 per cent of the vote. In Marseilles, where the Communists had 44 seats out of 63 in the outgoing council, the deGaullists won 25 seats to the Communists' 23 and the Socialists' 10. A pre-election dispatch by Kenneth Campbell on October 17 said: "In Marseilles proportional representation is the only chance of getting rid of the Communists.

In Rome thirteen party tickets, with 980 candidates, contested the election for the 80 seats on the municipal council. More than 60 per cent of the voters went to the polls, a small percentage greater than the turnout of a year ago. Returns as reported by the *New York Times* were:

	Pop. Vote.	%	Prob. Seats.
People's Bloc	208,566	33.4	27
Christian Democrats	204,247	32.8	27
Common Man	63,472	10.2	8
Republican	36,701	5.9	5
Monarchists	32,691	5.2	4
Right-Wing Socialist	24,967	4.0	3
Social Movement	24,620	3.9	3
Liberals	11,683	1.9	2
Nationalist Movement	10,320	1.7	1
Four independent parties	6,307	1.0	0
Totals	623,574	100	80

Still Another City Votes on Plan E

In addition to the Massachusetts cities of Worcester, Fitchburg, Medford, Revere and Pittsfield, listed in this department last month as voting on Plan E—council-manager plan with P. R.—at the November election, Quincy will also go to the polls to vote on a Plan E charter. Petitions containing 6,000 signatures were filed by the Quincy Taxpayers Association.

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[1] In communes of less than 9,000 elections were by majority vote, with run-off elections on October 26 for those communities where less than the desired number of candidates received a majority vote.

Books in Review

They Builded Better Than They Knew.[1] By Julius Henry Cohen. New York City, Julian Messner, Inc., 1946. vi, 376 pp. $3.75.

This is the autobiography of a New York lawyer who, for over 50 years, has devoted himself to the public interest. His activities, other than legal, have been in politics, with emphasis on state and local government, economics, the fine arts, ethics, religion and business. Mr. Cohen's work in these fields has been vigorous, sustained, intelligent, unselfish—and often successful. Nor has Mr. Cohen abated his efforts since reaching an age beyond three score and ten. As just one instance, he is a member of the Special Committee on Civil Service of the American Bar Association.

In detailing accomplishments of the past 50 years, the author turns an interesting light on some of the actors in dramatic and epochal occurrences. The accounts of persons and events are keenly and often sympathetically recorded. Under the auspices of the "Committee on Streets of the Women's Municipal League," of which Mrs. Cohen was chairman for more than fifteen years, she assisted in trying to make New York a clean city; she also helped in the development of playgrounds and assisted unfortunates on Welfare Island. The achievements were the more remarkable considering women did not then have the vote. Mr. Cohen's recital of some of the works of his wife, of the late Rosalie Loew Whitney, and of Belle L. Moskowitz including what that remarkable woman did as an adviser to Governor Alfred Smith, are gracious and charming.

The late Travis H. Whitney, civil works administrator, lawyer, New York Public Service commissioner and, through the Citizens Union, the Albany "People's Lobby," was a classmate and dear friend of mine, instrumental in my having my first law experience, while we were still at law school, in the New York Legal Aid Society, under the inspiring tutelage of his wife-to-be, then Rosalie Loew. I can easily deduce, knowing how just is Mr. Cohen's portrayal of this splendid couple and of other friends limned, that most of those sketched are fairly depicted; although Chapter 9 in Book II on Theodore Roosevelt (one of my heroes) starts with the quotation from Lowell's Biglow Papers:

> A ginooine statesman should be
>   on his guard,
> Ef he *must* hev beliefs, not to
>   b'lieve 'em tu hard.

and is pejorative of the methods T. R. used to become governor of New York.

It is impossible here to elaborate upon, or more than merely mention, one of Mr. Cohen's most valuable contributions to his own and succeeding generations—the development of the Port of New York Authority. As its general counsel from the time of its inception for more than twenty years, he gave his legal assistance in preventing income from its bonds being held taxable under existing federal law.

Mr. Cohen begins with local politics as far back as when his father was captain of an election district and handed out, among other things, ballots printed by his party, before the days of the Australian ballot. He tells how the Citizens Union was organized in 1897 and worked for good state legislation and a home-rule amendment giving the City of New York freedom to manage its own affairs. Mr. Cohen was chairman of its Legislative Committee from 1902 to 1913 and, with a devoted group of able colleagues, each week went over, appraised and publicized conclusions on all legislation affecting the city. Mr. Cohen was admitted to the bar in 1897 and two years later became associated with Horace E. Deming, a great exponent of municipal home rule, chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League, and author of the outstanding work, *Government of American Cities*. Mr. Cohen, in the Citizens Union, was active in the New York municipal campaigns and in the thrilling candidacies of William Travers Jerome for the office of district attorney.

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[1] Excerpts from a review published by *The American City*, May 1947.

That Mr. Cohen has found it necessary to content himself with praise by praiseworthy men, but with no honorary degree, should not disturb him, if he will but reflect that for great achievements there is, as is told in the threnody of Pericles, "a home in the minds of men . . . to stir to speech or action as the occasion comes by" and, also, that their story. . . "lives on far away without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives."

MURRAY SEASONGOOD

Municipalities and the Law in Action. Edited by Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1947. 660 pp. $10.

Published yearly, the 1947 edition of *Municipalities and the Law in Action* is the tenth volume "dedicated to the preservation of municipal legal experience." Following the usual pattern, it is built around the annual reports of the eighteen committees of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, which are assigned various subjects for study during the year. Inclusion of the practical experience of many cities on a particular phase of legal activity is an important part of these reports. Supplementing committee reports are papers submitted on topics of current municipal legal importance. For example, this volume covers smoke control and air pollution, the Los Angeles sales tax, etc., each article prepared by the city attorney of the particular city involved. Included in the volume also is a verbatim account of the proceedings and the panel discussions of the eleventh annual conference of the institute held in Washington, D. C., December 2-4, 1946.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments.)

Municipalities

A Sacramento Saga — the Living History of California's Capital City— Detailing for the First Time Sacramento's Modern Growth and Development—Fifty Years of Achievement under the Leadership of the Men and Women of the City, County and Chamber of Commerce. By Myrtle Shaw Lord. Sacramento 14, Chamber of Commerce, 1946. xiii, 414 pp. $2.95.

Parking

Should Cities Go into the Parking Business? By D. Grant Mickle. Lansing, Michigan, Michigan Safety Conference, 14 pp. Illus. (Apply Maxwell Halsey, executive secretary, Room 700, Olds Tower, Lansing.)

Parking Meters

Parking Meters in the United States, Year Ending December 31, 1946. Canton 5, Ohio, Vehicular Parking Ltd., 1947. 24 pp.

Parking Meters — Legality — Model Ordinance Annotated. By Charles O.

Rhyne and Charlie O. Murphy. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1947. 29 pp. $2.

Personnel

You and Your State Job. A Handbook for New York State Employees. Albany, New York State Department of Civil Service, Personnel Council, 1947. 56 pp.

Planning

Annual Report, Metropolitan Plan, Greater Winnipeg, for the Year 1946. Winnipeg, Metropolitan Planning Committee and Winnipeg Town Planning Commission, 1947. 27 pp.

Cambridge Fifty Years from Now. By Frederick J. Adams. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Planning Board, 1947. 16 pp. illus.

Economics in Community Design. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1947. 6 pp.

The Economy of the Cincinnati Metropolitan Area. Cincinnati, City Planning Commission, 1946. xv, 126 pp. charts. $2.50.

Facing the Future. New Brunswick, New Jersey, The City Commission, 1947. 26 pp. illus.

Neighborhoods Planned for Good Living. Subdivision Standards and Regulations. Toledo, Toledo and Lucas County Plan Commissions, 1946. vi, 37 pp. illus.

Proposed Generalized Land Use Plan. An Explanation of a Basic Plan Designed to Make Detroit a Better Place in Which to Live and Work. Detroit, City Plan Commission, 1947. 72 pp., maps, charts, photos.

A Symposium on Regional Planning. By Myres Smith McDougal and others. Iowa City, *Iowa Law Review,* January 1947. 224 pp. $1.75.

Twelfth Annual Report of the State Planning Board. Providence, Rhode Island State Planning Board, 1947. 39 pp.

Recreation

All Time High—Recreation from Coast to Coast. 1946 report of the National Recreation Association. New York 10, the Association, 1947. 16 pp.

Recreation—Yearbook 1947. New York 10, National Recreation Association, June 1947. 63 pp. $1.

Regulation

Model Town Taxicab Ordinance. Richmond, League of Virginia Municipalities, 1946. 9 pp. 50 cents.

Municipal Regulation of Peddlers, Solicitors & Itinerant Merchants. By Charles S. Rhyne, Charles H. Burton and Charlie O. Murphy. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1947. 165 pp. $5.

Salaries

Salary and Wage Survey City of Seattle, Including Recommendations for Wage and Salary Standardization and Control. Seattle, Civil Service Commission, 1947. 38 pp., tables, charts.

Survey Report of the Salary Standardization Board. Albany 1, New York State Department of Civil Service, 1947. 301 pp.

Subdivision Control

A Model State Subdivision Control Law Granting Power and Authority to Municipal Corporations and Counties to Regulate the Subdivision of Land. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1947. 48 pp. $1.

Subdivision Control—A Step Toward Better Communities. A Manual of Subdivision Regulation for Municipal Officials, Subdivision Developers, Builders and Planning Boards. By State Bureau of Planning. Albany 7, State of New York, Department of Commerce, 1946. 35 pp. charts, illus.

War Memorials

Living War Memorials for California. By Lyman Lantz and Miriam Roher. Sacramento, California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, 1947. 26 pp. illus.

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The League's Business

Annual Meetings of League Members and Council

The annual meeting of the members of the National Municipal League took place at Nashville, Tennessee, November 12, in connection with the National Conference on Government. In the absence of President Charles Edison, George H. Gallup, League vice president, presided. The nominating committee's report was presented by Richard S. Childs, chairman, and the meeting elected the following:

President: Charles Edison, Orange, New Jersey
Vice presidents: George H. Gallup, Princeton, New Jersey
James W. Clise, Seattle, Washington
Honorary vice presidents (in addition to those now in office):
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles, California
Frederick L. Bird, New York, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York, N. Y.
John S. Linen, New York, N. Y.

To fill vacancies in the Council for a one-year term:

Rev. Edward Dowling, S. J., St. Louis, Missouri
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Connecticut
William J. Pape, Waterbury, Connecticut
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis, Indiana

And the following Council members for three-year terms:

William Anderson, Minneapolis, Minnesota
R. E. Blake, St. Louis, Missouri
William Collins, Yonkers, New York
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, New Jersey
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco, California
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pennsylvania
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, New Jersey
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Kentucky

The Council met in dinner session the same evening. Present were: President Edison, Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council, who presided, George H. Gallup, J. W. Clise, Carl H. Pforzheimer, R. E. Blake, William Collins, Karl Detzer, Rev. Edward Dowling, S. J., Herbert Emmerich, Arnold Frye, Lloyd Hale, John S. Linen, Joseph D. McGoldrick, Stratford Lee Morton and Wilson W. Wyatt.

It appointed for one-year terms the following officers:

Chairman of the Council: Richard S. Childs
Secretary: Alfred Willoughby
Treasurer: Carl H. Pforzheimer
Executive Committee of six members (in addition to the chairman of the Council, whom the constitution names as a member): Frederick L. Bird, William Collins, Charles Edison, George H. Gallup, Joseph D. McGoldrick, and Carl H. Pforzheimer.

The Council session also discussed the secretary's report of the year's work and adopted an enlarged budget for 1948, subject to success in finding the total of $110,000 of income now being sought under the leadership of the League's finance committee chairman, William Collins of Yonkers. The fund of $12,000 granted for the purpose last January by the Taylor Trust of Philadelphia has provided the funds for expert organization of the finance effort now under way. Subscriptions began with new contributions aggregating $8,000, which President Edison collected at a small luncheon in New York from League officers and certain local members.

The detail of the drive, involving a breakdown of the total to regional quotas,

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

The Nashville Conference

ALTHOUGH the National Conference on Government last month was held in Nashville, the farthest south in the League's 53 years and somewhat off the beaten track of through traffic, attendance was exceptional, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Civic leaders, educators and other shapers of the patterns of human and governmental progress came from all four extreme edges of the country and from many places between.

A former F.B.I. man who, in typically thorough fashion, is mastering his new responsibilities as manager of the department of government of a chamber of commerce in Florida, wrote after the conference commenting on the "large number of national authorities whose talents were made available in the panel sessions," and said, "I came away with a much keener insight into the problems of local government."

Similar comments from first-time and old-time conference goers were numerous.

All the League's officers and more than half the members of the Council were present. There were 138 speakers and participants on the program of the three-day session.

* * *

Speakers at the annual banquet were Charles Edison and George H. Gallup, League president and vice president, respectively, with Wilson W. Wyatt, member of the Council and former mayor of Louisville, presiding.

Three sessions gave special attention to the problem of the modernization of state constitutions which is at issue in fifteen states and the Territory of Hawaii, the largest number in the country's history.

The conference was opened by Governor J. N. McCord of Tennessee, with E. W. Palmer, vice president of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association, presiding at the luncheon November 12. Charles Edison, League president, responded and introduced Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey who discussed his state's recently adopted constitution.

In the afternoon the following spoke on revision problems: R. E. Blake, chairman, 1943-44 Missouri Constitutional Convention; Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee; John H. Tucker, Jr., Louisiana State Law Institute; Lloyd M. Short, chairman, Constitutional Commission of Minnesota; Norris J. Burke, general counsel, California Legislative Constitutional Revision Commission; Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan; George H. McLane, Hawaii Statehood Commission. Spencer Miller, Jr., state highway commissioner and delegate to the 1947 New Jersey Constitutional Convention, presided.

"The People's Part in Constitutional Revision" was discussed in a group session the morning of November 13 by: Spencer Miller, Jr.; Mrs. Edwards S. Parsons, Jr., president, Tennessee League of Women Voters; J. E. Reeves, secretary, Campaign for a Kentucky Constitutional Convention. Stratford Lee Morton, delegate to the recent Missouri Constitutional Convention, presided.

"Strategy for Constitutional Conventions" was discussed at a group session the morning of November 14 by: Wilbert L. Hindman, University of Southern California; Kimbrough Owen, Louisiana State Law Institute; William L. Bradshaw, University of Missouri; Bennett M. Rich, Rutgers University. W. Brooke Graves, chief, State Governments Section, Library of Congress, presided.

* * *

Congressman Estes Kefauver of Tennessee spoke on "Cities and Congress" and George B. Galloway, secretary of the Subcommittee on Home Rule and Reorganization, House District Committee, discussed the recent proposal of the council-manager plan for Washington, D. C., at the luncheon November 13. Karl Detzer, *Reader's Digest*, presided.

Harry W. Schacter, president of the Committee for Kentucky, spoke on the program of his organization at the closing luncheon November 14. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Council, presided.

* * *

J. C. Bradford, vice chairman of the Nashville Electric Service, presided at a meeting the evening of November 12 at which Gordon R. Clapp, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, spoke and a panel discussion on the impact of the growth of a region on local government was discussed, under the leadership of Roscoe C. Martin of the University of Alabama, by the following panel: Maynard Layman, Decatur (Alabama) *Daily;* States Rights G. Finley, Chattanooga Electric Power Board; Miss Ruth Kolling, Washington County (Virginia) Development Association; Marjorie Beal, North Carolina Library Commission; Harold A. Browning, commissioner, Kentucky Department of Conservation.

A. H. Stone, chairman of the Mississippi State Tax Commission, told at a dinner the same evening of the methods used to gain public acceptance of the sales tax. Walter Stokes, Jr., chairman of the Advisory Committee, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, presided.

* * *

A capacity audience attended the session the afternoon of November 13 on "Financial Security for Cities" at which John S. Linen, vice president of the Chase National Bank, made the introductory remarks, Arnold Frye, chairman of the League's Committee on a Model Fiscal Program, presided, and the following spoke: Wilson W. Wyatt, former mayor of Louisville; Joseph D. McGoldrick, former comptroller of New York City; William Stanley Parker, consultant on public works programming; Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant.

* * *

The following group sessions were held the mornings of November 13 and 14:

"How to Conduct a Council-Manager Campaign," Forest Frank, director of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, presiding. Speakers:

L. E. Marlowe, president, and Ed P. Phillips, campaign chairman, Richmond Citizens Association; Richard Martin, director, Connecticut State Water Commission; Lewis B. Sims, Montgomery County Civic Federation; Cleland Austin, Montclair Development Board.

"Home Rule," Joseph M. Ray, University of Maryland, presiding. Speakers: Hugh P. Wasson, mayor of Chattanooga; Hallie Farmer, Alabama State College; Harvey Walker, Ohio State University; Elwyn A. Mauck, University of Maryland.

"City-County Consolidation," Roscoe C. Martin, University of Alabama, presiding. Speakers: Cecil Morgan, Charter Commission, Baton Rouge; John F. Willmott, Dade County (Florida) Research Foundation; Marshall Stalley, Allegheny Conference on Community Development; Weldon Cooper, University of Virginia.

"Citizen Organization Clinic," Roy V. Peel, Institute of Politics, Indiana University, presiding. Speakers: J. W. Clise, vice president, National Municipal League; E. R. Lingerfelt, McMinn County Good Government League; Marshall Stalley, Allegheny Conference on Community Development; James W. Armstrong, Community Service Department, Committee for Kentucky.

"Where Cities Get the Money," Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, presiding. Speakers: Victor D. Brannon, St. Louis Governmental Research Institute; Mabel L. Walker, Tax Institute; John F. Sly, Princeton Surveys; Kenneth P. Vinsel, Louisville Area Development Association.

The Proportional Representation League met the morning of November 14 with Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Council, presiding. Speakers were: Forest Frank, Cincinnati City Charter Committee; Frederick B. Willis, speaker, Massachusetts House of Representatives; George H. Hallett, Jr., Proportional Representation League.

* * *

Other meetings held in conjunction with the conference were those of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, the Tennessee Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration, Tennessee Municipal League, Tennessee Municipal Finance Officers Association and the Southern Institute of Local Government of the University of Tennessee.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 602)

assigns a relatively modest task to numerous members and helpers who have been enlisted. A number of districts were organized at Nashville under the leadership of members there present. Literature of a more vivid type than has been the League's custom is available and a full-time finance secretary, William H. Russell, handles the detail at the League's office.

John Gilbert Winant

A week before he planned to leave for the League's National Conference on Government in Nashville, John G. Winant, president of the League from 1940 to 1946 and wartime ambassador to Great Britain, died on November 3 at his home in Concord, New Hampshire. Prior to his presidency, he had served for some years as a member of the League's Council.

As politician, administrator, diplomat and citizen leader, Mr. Winant had dedicated himself to unselfish public service during nearly all his adult life.

When he became governor of New Hampshire, he consulted friends and associates in the League with the thought that it was illogical for him, without experience as a public administrator, to assume the top administrative responsibilities of a state simply because his ideas on public policy had appealed to the people. Following the advice of these friends, he appointed a public administrator of broad experience to an important post in the state government, designedly to relieve himself of these responsibilities.

As three-time governor of New Hampshire, Mr. Winant sponsored a program of social legislation which resulted in his being called by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to head the Social Security Board in 1935. He prepared for this task by spending several months in Europe studying the methods of other countries. He resigned this post in order to answer from the public platform what he considered unfair criticism of the federal government's policies during a political campaign.

He was assistant director in 1935 and director in 1937 to 1939 of the International Labor Office in Geneva.

Upon his election as president of the League at its Springfield, Massachusetts, meeting, Mr. Winant prepared to devote a large share of his time to this office, but very shortly afterward he was appointed ambassador to the Court of St. James's. After the war he resigned in 1946 and was appointed permanent U. S. representative on the United Nations' Economic and Social Council. He resigned less than a year later to "pick up life again as a private citizen in my own country."

In the ensuing months, Mr. Winant devoted himself to writing and to attempting to regain his health which had suffered from many years of neglect while he devoted himself to the various causes in which he was interested. His book, *Letter from Grosvenor Square,* was published by Houghton Mifflin and Company shortly after his death. He was also at work on other manuscripts. When he opened the *New York Herald Tribune* Forum on October 20 he argued that the current world situation demanded that democracy must be wholesome and strong. "Are you doing as much today for peace as you did for this country and civilization in the days of war?" he asked. "I'm not."

To friends he deplored the fact that the state of his health thwarted his desire to do what he felt should be expected from him toward helping to establish peace.

Tribute to Dr. Hatton

Mrs. Hatton and other friends have assembled a memorial brochure dealing with the life and contributions to civics of the late "A. R." Hatton, who was for so many years a vivid figure in the National Municipal League's activities. It is obtainable from Mrs. A. R. Hatton, 4147 Byron Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

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The Atom in Local Democracy

League's President warns that people must guard against use of new power as excuse for greater centralization.

By CHARLES EDISON*

MILLIONS of us must decide now to make atomic energy our personal business—as personal as a marriage license, the building of a house, the choice of a job.

If we do not take this responsibility and opportunity, the penalty will be severe indeed. We shall lose our free citizenship by default. We may even forfeit our lives and our children's lives.

Let's take a look at the problem. We have a discovery of such magnitude that not even our leading scientists can foresee the full range of possibilities. It has been said that within ten years some of our cities may be heated by atomic power, eliminating the winter pall of smoke and soot. Industries, no longer dependent upon a supply of coal or water, may be located close to raw materials in any part of the country —whether the site be plain or desert.

Cheap and abundant heat may ultimately be piped out from central plants to suburban and even rural areas, keeping snow and ice from the roads and driving frost from the fields. The cost of plastic building materials may be brought down sufficiently to put good homes within reach of many families that cannot pay current prices.

Radioactive isotopes will be used to increase vastly our knowledge of disease and to bring new technological progress.

These things are only being talked of, or just beginning to happen. Probably few, if any, have yet been affected by the first peacetime applications of atomic energy. But when this scientific revolution comes it will very likely come with a rush.

The question we have got to face is this: "Will we be prepared to control atomic energy for the enrichment and the betterment of our lives and of our communities—or will we surrender our sovereignty as citizens to big government and big business?"

Take warning. It is just as vital for the future of civilization that we control atomic energy as that we control the bomb. We know a few things about the bomb, thanks to the scientists who have proved their worth as citizens. We know we may not have much time to live. And we know that our only chance to keep on living is through individual understanding and action on world problems.

The same holds true for atomic energy. We have very little time. We must use that time to learn and act or we shall be enslaved by our great discovery.

If we examine the record of one of our last revolutionary inventions, the automobile, we should hang our heads. We have never caught up with the auto. The application of chromium has always outdistanced the application of controls. Our city streets are jammed—and our cemeteries are overcrowded, too. The air we breathe is polluted with exhaust fumes, our ears are bruised by perpetual tooting, and we wonder where our daughters are at night. For these blessings, remember, we are all paying higher taxes.

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*Mr. Edison, former governor of New Jersey, and president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., was re-elected president of the National Municipal League at its recent National Conference on Government in Nashville, Tennessee. This article is his address before the conference on November 13.

Now suppose for a moment that 30,000,000 1948 model automobiles had been delivered to a bewildered nation on June 30, 1895, when most roads were still one-way dirt lanes, when traffic controls were unheard of. The ensuing mess would have made the Johnstown flood, the Chicago fire and the San Francisco earthquake seem like minor incidents.

Too Little Time

We of this generation face a similar problem with atomic energy — except we do not have half a century in which to develop super-highways, stop lights and traffic laws. We may have only half a decade, or a decade.

When the atomic age opened, there was some frightened talk about the need for dispersing our large cities and industrial centers. But it soon became apparent that a few newer and more potent bombs could lay waste whole areas—not merely a Pittsburgh, but large sections of a Pennsylvania. Decentralization would be futile.

Yet a large amount of decentralization will be a certain result of the use of atomic energy. Better transportation and higher living standards will accelerate the outward movement of metropolitan families.

This migration will intensify the problems that have bedeviled our metropolitan areas for decades. If we let nature take its course, cities will move closer to bankruptcy as their higher income residents quit the tax rolls and the vacated dwellings sink into the slum class. Suburban areas, unable to care properly for their expanding populations, will move closer to chaos.

Almost half of our people now live in 140 metropolitan areas with central cities of more than 50,000 population. These 140 metropolitan districts have more than 4,000 separate governments and nearly 12,000 separate school districts—an average of 114 different governmental units for each district.

Imagine the confusion as more unplanned, jerry-built subdivisions are thrown up by speculative builders, and the multitude of local governments tries to decide how to operate lines for the transmission of atomic heat!

In this situation lie the danger and the opportunity. The danger is that frustrated citizens and officials, believing it impossible to solve the new problems, will follow a pattern that has already become an ominous part of American life. They may surrender their sovereignty to big, centralized government.

Or, not willing to surrender, yet unable to act, they may find their authority taken away by federal edict. Somebody has got to have authority over atomic energy. Unless we are prepared to supply enough competent local authorities from our communities, all the power will be exercised by a few big bosses in Washington.

It is not necessary for American communities to throw in the sponge. They have a rare opportunity to show that local government and citizenship can keep pace with scientific discovery.

The Price Tag

We must recognize that this opportunity has a price tag. One part of the price is a sane reorganization of the overlapping little governments to get rid of senseless boundary lines, fragmentary boroughs and useless boards and commissions that do little except get in each other's way. Political geography in the United States is like an attic piled with all the relics and refuse accumulated since the house was built. A cleanup is long overdue.

A second part of the price is getting rid of the spoils system. We wouldn't trust an untrained wardheeler to run the locomotive or pilot the plane that carries us from one city to another. But in our community life we are still allowing wardheelers to exercise authority far beyond their training, intelligence and integrity. Good government can be had only from good men. I do not mean simply honest men. They must have thorough knowledge of government if they are to solve problems far more complex than the wardheeler's question: "Who gets the paving contract?"

Let me make it very plain that better government is not the automatic result of throwing the rascals out. The rascals should be heaved out, by all means. But that is only the first step. We must make sure that the governmental framework is sound and workable. State constitutions need revision to take shackles off the people and their state and local public servants which are driving people in despair to call on Washington for more and more of the job of government.

Many local charters need revision to provide for the council-manager plan and to define official responsibilities so that citizens can make their weight felt. In the period since the war there has been truly remarkable progress in overhauling local government but we still have a long way to go.

If we fail to rehabilitate our state and local governments, the application of atomic energy may be retarded. You can't plant corn until the ground is plowed; you can't pour concrete until the form is ready. Our political institutions must be prepared to assume the new responsibility. One good way to start is by promoting discussions all over town in every kind of organization. We should bring in experts on government and on atomic energy.

We should get the local discussions into the newspapers, on the radio. There has been plenty of talk about the bomb. What we need now is talk about atomic energy in our own town and how we can handle it.

There are cities in this country where good government is a remote and apparently hopeless dream. Without too much difficulty I could recall the names of one or two in my own New Jersey. But there is no city anywhere in the United States that cannot have good government if the voters demand it. That is the shining lesson from the 53 years' experience of the National Municipal League.

Born at a time when civic corruption and incompetence had reached a peak, the League pioneered with the idea that government is a science as well as an art. It has helped thousands of municipalities and counties put its sound principles to work. Now it is preparing for much greater service in the atomic age.

The vast and still unknown dimensions of atomic energy might suggest that only the central government is big enough to control it. Any such notion is dangerously false. The people of Nashville, San Diego, Iowa City, Minneapolis and Perth Amboy are not morons. When they build a school or plan a park or purchase a fire engine they do not write to a master mind in Washington. They do it themselves. That's important, because what's good for San Diego is not necessarily good for Iowa City.

State and local governments must have a real voice in shaping policies for the use of atomic energy. After all, it is the people of the states, the counties and the cities who stand to gain or lose. They have got to speak up.

The major administrative job, as distinct from policy-making, can and must be done regionally and locally. David E. Lilienthal gave brilliant proof of the advantages of decentralization when he was chairman of TVA.[1]

Every assignable function of TVA has been delegated to local and state agencies. For instance, TVA does not sell electricity to consumers. It carries power to 140 locally owned, locally managed, locally financed distribution agencies.

Another good example of decentralization is the low-rent housing program created by Congress in 1937. The federal government does not own the low-rent projects that have rehoused slum dwellers in some 300 communities. In each city the program is handled by a locally appointed housing authority, operating within the framework of the federal law.

The principle of decentralization is the only way to guarantee citizen control of atomic energy.

It Is Our Business

I have no illusions about the obstacles on the democratic path. There are two of them, and they are not going to be pushed aside easily.

The first obstacle is what Mr. Lilienthal has aptly called "a growing tendency in some quarters to act as if atomic energy were none of the American public's business." Those who act that way are persons who do not believe in American principles and American ideals. They would be scornful of the verdict of a town meeting. They consider it their prerogative to determine what's good for the rest of the population. And they will use every possible means to attain their end unless citizens get busy and stop them.

The second obstacle, and the more serious of the two, is the apathy and ignorance of the majority of voters. How many have thought, talked or written about the desperately urgent need for citizen action on atomic energy? How many have introduced the subject into meetings of professional associations, civic bodies, labor unions, church groups, fraternal organizations? How many wrote to congressmen in support of Mr. Lilienthal's appointment?

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[1] See "Big Government Not Inevitable," by David E. Lilienthal, the REVIEW, February 1947.

The rank and file voter doesn't yet understand that we have got to fight for our lives and liberty. The choice is between local mastery of atomic energy or subjugation by a powerful central government exercising the kind of control that could too easily pass into the hands of enemies of democracy.

Centralized control and management could mean that Washington officials would decide which communities and which manufacturers would be permitted to enjoy the advantages of atomic energy. The lives of thousands of families could be blighted or enriched by one stroke of an official pen.

Training for Leadership

Atomic energy should have the effect of making the unintelligent man obsolete. We have got to strive to make our heads more potent than uranium. We need to take a fresh look at our educational system. Our public schools and our colleges must do a great deal more than they have in the past. In the first place, since our progress and very survival depend on having enough top-flight scientific minds, we must see that every good candidate for a laboratory career gets the best possible training.

In the second place, we must train many thousands of people for civic and political leadership of the first water. The little red clubhouse in the Third Ward was never adequate for this task. Finally, at the public school level, we must have practical training that will enable our boys and girls to mature into socially and politically competent citizens.

We must not only spend more money on education but also give our teachers more freedom. No frightened and intimidated instructor who worries more about legislative investigations than about the future of his students can measure up to the new standards. We can't train scientists without freedom. We can't train statesmen without freedom.

It is perfectly true that everybody who talks about freedom doesn't always believe in it, but all who do believe have the responsibility of planting freedom in our schools and making it grow—instead of letting little, fearful men destroy it piece by piece.

It will take a lot of hard work in all the communities to inform our citizens and alert them to the danger. It is especially hard in peacetime. During the war nearly everybody got accustomed to new and often hazardous burdens of citizenship. Civilians were ashamed to grumble when asked to take the midnight tour at the air warden's tower. But that civic sense withered with V-J Day.

Albert Beebe White, the political scientist, wrote that "English kings, working in what they believed to be their own personal interest, so used the English people in government, laid upon them for centuries such burdens and responsibilities, that

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What Makes Us So Ignorant?

Dr. Gallup traces the voter's lack of information and interest to deadly dullness of our educational system

By **GEORGE H. GALLUP***

GOVERNMENT by public opinion requires an informed electorate.

When this condition has been met the public can be counted upon to render wise decisions. Thomas Jefferson's profound faith in the sound judgment of the common people has been fully justified. One has only to study the views of the people on major issues of the last ten years, as recorded by public opinion polls, to be thoroughly convinced on this point.

We are now moving into an era, however, not envisaged by Jefferson. It is an era in which basic issues of foreign policy actually overshadow the domestic problems of this country.

If public opinion is to serve as a guide in deciding these issues of foreign policy, then the public must be as well informed about world affairs as about domestic affairs.

Look over the front page of your daily newspaper, if you have any doubt about the importance of world problems today, and then contrast the situation with that of ten years ago. In the year 1937 the front pages revealed our almost complete preoccupation with domestic problems—sitdown strikes, Roosevelt's proposal to enlarge the Supreme Court, the WPA and other forms of relief, the NRA, the AAA.

Today, even the municipal elections in France and England are carefully examined by our political observers and reported in the press of this country. Political upheavals in Rumania, Hungary and Poland have assumed prime importance to us. The struggle in China, the tensions in Korea—all are part of this new world in which we find ourselves.

The question now arises as to how well equipped the average American is to have a sound opinion on these matters which fall within the sphere of foreign policy.

Consider, for example, the Marshall plan. No one can doubt the importance of this proposed legislation to every man, woman and child in this country. Whether the Marshall plan be judged in terms of the sums of money which must come from the American taxpayer in future years, or in terms of the part it will play in determining the destiny of the nations of the world, the tremendous importance of this plan cannot be stressed too much.

Now it must be recorded that, as of November 1, only 61 per cent of the voters of this country had ever heard or read about the Marshall plan. When our interviewers talked to a representative group of citizens from coast to coast, and asked those who said they had heard or read about the Marshall plan to state its purpose—by way of proving that they had some basic knowledge regarding it—the number who could pass this test dropped to about 25 per cent.

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*Dr. Gallup, founder and president of the American Institute of Public Opinion and of Audience Research, Inc., is vice president of the National Municipal League. This article is his address before the League's National Conference on Government at Nashville, Tennessee, November 13.

At about the same time, 93 per cent of our fellow-citizens were exercised about the momentous issue of long skirts versus short skirts and, somewhat earlier still, an even higher percentage of people said they were following the wild debates about "flying saucers." This situation is forgivable only if it is accompanied by some interest in world affairs.

Ignorance of Geography

Now let us look at our knowledge of geography, which is today bound up so intimately with current world problems. When our interviewers asked a representative cross-section of American voters to point out on a map the location of Bulgaria, only 13 per cent—one in eight— could do so correctly. Only 17 per cent could find Rumania; 18 per cent, Hungary; 22 per cent, Yugoslavia; 25 per cent, Czechoslovakia. Yet the knowledge of where these countries are located in relation to Russia is essential to knowing why they are satellites of Russia today. The amazing fact that came to light in this study is that only one person in three amongst those who had gone to college could give the location of such countries as Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

Our knowledge of the geography of South America is even more faulty. Only one person in six in the adult population of this country can find on the map Bolivia, Ecuador or Colombia. And again, the college-trained people revealed colossal ignorance regarding the location of these countries of South America.

The next presidential campaign is just around the corner. Candidates will receive party nominations within the next eight months. Needless to say, the next president of this country will play an important part in shaping the destiny of the world. Yet some of the persons who will figure importantly in this race are still unknown to many American voters. Such outstanding figures in our political life as Harold Stassen, Earl Warren, Joseph Martin, Harry Byrd, Alben Barkley, cannot be identified by more than six voters in every ten. Even such a distinguished person as James Byrnes, who has played an important role in the foreign affairs of this country, is known to but slightly more than half the voters.

I realize that some of these percentages, which to me seem regrettably low, may seem to others to be encouragingly high. Yet I do not believe that any one will take issue with me if I say that a better informed public is a highly desirable goal.

In attempting to fix the responsibility for this situation, and to suggest remedial measures, let us consider the role, first, of government, then of our media of communication, next of the schools, and lastly of the people themselves in the over-all problem of creating a better informed electorate.

First, the role of government. There are some who may argue that the general public can never be sufficiently well informed to decide policy questions in the international realm; that, in fact, such decisions must be left entirely to the leaders of government and particularly to the State Department.

With this point of view I must violently disagree. There is no evidence in the history of this nation or of any other nation, in my opinion, to support this contention.

Inform the Voters

Whether the decisions are made by one person or by a small group of persons, they are likely to be faulty. It isn't necessary to point to Hitler and Mussolini. There are good enough examples from the democracies. Let me cite the case of England. At a critical moment in history—when the British public should have been fully apprized of the threat of Nazism — Stanley Baldwin, prime minister of England, thought it best to keep this information to himself. It was not long after, that the situation got completely out of hand, and England found herself completely unprepared to meet the threat of Hitlerism.

Heads of our own State Department are somewhat guilty, in my opinion, of believing that they could handle the threat of Hitler and Mussolini best without taking the people into their confidence. The time came, as it always does, when the State Department was impotent to stem the tide and we, like our English cousins, found ourselves suddenly up against a situation which we should have known about and prepared for earlier.

Had we known all the facts, I know the people of this country would have demanded a military program which might possibly have deterred Hitler and the Japanese war lords.

Information is always withheld from the people for one reason. The leaders who are privy to it have the conceited belief that they can handle the situation better if the public is kept in ignorance. But sooner or later these situations have a way of getting out of hand and, too late, the public learns the facts of life.

Whether our State Department is today giving the people all the facts about our foreign affairs I do not know. But I do know that a majority of people in this country have their honest doubts on this score. In a recent poll a majority of voters said they thought their government was withholding information which the people ought to have regarding the world situation. This is an unhealthy state of affairs in any case.

In this new era, when foreign policy is so important, it is imperative that the public be kept well informed. The people must be told the facts even on those occasions when the leaders may honestly believe that to tell them the whole truth is dangerous. For only by following this policy can the public be prepared for any eventuality.

We come now to the role of the press, radio, magazines and motion pictures in this process of creating an informed electorate. Have these media of mass communication lived up to their responsibilities?

Many critics have blamed the press and radio for not devoting more time and space to the major issues of the day—both foreign and domestic. I can find little to agree with in this criticism. Viewed objectively, the press and radio are now presenting more information than is demanded or absorbed by the public.

The radio is often criticized for devoting too much time to soap operas, mystery stories, variety shows and other such programs the sole purpose of which is to entertain listeners.

Education Via Radio

Yet the typical American family devotes fifteen hours to the Bob Hopes, Jimmy Durantes, Hit Parades and other strictly entertainment shows to every one hour devoted to news or educational programs. And if news programs are eliminated from this comparison, the amount of listening to entertainment shows, as opposed to educational programs dealing with world issues and problems, is in the ratio of more than a hundred hours to one.

Can we blame the radio networks for not filling up their time with educational features when there is so little public demand for them? I do not criticize people for listening to Fred Allen, Fibber McGee and Molly, Ma Perkins and all the rest. They're wonderful entertainers and they deserve full credit for adding to the joy of everyday life. Maybe there should be more such programs. But, at the same time, it is regrettable that the American people should risk breaking the furniture and their necks, racing to the radio to turn off any program which is even remotely educational.

The same situation, to a great extent, holds true in the case of newspapers. The American Newspaper Publishers Association from time to time studies the newspaper reading habits of the people in typical American cities. Two such investigations—selected at random—give some interesting facts and comparisons.

The first was made in a typical midwestern city. On the particular day of the investigation, 82 per cent of the men readers and 70 per cent of the women readers had read the comic strip, "Dick Tracy." But only 28 per cent of the men and 25 per cent of the women had bothered to read even one paragraph of the most important news story of the day published under a large headline on page one.

In the case of the second daily newspaper, published in a southeastern city, on the day on which the reader study was made a total of 80 per cent of all men and 78 per cent of all women had read the comic strip "Blondie." But only 34 per cent of the men and 16 per cent of the women had bothered to read even a few sentences of the biggest news article on page one—a story dealing with the world grain problem. In short, nearly five times as many women and more than twice as many men had preferred to race past this report on a great world problem to read the daily doings of Blondie.

But again, I do not wish to belittle the reading of comic strips by adults. They add to the merriment of the times and they seem to be perfectly harmless to old and to young. But this doesn't alter the fact that it might be better for this country if both men and women readers dwelt a few minutes longer on the front page of their newspapers before turning to the comic strips, sports and household features.

How often motion picture critics bewail the absence from the screen of movies which deal with problems of the day. And yet, as one who has had the opportunity to study the appeal of hundreds of motion pictures, I can vouch for the fact that even the slightest hint that a new movie is "educational" is enough to keep people away in "droves," as *Variety* would put it.

Educational Movies Shunned

Off hand, I can recall four pictures which were superbly done and yet, in the language of the picture business, were box office flops. One of these was "Abe Lincoln in Illinois." Another was "Victory Through Air Power," released in the early days of the war and a masterpiece of reducing problems of war strategy to the level of understanding of the least educated. Another was the great picture "Wilson," and more recently a picture titled "The Beginning or the End," a story dealing with the atom bomb. Even dressed up in the cloak of entertainment these pictures lost hundreds of thousands of dollars for their producers because the public somehow figured out that they might be polluted with educational material.

Why is it that anything that can be classified by the American public as educational is so likely to be regarded as unbearably dull? This brings me to the role of our schools and universities in the problem of making sure that we have an informed electorate in this land of ours.

I believe that people regard anything that is educational as dull simply because education in this country has been made dull. Certainly the prevailing attitude among most of our students, and even many teachers, is that education is a dull business, essential somehow to success in life but otherwise pretty tedious.

The conception that learning can be fun, that it can be as exciting as a trip around the world or a journey back into ancient times, as challenging as a good mystery story, as useful as one's arms and legs, and as real as life itself—that, I am afraid, is a conception of education which is rarely found in the educational world.

Most everyone has sat through many dull and profitless hours in classes in which the teacher seemed to be as bored as his students with the subject, and whose ability to make the course materials come to life, to give them importance and relationship with the problems of the day, was virtually nil.

At least that is the only reason that I can find to explain the fact that whilst we Americans have more formal schooling than the people of any other nation of the world, we are —in terms of this schooling—the least well informed. An Englishman who has had little more schooling than that provided by grammar schools in his country, is likely to read more books than an American who has had the advantage of college training.

In saying these things, I do not

wish to be recorded as one of those critics of our educational system who advocates turning our high schools and colleges into trade schools or who insist that we teach only the so-called "practical" subjects. I believe merely that we should make learning something which is just as exciting and vital as life itself.

New Concept of Education

In fact, I believe the time has come when we must revise our entire concept of education in this country. We must give up this idea that education is a sort of discipline, good for the young and unimportant for the adult. Perhaps we should give up the present practice of grading students on their achievement and instead grade teachers on their ability to create an interest in the subjects which they teach—an interest so deep-rooted that it carries on for years beyond the classroom.

And now, finally, what of the responsibility of the people themselves in this problem of keeping informed about the world.

All will agree that the responsibility rests largely upon each individual to keep abreast of the times. The government can do its part in making facts available, the press and the radio can report fully the events of the world, but the people themselves must have the desire to know what is going on outside their own tiny spheres if democracy is to function at its best.

How revealing it would be to listen in on the conversation at the dinner tables in the forty million homes in this country. In how many of these homes is the discussion limited to the trivia of the day's work, or small talk about friends and neighbors.

Think of the wonderful opportunity that is being lost today by parents who fail to inform and interest their children in the great and exciting problems of the world. Think of the boredom of the parents themselves whose lives are circumscribed by such narrow interests!

Maybe the time has come when we should think of learning as a goal in itself—for old and young alike. Maybe we should take seriously the Biblical injunction to "Seek ye the truth and the truth shall make you free."

City Manager for Washington?

Congressional committee finds government of capital city a hopeless hodge-podge; suggests council-manager plan.

By **JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS***

WE LIKE to think of the city of Washington these days as the center of world democracy — the capital of the democratic world. For the free peoples of the earth are looking to the United States and its capital city for spiritual and material sustenance in these critical times. But how many of them know, and how many Americans realize, that the people of Washington live in a state of political peonage and that its charter dates back almost unchanged to 1874?

Today the city of Washington has almost 900,000 residents. More people live there than in thirteen states of the Union. They pay millions in taxes, are exceptionally literate, and have all the earmarks of an advanced culture. But, believe it or not, they have no representation in Congress and elect none of their local officials.

In the capital city of the world's greatest democracy you might expect to find a model system of local self-government. But if you examine it, as I have done as chairman of a congressional investigating committee, you find a patchwork setup that looks like a political Donnybrook Fair. The present government of Washington, set up in 1874 as a temporary arrangement, has continued down to the present time by a process of drift and neglect, not in pursuance of any governmental principle or deliberate desire to deprive its residents of home rule.

Washington has not always been voteless and voiceless. Nor did the founding fathers contemplate that it would be. James Madison, who had been a delegate to the constitutional convention and later served in the first four Congresses, informed the people in *The Federalist* that the inhabitants of the federal district "will have had their voice in the election of the government which is to exercise authority over them." And he went on to say that "a municipal legislature for local purposes, derived from their own suffrages, will of course be allowed them."

These expectations were soon fulfilled. After shifting its site several times, the federal government moved to the District of Columbia in 1800. Two years later Congress granted Washington a municipal charter with a mayor appointed by the president and a city council elected by the people. Georgetown and Alexandria were municipal corporations when the district was created and they continued to operate as such. From 1812 to 1820 the council was permitted to elect the mayor. And from 1820 to 1871 the people were allowed to elect the mayor as well as the members of the council.

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*Mr. Auchincloss, a member of Congress from New Jersey since 1943 and chairman of the Subcommittee on Home Rule and Reorganization, House District Committee, was a member of the council of Rumson, New Jersey, for twelve years and three times its mayor. He is founder of the New York Better Business Bureau and a former deputy commissioner of New York City. This article was prepared as an address before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, Nashville, Tennessee, November 13. Since Mr. Auchincloss was unable to be present, his paper was read by Mr. George B. Galloway.

Meanwhile, Washington was beginning to grow up from its infant beginning. The Civil War and reconstruction periods swelled its population to 131,700 in 1871. But as the seat of the national government the city was a sight to behold with its muddy streets, its open sewers, stinking swamps and sordid slums. The growing district was desperately in need of public improvements and social services which its weak and divided local governments were poorly equipped to provide.

Territorial Government Created

Preoccupied at the time with the tasks of reconstruction, Congress was glad to delegate the work of rehabilitating the capital city to local hands. By an act of February 21, 1871, Congress created a territorial form of government for the district, consisting of a governor, a board of public works and a legislative assembly. The governor and the board of public works were appointed by the president and the legislative assembly was elected in part by the people. The assembly consisted of two houses: a council of eleven members appointed by the president to represent the national interest and a house of delegates with 25 members elected each year by the people. In addition, the people were permitted to send a speaking but non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives as Alaska and Hawaii do today.

Under this new regime, the old city charters were abolished and the towns within the district were merged into a unified city of Washington. Alexandria and the Virginia segment of the ten-mile square had been receded to that state back in 1846. The governor was the central figure in the territorial regime. He administered the various departments, controlled the city jobs, and could veto acts of the legislative assembly, subject to overriding votes by a two-thirds majority. Congress retained power to veto the acts of either the governor or the legislative assembly. There were also independent boards of health, education and law enforcement. Under this setup the people of the district had a voice in the house of delegates and a spokesman in the House of Representatives, but Governor Shepherd was the real boss of the town.

With great speed and energy Governor Shepherd launched an ambitious public works program which soon transformed the face of the capital city. But his reckless expenditures shocked the taxpayers and Congress liquidated the Shepherd regime in 1874. In its place Congress created a temporary district commission to carry on the necessary municipal functions until a new government could be established. Some of the powers that had been exercised by the governor and the board of public works went to the new commissioners and Congress itself took over most of the functions of the legislative assembly. All suffrage rights were suspended. This makeshift system lasted until July 1, 1878, when with a few minor changes it was made permanent.

During the 70 years since 1878 Washington has grown to be a great city with almost a million inhabitants. It is one of the most beautiful capital cities in the world. In outward appearance it is the fitting capital of a nation now at the pinnacle of its power and prestige. But it is still governed by the antiquated charter of 1878.

Hodgepodge of Agencies

A committee of the House of Representatives, of which I am chairman, has just completed an exhaustive study of Washington's hodgepodge government. We find it is incredibly complicated, confused and cumbersome. From a mere handful of agencies in 1878 it has grown like Topsy, until today there are about 125 major units of government rendering services in the district, of which 48 are federal and 77 district agencies. And there are as many more sub-units.

Federal, state, county and municipal functions are scattered among a host of governmental agencies without rhyme or reason. Authority over district affairs is divided among many independent boards and commissions. A dozen agencies share the ordinance-making power and executive authority is likewise hopelessly splintered.

At the top of this crazy-quilt setup is a board of three commissioners who exercise a split and ineffectual supervision of local affairs. None of the local officials is elected. Members of the board and other key posts are appointed by the president and are often used to pay political debts. Training and experience in municipal administration are not the criteria of appointment. Vacancies in local judicial and administrative posts are often left unfilled for long periods by a busy president preoccupied with larger affairs, and outsiders are frequently selected for these places to the neglect and disappointment of local talent.

The administrative branch has developed haphazardly over the years. New agencies have been created from time to time as the need for the performance of new functions has arisen. As a result, the administrative structure of the district government consists of a conglomeration of bureaus, boards, commissions and offices in large part independent of each other and collectively conforming to no consistent principle of organization. For many years the inevitable result has been confusion, duplication, overlapping of organization and functions, conflicts of jurisdiction and unnecessary cost.

At the present time, for example, five governmental agencies in Washington are charged with police protection, three with recreation, two with water supply, two with road building and two with the care of trees. Nor is there any unified personnel system for local employees.

As one local newspaper editor has put it, "the city could well adopt the nine-headed Hydra slain by Hercules as its symbol."

Intertwined with this tangled network of local agencies are more than two score federal agencies which operate in the district and render services to it, such as the district courts and the U. S. Employment Service. At the hearings held by the district investigating committee last July it took federal officials four days and 120 printed pages to explain the intricate relationships of their agencies and services to the district. And it took a huge, three-dimensional colored chart to display in understandable form the complex structure and interrelationships of the district government.

Budget Bureau Too!

One of the numerous federal agencies involved in this curious tangle is the Bureau of the Budget. This bureau, which is in the executive office of the president, intervenes between the district commissioners and the Congress. All local legislative proposals and appropriation estimates must pass its censorship before Congress can see them, even though the bureau may know little of local conditions and needs. The city fathers must get a "green light" from the Budget Bureau before they can communicate with their city council or submit the local budget to the appropriations committees of Congress.

Madison's early assurance of a locally elected municipal legislature has remained unrealized since 1874. In place of government by consent of the governed, Congress has chosen for 73 years to sit as a city council for the disfranchised people of Washington. Each session much legislation dealing with district affairs is introduced in both houses and referred to the District of Columbia committees. These committees often find it difficult to muster a quorum for consideration of such municipal matters, since members are naturally more interested in the affairs of their own congressional districts.

The House Committee on the District of Columbia, of which I have been a member for five years, has 25 members; the Senate District Committee has thirteen members. Assignments to the district committees are unpopular and are often given to newcomers. Nine members of the House District Committee today are first-term members and two are second-termers. All the members but one of the Senate District Committee are freshman senators, including the chairman, Senator Buck.

Congressmen are reluctant to serve on the district committee because it has often proved to be a political graveyard. They are more interested in national and international affairs than in enacting local ordinances for the capital city.

District Legislation

Look at the petty chicken feed which the district committees are asked to consider. Among the bills during the first session of the 80th Congress were measures to rehabilitate alcoholics, prohibit mixed boxing bouts, regulate barbers' hours of work, destroy starlings, save daylight time, regulate embalmers and serve straws in Washington restaurants. It took acts of Congress to change the name of Conduit Road to MacArthur Boulevard and remove a couple of ancient posts in front of the White House. It is absurd that Congress should have to deal with such petty matters when great issues of peace and reconstruction are pressing for decision.

Consider the legislative hurdles that even a trivial district bill must surmount before it becomes the law of the land. First it is assigned to one of the six subcommittees which divide the labor of screening district legislation. (If the bill originated in one of the city departments, it has to run the gauntlet of the board of commissioners and the Budget Bureau before it can even be introduced in the House of Representatives.) After subcommittee consideration, possible hearings and favorable action, the bill is reported to the full House District Committee. If the full committee approves it, the bill is then reported to the House where it may come up for consideration on the second or fourth Monday of the month, which days are reserved under a house rule for consideration of District of Columbia matters. Few members of the House are likely to be present on the floor on district day so that, if the bill is approved, it may be by a comparatively small minority of all the members. The House approved the district appropriation bill for 1944 with only 28 out of 435 members voting.

Having passed the House, all the steps described above must then be repeated in the Senate. If the Senate and House disagree about the bill, it is sent to a conference committee which will try to compose the difference and whose report must go back to both houses for their approval. Having finally passed both houses, unless it has meanwhile gotten lost in the shuffle, our bill then goes to the president for his signature. Thus there are at least eight stages in the ordeal that district legislation must go through before it can become effective.

In actual practice, under these circumstances, the affairs of the District of Columbia are controlled by congressional minorities; a large part of the work is done by committee staff aids; Congress as a whole is ignorant of and indifferent to district problems; and a member's vote on district legislation often depends on the sentiments of the folks back home rather than upon the views of the voteless residents and taxpayers of the district. Small wonder, then, that relations between Congress and the capital community are sometimes hostile and that the needs of the city of Washington are neglected. Congress at best is a clumsy city council. It should be relieved of the task of managing the city's routine business. I agree with the La Follette-Monroney committee that "the nation cannot afford the luxury of having its national legislative body and the district committees in both the House and Senate perform the duties of a city council for the District of Columbia."

Solving the Problem

The solution of Washington's dilemma is an easy and simple one. It calls for no act of political heroism, no profound intellectual feat. All Congress need do is grant Washington a modern city charter. During recent decades great advances have been made in governmental organization and administration, particularly at the local level. In the early years of this century the commission type of city government enjoyed great popularity, but has been eclipsed in the last 30 years by the more effective managerial type of city government which had its inception in Staunton, Virginia, in 1908, and has since been adopted by 800 American cities. Eighty-one cities adopted council-manager government during 1946.

I believe that the council-manager plan, with suitable modifications to meet the peculiar conditions of our national capital, is the answer to Washington's dilemma. This plan applies to city government the business-manager principle which has been successfully employed for many years by private corporations. The essential and admirable feature of the manager plan is the separation of the function of legislation from those of administration without a separation of powers, coupled with a concentration of administrative responsibility in the hands of one man under the control of the council.

It is interesting to recall in this connection that Mr. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League's council, who produced the city manager plan by uniting the commission plan and the Staunton plan, shares its paternity with the father of our country. In a letter to Benjamin Stoddert in 1792, George Washington said in part:

"It has always been my opinion, and still is so, that the administration of the affairs of the federal city ought to be under the immediate direction of a judicious and skillful superintendent . . . one in whom is united knowledge of men and things, industry, integrity, impartiality and firmness; and that this person should reside on the spot."

After a full month of hearings and an intensive nonpartisan study, my committee is recommending to Congress adoption of a new organic act for the government of the District of Columbia. Our plan proposes a representative local government chosen by the qualified electors of the district, responsible for providing all essential governmental services to the community, subject to the will of Congress. The plan also provides a streamlined efficient governmental structure for the district with clear distinctions drawn between areas of federal and district responsibility.

Council-Manager Provided

The new charter would provide the council-manager form of government. All powers of local government would be vested in an elected district council, including the power to tax and spend. The government would be organized into eleven departments along functional lines, with each function concentrated in one department instead of being splintered among several agencies. Financial affairs would be completely divorced from those of the national government. Federal functions would be performed by federal agencies and local functions by local agencies. The line of responsibility for the conduct of the district government would run straight from the voters to the district council, chosen at large in nonpartisan elections, to the district manager to the department heads. Federal employees with voting residences in the states would be allowed to vote in district council elections without jeopardizing their tax or employment status.

Under our plan the government of the District of Columbia would, of course, remain subject to ultimate control by Congress because of its constitutional authority over the seat of the national government.

Under the proposed new charter Congress would have ample means of protecting the federal interest in the District of Columbia. It could repeal or amend the charter at any time or veto legislation passed by the district council. A joint congressional committee would be set up to maintain continuous surveillance of district affairs. Local legislation on a par with that enacted by state legislatures would lie over for 30 days, subject to congressional veto, before becoming effective.

At a time when the United States is striving to make the world safe for democracy again, let us not forget that there are some major gaps in the democratic landscape at home, particularly in the nation's capital. The people of Washington want local home rule, not statehood. Our plan would give them a chance to solve their own problems. It would also relieve Congress of a work load it should not have to bear. We cannot expect Washington to remain a politically depressed area, on the one hand, and capital of the democratic world, on the other. At present, it is a standing invitation to hostile propaganda. Congress has an enviable opportunity to create here a model local government. I hope it will seize this opportunity now and restore democracy and efficiency to the capital city of our country.

THE ATOM IN LOCAL DEMOCRACY

(Continued from Page 611)

they went far toward creating the Englishman's governmental sense and competence."

The medieval freeholder often spent an average of one week each month working for the king—without pay. This heavy investment finally paid off by training the freeholders so thoroughly that they were able to take the government away from the kings.

Americans have never known that kind of discipline. It is not impossible we may yet taste it. For there are kingly advocates of centralized power today who would despoil our people of the rights and privileges of self-government. They would put their royal crest upon atomic energy and tell the commoners to keep their clumsy hands off.

We, the people, still have the power to stem the tide toward complete centralization. We can avoid an age of darkness that might last for centuries. But we can keep our nation bright and free only by using our power with intelligence, determination and full awareness of the stakes.

The control of atomic energy is the battleground. Let us assert our sovereign rights and defend them with all our hearts and with all our strength.

Let Cities Manage Themselves

Home rule will continue to be hampered unless legislators, city officials and judges learn to understand its aims.

By **HARVEY WALKER***

PROFESSOR Howard Lee McBain, in his book *American City Progress and the Law,*[1] said, "Whatever general arguments may be advanced in opposition to the plan of extending larger powers to cities, home rule is arriving fast. One fourth of the states of the union have by constitutional provision already conferred upon some or all of their cities the power to frame and adopt their own charters." The list at that time included Missouri (1875), California (1879), Washington (1889), Minnesota (1896), Colorado (1902), Oregon (1906), Oklahoma (1908), Michigan (1908), Arizona (1912), Ohio (1912), Nebraska (1912), and Texas (1912). Since that time only Maryland (Baltimore only) (1918), Wisconsin (1924), New York (1925), Pennsylvania (1922), Utah (1932), and West Virginia (1936) have adopted constitutional amendments granting home rule to cities.

Pennsylvania has never implemented its grant so there are as yet no home rule cities in that state. Idaho is sometimes listed as a home rule state, but a recent inquiry to the secretary of state resulted in a denial that home rule was available there or ever had been. Nevada has made substantial home rule available to cities by statute.

Thus there are now eighteen states where home rule is substantially available today. This hardly gives the impression that "home rule is arriving fast."

The number of cities which have taken advantage of these constitutional powers varies widely from state to state. For one thing the grants are limited in some states, as in Maryland and Washington. In other states there is singular apathy.

Arizona reports six cities with home rule charters, including all the larger cities of the state. In Minnesota there are 79 cities operating under home rule charters, as compared with 34 operating under general or special laws. Thirty-one of these charters were adopted in the period 1920-1945.

Missouri reports only six cities with home rule charters, all of them small in population. In Nebraska there are only three home rule charter cities. New York reports that five cities have adopted new charters under the city home rule law. They are Buffalo, New Rochelle, Sherrill, Rochester and Syracuse. Other cities have made extensive amendments to their legislative charters under the provisions of the home rule law.

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*Dr. Walker, professor of political science at Ohio State University and former superintendent of the budget of the state of Ohio, held various administrative appointments as a lieutenant colonel with the army during the late war. Among them, he was chief of the Administrative Management Section, office of Fiscal Director, War Department; and chief of the Employee Relations Section, Industrial Personnel Division, Army Service Forces. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Nashville, Tennessee, November 13.

[1] Columbia University Press, New York, 1918 (page 4).

The Oregon home rule amendment has resulted in 107 cities adopting home rule charters. As in New York, a city in Oregon may adopt an amendment to its original legislative charter. Forty-five cities have done this. Only fourteen cities continue to operate under their original legislative charters, and there are between 20 and 30 more which operate under general laws.

In Texas there are 95 cities operating under home rule charters. Of these, fifteen are of less than 5,000 population according to the 1940 census. There are only 21 cities in Texas, having populations of more than 5,000 in 1940, which have not adopted home rule charters.

Utah cities have not made any use of the home rule power conferred upon them in 1932 because they consider the grant illusory. In Washington, where home rule is restricted to cities over 20,000 population, all eligible cities — eight — have taken advantage of the grant.

Only three West Virginia cities have successfully adopted home rule charters. They include, however, Charleston, the capital and largest city, Oak Hill and Grafton. The attorney general, who is required to approve all such charters as to conformity with the constitution and general laws of the state, reports that five other charters are now being given consideration in his office.

This partial survey of the municipal home rule situation in those states which have constitutional provisions authorizing it suggests that there must be some substantial reason why home rule has caught on in Oregon, Minnesota and Texas and has not caught on in Missouri, Nebraska, New York and Utah. There must be a reason why so few states have adopted the home rule plan for their cities since 1912, and why an urbanized state like Pennsylvania, after numerous attempts, has failed to secure an enabling act from the legislature, thus nullifying by inaction a policy adopted by the voters a quarter of a century ago.

Home Rule a Trap?

It is submitted that constitutional home rule, far from being the panacea which it was originally considered to be, has, in reality, been a trap into which thousands of well intentioned but naive local officials have been lured to futile inaction or to unequal struggles with state officials, particularly the courts.

McBain foresaw this situation when he said: "The plan of granting home rule by constitutional provision has produced some unhappy consequences. It is easy enough to say that cities may adopt charters 'for their own government' or regulate their 'municipal affairs,' or exercise 'all powers of local self-government,' but what do these undefined phrases mean? Who is to decide whether this or that specific matter is a proper subject for regulation and control by a municipality? And where a state law covers the same subject matter as a charter provision, who shall declare whether this matter is one of state or of local concern?"[2] Who, indeed, but the courts!

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[2] *Ibid.*, page 5.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

The courts by fine reasoning and doubtful analogies drawn from the field of constitutional law in a federal system have had to decide these questions. The resulting case law is weird, conflicting and of doubtful validity. In a few states, where the courts have gotten off on the right path at the outset, home rule has been a satisfying device. In most of the others it is a nightmare of conflicting rulings. The local officials do not know where they stand, except that whenever they get into the courts they are likely to lose some additional area of local action.

State Studies Needed

The fundamental studies in the law and practice of municipal home rule made by McBain and McGoldrick[3] need to be brought down to date. Much has happened in recent years. Each home rule state where there has been any use of the power has been prolific with decisions. What is needed at the present moment is a doctoral dissertation on municipal home rule in each of the eighteen states in which it has been used, followed by a synthesis by a competent scholar to give us the exact picture. We could learn where and why home rule has worked and where and why it has failed. We would then be ready to sit down and consider where we should go from here.

Much that has been done cannot be undone, no matter how erroneous it seems. But there must be some way to obtain the great benefits and advantages which flow from local responsibility for local affairs, short of revolution. There must be a way in which the cities can be emancipated from the unsympathetic and non-understanding control of rural-dominated legislatures. It is up to us to find it.

No such scholarly study has as yet been made for Ohio, but I will point up some of the deficiencies of municipal home rule by examples from that state. In one sense, Ohio differs from most home rule states in that all its cities and villages are deemed to possess home rule powers, derived directly from the state constitution, without the necessity of adopting a home rule charter.[4]

About all that is added by the adoption of a charter is that the people of the city may establish a form of government differing somewhat from that prescribed by the general or optional laws. This is a substantial advantage to the cities, however, since the general law and optional plans are an inconsistent patchwork built up by piecemeal additions since 1902 when the Ohio Supreme Court invalidated the whole municipal code because of an abuse of the principle of classification to avoid the constitutional prohibition against special legislation.

The code, originally adopted before home rule, has never been revised in a thorough-going manner since 1912, when the home rule amendment was added to the constitution. Thus it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine legislative intent. Certainly, if the General Assembly should reconsider today the basic framework of local government, it would be greatly influenced by the home rule amendment. In the meantime, local officials are left to guess at the interpretation of state laws which may or may not apply to their affairs.

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[3] *The Law and the Practice of Municipal Home Rule,* by Howard Lee McBain, Columbia University Press, New York, 1916; *The Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule 1916-1930,* by Joseph D. McGoldrick, Columbia University Press, 1933.

[4] *Perrysburg* v. *Ridgeway,* 108 O.S. 245, 140 N.E. 595; *Youngstown* v. *Evans,* 121 O.S. 342; *Cincinnati* v. *Gamble,* 138 O.S. 220, 34 N.E. 2d 226; *State ex rel Arey* v. *Sherill,* 142 O.S. 574, 53 N.E. 2d 501.

A reading of some of the decisions of the Ohio Supreme Court dealing with home rule should convince any candid person of the uncertainties under which Ohio city officials must labor. It is submitted that, in this respect, Ohio is neither the worst nor the best of the states in dealing with the interpretation of its home rule amendment.

Legal Difficulties

The difficulties which have been encountered in every state with the application of municipal home rule arise from many sources. In the first place, the basic concepts of the law of municipal corporations were well established and generally understood long before home rule became widely available. The courts continually refer to the decisions and rules of law developed in this pre-home-rule era as establishing the rule for post-home-rule cases.

The standard works on municipal corporations written by lawyers and found in most law libraries are Dillon and McQuillin, both of which give small attention indeed to the effect of home rule in modifying the older rules of law. Judges are inclined to make a rather non-discriminating use of them, as they are called upon to decide cases, rather than of more recent volumes which deal more adequately with home rule, such as McBain and McGoldrick. The attorneys who prepare the briefs upon which these cases are considered by appellate courts commonly follow the same practice.

In the second place, there is a temptation, to which courts too frequently yield, to use the very vagueness of the grant of home rule powers as an excuse for making a decision which is really based on expediency, or, as they say in their opinions, upon public policy. How else can one explain some of the decisions which claim for the state an overriding interest in such areas as police and fire protection, matters which have always been considered the essence of home rule. A state statute imposing upon all cities an invariable rule of layoff, according to seniority, makes home rule a mere shadow.

In defense of the courts and lawyers, it should be pointed out that it is extremely difficult to make the theory of home rule square with the fundamental political theory under which our federal system operates. Our national government is one of enumerated powers, listed in the constitution. Of course these have been somewhat expanded by the policy of broad construction which has been followed consistently by the Supreme Court since the times of John Marshall.

The constitution also denies certain powers to the national government as well as certain of the same ones, as well as others, to the states. Then, by the tenth amendment, all powers not granted to the national government by the constitution nor denied by it to the states are reserved to the several states or to the people. Thus the power to deal with such matters as the creation and powers of municipal corporations (except in the District of Columbia and in federal territories) is reserved to the states.

Cities Creatures of State

From the foundation of the republic, state legislatures have possessed a power of life and death over municipal corporations. They have provided for their creation, government and powers, and could alter these powers or destroy the corporation at will. Cities were considered mainly as agents for the execution of certain state legislation.

The concept of inherent powers was sometimes asserted but was hotly denied. Sovereignty, said these defenders of the *status quo,* was one and indivisible. They shut their eyes to the fact that already it had been divided once, between the national government and the states. It was unthinkable to them that there should be any group or area within the state which was not subject to the plenary power of the state.

This was the generally accepted view of the status of municipal corporations at the turn of the century, with the possible exception of Missouri, California, Washington and Minnesota, which had, they thought, inaugurated a new era of freedom by the adoption of constitutional provisions for municipal home rule.

One of the bases on which the proponents of municipal home rule rested their demands was that the tenth amendment recognized the possibility that certain governmental powers might be reserved to the people rather than to the states. They argued that this would justify a state constitutional provision reserving power of local self-government to the people of the cities.

Ever since the adoption of this amendment there has been debate over what was meant by the phrase "or to the people." Some said it meant the people of the United States, acting collectively—the same people who were referred to in the preamble. Others said it meant the people of the state, as a corporate group, and that these people might, by reservation in the state constitution under which they created a state government, withhold from such government any powers which they desired and exercise them themselves.

We are familiar with the use of this theory in the constitutional provisions relating to the initiative and referendum. Until the advocates of home rule came along, no one had suggested that the term "the people," as used in the tenth amendment, meant individuals or groups of individuals less than all of those in a state.

Our democratic theory of limited government fits quite well the concept behind the initiative and referendum. The people of the state create the state, they are the state, and when they set up a government they can endow it with whatever powers they please (short of violation of the national constitution), reserving the rest to themselves by specific exceptions in the state constitutional document.

But when we try to justify the people of a single city, only a small part of the people of the state, making a reservation of the power of local self-government, we get into difficulties. Are these cities to be little sovereignties, or are they to remain subject to the authority of the people of the whole state? If they are to be independent for certain purposes and subordinate for others, who is to draw the line and to enforce its observance? Unless one is willing to envision a divided state sovereignty, like that between the nation and the states, within the state, home rule becomes theoretically impossible. Only by self-denial on the part of the state legislature, the state courts, and city officials can home rule be made to operate.

Educate Public Officials

Apparently, in some of the present home rule states, there is not the disposition to allow it to operate as the city dwellers would like. The remedy is not hard to find but it is extremely difficult to apply. It would seem that the reform of our state legislatures to make them fully representative of the people, urban as well as rural, is the first step.

Then it is necessary to educate legislators, city officials and judges as to the objectives of the system. They must not only understand what the home rule plan is designed to do, but they will have to be actuated by an earnest desire to make it succeed. Legislators will have to be persuaded that, if it works well, it will save them time and enable local government to be adjusted to the needs of individual cities. City officials must learn that they cannot proceed as they will, without regard to the welfare of the rest of the people of the state. Judges must learn that local government is not carried on today under the rules formulated by Judge Dillon, nor can it be if the needs of city dwellers are to be met.

With a disposition such as I have envisioned, actuating the principals in this field of social adjustment, it may well be asked whether a constitutional provision is necessary or desirable to make provision for home rule. McBain in his *American City Progress and the Law* makes an excellent case for statutory home rule.[5] His arguments are as good today as when they were made.

Perhaps our energy might be better spent on education of legislators and enactment of better laws, the election of better judges, and the education of local officials rather than on the promotion of home rule amendments to state constitutions which well may, as in Utah, prove illusory. The reduction of certain broad general phrases now found in such amendments to concrete terms would be a highly profitable employment, even though lists of municipal and state powers so compiled might have to be changed constantly to keep them in harmony with social development.

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[5] Pages 1-29.

Public Library,
Kansas City, Mo.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Elections Bring Manager Total to 800

Massachusetts Leads in New Adoptions

FOUR cities in Massachusetts, two in New Hampshire and one in North Carolina were added by the November 4 elections to the list of council-manager cities, towns and counties, bringing the unofficial total to 800. Two more adoptions came later in the month.

In **Massachusetts** four more cities adopted Plan E (manager and proportional representation council). They are: **Worcester** (193,694) which approved the plan by a vote of 42,179 to 22,154; **Quincy** (75,810) where the vote was 17,187 to 7,745; **Medford** (63,083) by 15,830 votes to 4,467; and **Revere** (34,405) with a vote of 13,931 to 2,059. In two cities where the plan was up for adoption it was defeated: **Pittsfield** (49,684) by a vote of 7,176 to 4,229, and **Fitchburg** (41,824) by 9,476 to 5,715. (See also page 641.)

In **New Hampshire** the city of **Keene** (13,832) adopted the manager plan by a vote of 1,632 to 1,460; the board of aldermen is to appoint a manager in January. A manager proposal was defeated in **Manchester** (77,685) by a vote of 10,218 to 11,683. In **Portsmouth** (14,821) a proposal for a nine-member council elected at large, which would choose a manager, received a majority of 45 on a recount held at the request of the Portsmouth Civic Association. Original reports gave 3,529 affirmative votes and 2,225 negative, but the proposition was deemed to require a majority of the total vote at the election, 7,250. The city of **Franklin** adopted the council-manager plan, 1,506 to 1,296, on November 25.

On November 4 **Winston-Salem, North Carolina,** adopted a state enabling act providing the council-manager plan by 2,266 to 2,010. The act, passed by the 1947 legislature, authorizes the board of aldermen to hire a manager as of July 1, 1948. The manager will be "an overseer of all municipal departments," reports the Winston-Salem *Journal.* He will have power to "hire and fire" all city employees except department heads who will be appointed by the board of aldermen.

Richmond, Virginia, (193,042) overwhelmingly approved a council-manager charter on November 4; but this must be submitted to the state legislature, which move is expected to be taken in January. If it passes that body, as appears quite likely, an election of councilmen is probable in June or July, 1948. The new charter, which received an affirmative vote of 21,567 as against 8,060, was drafted by a charter commission (see the REVIEW, May 1947, page 269), and among other features would replace the present two-chamber council of 32 members by a single council of nine elected at large.

On November 12 **Menlo Park, California,** adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance.

At a special town meeting held on November 5 voters of **Jamestown, Rhode Island,** approved the council-manager form of government. The voters then directed the Citizens Advisory Committee, which has been considering the plan, to proceed with the drafting of council-manager legislation for submission to the legislature in January. Jamestown is the first town in Rhode Island to adopt the plan.

Old Orchard Beach, Maine, defeated a proposed manager charter 600 to 539.

In **Taunton, Massachusetts,** where there have been four mayors in eleven months one of whom went to jail, Plan E (manager and P. R. council) has been mentioned as a means of getting a continuous, trained administrative head.

Voters of **Danville, Virginia,** at a special election held November 18, defeated a proposed manager charter by a vote of 1,647 to 1,582.

At the November 4 election **West Point, Virginia,** defeated a manager charter by a vote of 248 to 145; **Chesterfield County, Virginia,** failed to adopt a proposal providing the county manager plan by 2,772 to 1,582.

The city council of **Dalton, Georgia,** has made arrangements to submit to the voters on December 10 a charter amendment to establish the manager plan.

A proposed council-manager charter failed of adoption in **Cocoa, Florida,** by a vote of 150 to 118. The city has been operating under a manager ordinance adopted in 1946 .

The **Fairmont, West Virginia,** charter board has completed its preparation of a new charter which provides the council-manager plan. Public hearings are now being held on the document. It is expected that the final draft of the charter will be submitted to referendum at a special election within a few months. If approved it will become effective July 1, 1948.

Petitions asking for a referendum on a proposed general charter revision and provision for the manager plan have been circulated in **Adrian, Michigan,** under the auspices of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. It is hoped to have the election in January.

A suggested council-manager charter has been drafted by a committee of the city council of **South Haven, Michigan,** and has the support of the mayor and a group of citizens.

In **St. Cloud, Minnesota,** a fifteen-member charter commission has been working for several months on a new charter, and is reported to be favorable to the manager plan.

Voters of **South St. Paul, Minnesota,** on November 4, defeated a proposed manager charter by 2,339 to 876.

A committee has been established in **Oshkosh, Wisconsin,** for education on the council-manager plan. The Chamber of Commerce is similarly interested.

A petition with 440 signatures has been presented to the city council of **DeSoto, Missouri,** by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, asking for a special election on adoption of the council-manager plan.

Mayor Robert Buckmaster of **Waterloo, Iowa,** has appointed a committee of 50 citizens, headed by himself, to sponsor a campaign for a popular vote on the council-manager plan. The committee is composed of representatives of labor, management, the clergy, veterans, men's and women's clubs and service groups, and is charged with responsibility for educating the people of Waterloo on the manager plan and circulating petitions for its adoption.

A group of citizens in **Gothenburg, Nebraska,** is interested in the council-manager plan.

Cozad, Nebraska, defeated a council-manager proposal on November 4 by twelve votes. The vote, 323 to 311, was the largest ever cast in the city.

Vernal, Utah, (2,199) is reported by the International City Managers' Association to have adopted a manager ordinance on November 13, 1946.

On October 25 the voters of **Pelly, Texas,** re-elected a charter commission that had been appointed by the mayor and drafted a manager charter, but had later been repudiated by the mayor, who put up an opposing slate.

An election on adoption of a charter is expected in January. Pelly is a consolidation of Baytown, Goose Creek and Pelly, and is expected to be renamed Baytown when a charter is adopted.

The board of directors of the **Monrovia, California,** Chamber of Commerce on November 7 went on record as 100 per cent in favor of the council-manager plan. They have forwarded their recommendations to the city council.

A public forum held by the board of freeholders of **Santa Barbara, California,** in October indicated overwhelming sentiment for a council-manager charter.

A Chamber of Commerce sponsored citizens committee of **Torrance, California,** has prepared a final draft of a proposed city charter amendment providing the council-manager plan. The amendment will be submitted to the voters at a special election which the city council has agreed to call without the necessity of circulating petitions.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Ellensburg, Washington,** has been disseminating information concerning the manager plan.

The **Tacoma, Washington,** League of Women Voters is giving sympathetic study to the council-manager plan.

A five-day training institute in city management was held in September at the University of Maine at Orono, attended by 29 managers of municipalities in Maine, Vermont, Connecticut and Canada. It was sponsored jointly by the Maine Town and City Managers' Association, the International City Managers' Association and the university. It included a "clinical analysis" of city management functions, led by Director Ridley of the ICMA; reports of three University of Maine students on their summer internships in city managers' offices, and a day's discussion of the technique and problems of budget preparation and administration.

New Jersey Adopts New Constitution; Kentucky Loses

The new constitution drafted last summer by the New Jersey Constitutional Convention (see the Review, September 1947, page 452, and October 1947, page 513) was overwhelmingly approved by the voters on November 4, the complete vote being 659,944 to 189,116. It carried in all but one of the 21 counties. It is a relatively brief state constitution, with 10,500 words, but is longer than the 1844 document which it replaces, which contained only 6,276 words. Most of the features of the new constitution take effect January 1, 1948, but the revised state court system does not become operative until September 15.

On the same day Kentucky voted against the holding of a convention to draft a new constitution for the state.

New York State Approves Amendments

Six constitutional amendments were approved by the voters of New York State on November 4. A bond issue and tax plan for a soldiers' bonus carried by nearly three to one, as did also amendments giving the legislature power to increase its salaries over the existing constitutional limit of $2,500; providing for a method of removing judges deemed unfit for judicial office by a newly created Court of the Judiciary; and giving authority for certain ski trails in the state forest preserve, protected by the constitution. An amendment extending absentee voting privileges carried by over four to one, while one establishing a new judicial district on Long Island was adopted by a narrow margin.

Three propositions increasing state

aid for public housing were also approved by votes of about five to two.

Stamford Consolidation Wins in Fourth Try

The overlapping city and town (township) of Stamford, Connecticut, will finally be consolidated into a city as a result of a vote of 10,101 to 7,455 on November 4, the fourth time in 46 years that such a proposition has been voted on. Residents of the city, comprising fourteen out of twenty districts, cast a vote of 9,646 to 2,215 for consolidation, while the districts outside the city voted against it, 5,240 to 456. City residents now pay both town and city taxes, and stand to save about 4.3 mills by consolidation, while the taxes of the outlying districts will be increased, although not to the level of the other districts.

The new government, which is to be elected in April 1949, will consist of a salaried mayor and 40 non-salaried representatives, two from each district.

Denver Voters Reject Proposed Charter

In a surprising upset, the new strong-mayor charter submitted to the voters of Denver by the charter convention was defeated in the November 13 special election by a 32,532 to 26,516 vote. However, the law requires that another charter convention be called within 30 days and, according to present legal interpretation, this process must continue until Denver electors accept a charter proposal. Approximately $125,000 will be necessary to pay for each charter convention.

Mayor Quigg Newton strongly urged adoption of the proposed charter. Although as recently as last spring 78,000 Denverites elected Mayor Newton, only one-third of this number were willing to accept his recommendation that the proposed charter be adopted. The charter was also endorsed by both daily newspapers and an imposing array of civic agencies, including business groups, labor unions and religious and educational organizations. No important civic agency actively opposed adoption.

Yet the charter did meet effective opposition. Representatives of a few Denver interests established a rallying point for others who for various reasons wished to see the charter defeated. Some of the former officeholders, employees and friends of the preceding city administration evidenced determined opposition to the new charter. The elected city auditor and the city librarian, both men of high standing, denounced the charter proposal, especially as it related to their respective positions.

The proposed charter simplified the administrative organization and approximately doubled the salaries of the mayor and major department heads. It established a department of personnel which covered all employees in a merit system—previous coverage had been limited to police and firemen. Budget and utility divisions, now lacking, were set up. The library was brought closer within the city administration and the auditor's office was directed to concentrate on post-auditing.

One proposal now is that the city government go into court and seek a declaratory judgment which, in effect, would remove the necessity for holding another charter convention and keep the present charter. If this is not done, another round must begin in the complicated procedure for developing a new charter. Only the courts may alter this second course.

Troy R. Westmeyer
University of Denver

Interim Committee Revises California Constitution

The Joint Interim Committee on Legislative Constitutional Revision, invested with far-reaching powers by the California legislature, is at work on constitutional revision. It consists of twenty members, with an advisory committee of citizens. Chairman Alfred W. Robertson, Santa Barbara assemblyman, announced that ten subcommittees will undertake the detailed study of the constitution by subjects. It is expected that the legislature, upon accepting the recommendations of the committee, will submit a new constitution or set of amendments directly to the voters.

Michigan Minimizes Legislative Rush

Michigan has made a legislative discovery. By adoption of a simple rule the torrential end-of-the-session rush has subsided to the proportions of a rapid but wholly manageable legislative stream. This accomplishment did not come about by limiting the time for filing of bills.

Rule number 20 of the *Joint Rules of the Michigan Senate and House of Representatives* covers the matter of final adjournment. According to this rule a motion is made by the respective chairmen of the standing committees of the Senate and House of Representatives providing by concurrent resolution for adjournment of the session but without a date for adjournment. The action is taken no later than twelve weeks after the convening of a regular session.

Upon adoption of the resolution the session is immediately limited to 21 calendar days, and all bills must be passed by the house in which they originate or they are dead. This crowds the calendar somewhat in both houses because bills are, of course, slow to be reported out of committee.

In the three days following adoption of the resolution committees must report out all bills received from the opposite house and referred to them. The time is short, but all other work is suspended. Surprisingly enough little complaint has been made about lack of time to review the proposals of the other house. After that neither house can receive any bills except those containing appropriations or levying taxes.

On the nineteenth day following adoption of the adjournment resolution the business on the floor of both houses is suspended for two days which are set aside for conference committees. As the 1947 session turned out, however, little had been done by conference committees when the final session convened and 26 measures had to be considered on the last day. Although this number of conferences was far too large, it was much less than usual.

A smaller quantity of legislation had to be considered on the last day of the session than in previous sessions. The reduced quantity of legislation for final passage permitted more thorough consideration of measures.

John A. Perkins, Budget Director
State of Michigan

Cities Seek Smoke Elimination

Several major cities have been intensifying efforts for effective smoke control, including Pittsburgh, Akron, Chicago, Detroit, and Salt Lake City, according to the American Public Works Association.

Pittsburgh's anti-smoke drive is aimed particularly at residences and has a unique feature in prohibiting any local fuel dealer from delivering smoke-producing coal to places not equipped with smoke-eliminating devices. The Pittsburgh smoke-control ordinance was adopted in 1941 but its full application was delayed by the war. On

October 1 this year it was extended to cover 142,000 coal-burning private homes in the city. Smoke from all buildings, railroads and factories is also regulated under the ordinance. A countywide program is in the making.[1]

Akron, meanwhile, passed a comprehensive smoke-control ordinance which regulates soot, dust and poisonous fumes, and provides for inspection and licensing of all fuel-burning equipment. Violators of any section of the new law may be fined up to $100 for each day's offense.

In Detroit the municipal law department recently held that the city may buy and sell fuel to its residents if coal producers withhold fuel from the market. After passage of Detroit's smoke-abatement law, some coal dealers threatened to keep their product off the market in protest against stringent regulation. More than 30 cities in the Detroit area are cooperating on anti-smoke plans.

Library Facilities of 49 Cities under Study

The Public Library Inquiry, conducted by the Social Science Research Council and financed by a grant of $175,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, is making a comprehensive survey of the adequacy of the public library as a source of citizen information, and an analysis of its actual and potential contribution to American society.

Twenty-three research projects are being undertaken involving 49 representative American communities, ranging from metropolitan to rural, and covering all aspects of the library as an institution for community enlightenment. Dr. Robert D. Leigh is director of the inquiry.

Federal Commission Studies Executive Organization

The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government is now assembling the necessary staff and mapping plans for studies which will support its report to Congress, to be made in January 1949.

This twelve-member commission was created by unanimous vote of Congress last summer, with authority to study the problem of executive reorganization and report its findings and recommendations to Congress. It is a bipartisan commission of private citizens, members of Congress and representatives of the executive branch.

The power to appoint members of the commission was divided equally between the president of the United States, the president pro tempore of the Senate, and the speaker of the House of Representatives, with each of these officials naming two private citizens and two public officials. The president was required to choose two officials from the executive branch, the president pro tempore two senators, and the speaker two representatives. Each appointing authority was restrained from naming more than half of his appointees from a single major political party, so that there would be an equal division of Democrats and Republicans on the commission. Any vacancies which may occur are to be filled in the same manner in which the original appointments were made.

Congress gave the commission broad authority to investigate and make recommendations concerning the limitation of expenditures, elimination of duplication and overlapping of functions, consolidation of functions of a similar nature, abolition of unnecessary functions, and the definition of executive functions. It has power to hold hearings and take testimony, and is authorized to secure all needed information from executive agencies. The commission has power to appoint and fix the compensation of members of its staff, and an initial appropriation of $750,000 has been made for carrying on its operations.

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[1] See the REVIEW, November 1947, page 558.

As members of the commission, President Truman appointed from private life Dean Acheson and George Mead, and from the executive branch James A. Forrestal and Arthur S. Flemming. Senator Vandenberg chose as private members James K. Pollock and Joseph P. Kennedy, and from the Senate George D. Aiken and John L. McClellan. The choices of Speaker Martin were Herbert Hoover and James Rowe from private life, and Clarence J. Brown and Carter Manasco from the House of Representatives. At its first meeting, held at the White House on September 29, 1947, the commission elected Mr. Hoover as chairman and Mr. Acheson as vice chairman.

As provided in the act, the commission will automatically cease to exist 90 days after its report is submitted to the 81st Congress.

FERREL HEADY
University of Michigan

Civil Service Draws More Veterans

Employment of veterans by federal, state and local governments has increased substantially over a year ago despite large reduction in federal employment, according to the Civil Service Assembly.

Veterans preference laws are an important factor in the increase. Florida is the most recent addition to the list of states providing veterans preference in the hiring of public employees. The new Florida law applies to all cities having civil service programs, and provides that honorably discharged veterans be given five points preference, to be added to passing grades on civil service examinations. Preference of ten points is given to disabled veterans, wives of disabled veterans, and widows of deceased veterans.

In federal employment there are 360,000 more veterans in civil service than there were two years ago despite the fact that postwar personnel cutbacks have reduced the total number of federal employees more than a million during that period. There are now well over 800,000 ex-GI's in federal civil service.

In state and local governments, some 400,000 civil servants have been added to payrolls in the past year. Because of veterans preference legislation a large part of this increase is composed of ex-servicemen and women.

Employees' Union Fosters Public Servants Week

The board of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL, meeting at its headquarters in Madison, Wisconsin, on October 29, tentatively chose the week of June 7, 1948, as Public Servants Week, to direct public attention toward methods of providing better and more efficient service to the public by state, county and municipal employees.

The federation will invite other interested groups in the United States and Canada to cooperate in making Public Servants Week a success. Days will be set aside for special services, such as safety and law enforcement, education, sanitation, conservation, public works, and health and welfare. Among the stated purposes of the move are: serving the public better, saving money for the taxpayers through increased productivity, recognizing merit and fitness in public employment, and achieving reforms in public administration.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Many Local and State Problems Reviewed

Planning and Zoning Receive Attention

THE **Municipal League of Seattle's** City Planning Committee has made a study of planning programs in fifteen American cities and some of its findings are discussed in the *Seattle Municipal News.* Among the problems involved are those of outside consultants, the limits of planning activities, the precedence of a master plan, the selection of a planning staff, and the stimulation of citizen interest.

"If the core decays, the apple will rot" is the title of the first in a series of issues of *Citizens' Business,* **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** Robert K. Sawyer, director, to be devoted to the metropolitan area problem. Shifting population in the Philadelphia area "calls for cooperative regional planning by the interdependent governmental units." The second of the series deals with "Bursting Political Boundaries."

Another issue of *Citizens' Business* discusses the Better Philadelphia Exhibition and the coordinated efforts and planning needed for a better Philadelphia.

Piecemeal Zoning—Its Place in Zoning Law and Procedure, by John Reps, issued by the **Springfield (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce,** "seeks to open a relatively new line of inquiry into a particular method of zoning application . . . for which the future possibilities have been little understood."

The *Zoning Bulletin* of the **Regional Plan Association, New York,** Frank B. Williams, editor, discusses "Discretion in Zoning Administration," saying that discretion is essential to the success and legal validity of zoning.

A supplement to *The Borough Bulletin,* contributed by the **Pennsylvania Government Administration Service,** H. F. Alderfer, executive secretary, comments on the zoning problems raised by the designation of a new memorial highway.

Health, Recreation and Welfare Services

The present health facilities of Arkansas as well as a long term plan for adequate health and hospital services are covered in a study by James W. Coddington, Helen M. Robinson and Mary T. Wright. This comprehensive 38-page work, *Hospital and Health Services in Arkansas,* is issued by the **University of Arkansas Bureau of Research,** C. O. Brannen, director.

The **Wisconsin Recreation Association,** E. P. Hartl, president, has issued *Suggestions for Promoting and Organizing a Recreation Program for a Small Community.* Financing, personnel, and promotion are discussed.

The bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director, devotes an issue to the proposed consolidation of the park and recreation commissions and a proposed $12,000,000 bond issue to finance an increased public recreation program in San Francisco.

Your Government, bulletin of the **Bureau of Government Research, University of Kansas,** Ethan P. Allen, director, was devoted recently to "Social Welfare in Kansas." The history of the social welfare program is outlined; the principles, administration, and cost of this program are reviewed.

The responsibilities of the state for auditing local welfare relief and publicity practices of the state government are discussed in summer numbers of the *Pulliam Albany Letter,* **Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State,** Abbett Pulliam, executive vice president.

Just a Moment, published by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** reviews the history of the Buffalo Public Libraries.

Municipal Functions and Efficiency

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans,** Lennox L. Moak, director, has issued a *Report on Police Developments in New Orleans 1946-47* by Bruce Smith. "The purpose of this report is to describe . . . the various changes effected in the structure and administration of the New Orleans police department."

A resume of studies on maintenance of sheet asphalt streets in Baltimore and other cities during 1947 is the subject of a recent number of *Your Tax Dollar,* issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy.**

Parking Meters in Pennsylvania Municipalities is the title of a recent pamphlet by Charles F. LeeDecker, assistant executive secretary of the **Pennsylvania State College Institute of Local Government,** published by the institute. Using many tables, Mr. LeeDecker examines the parking problem, the use of parking meters, parking meter receipts, parking meter operation and legal aspects of parking meters.

Part IV, dealing with the transportation service, has been published by the **Los Angeles Bureau of Budget and Efficiency**—an official branch of the city government, Francis M. Cummings, director, in its series of reports on the organization, administration and management of administrative services of Los Angeles. Fifteen recommendations are made, beginning with the suggestion that control over the management and operation of the city's automobile fleet be centralized in three units, under the jurisdictions of the police department, the fire department, and the city hall garage. Extensive tables are included in the appendices.

The number of city employees of St. Louis has increased from 11,123 in February 1939 to 11,493 in September 1947, the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis,** Victor D. Brannon, director, points out in its *Dollars and Sense in Government.* A complete table of the number of city employees in both years and at two intervening times is included.

The government of Atlanta is examined in a sketch by J. Forsythe Gordy of the **Governmental Research Bureau of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.** Mr. Gordy makes no specific recommendations, but he does advocate a revision of the charter of the city, saying that the present Atlanta government is "not up to date" and should be more efficient and economical.

Flood control and airport leases in Des Moines are discussed in a bulletin from the **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research,** Glenn N. Hoffman, secretary.

Three issues of *Citizens' Business,* published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** Robert K. Sawyer, director, discuss the smoke abatement program in Philadelphia and the progress of public improvements there in general.

Legislation and Other State Responsibilities

The Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas, Stuart A. MacCorkle, director, and the **League of Texas Municipalities,** E. E. McAdams, executive director, have published jointly a 156-page classified compilation of general laws affecting cities passed by the 1947 Texas legislature.

The **Kansas Legislative Council,** Frederic Guild, director of research, has issued a report on its September quarterly meeting, containing especially summaries of its activity and reports in relation to agriculture and livestock; assessment and taxation; education; federal, state and local government; the judiciary; labor and industries; the legislative budget; public welfare and roads and highways.

Another report by the research department of the council concerns *School District Reorganization.* It summarizes activity under the school reorganization laws of 1945 and 1947; the number of common school districts in Kansas as of March 1, 1945, and March 1, 1947; and the percentage of county area reorganized.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** (Berkeley), Samuel C. May, director, has put out a comprehensive study of selected aspects of industrial disputes, prepared by Louise A. Fietz. The report covers seven main aspects of the problem: state and federal responsibility for settlement of industrial disputes; work stoppages in California, 1940-1946; work stoppages in California and other states, 1940 and 1945; results of work stoppages; schools of industrial relations; state intervention in industrial disputes; and the Swedish method of handling disputes.

Notes and References, publication of the **Governmental Research Association,** G. Gordon Tegnell, secretary, contains a resume of a speech before the G. R. A. annual conference by Austin J. Tobin, executive director of the Port of New York Authority. Mr. Tobin traces the history of the authority and explains how it can undertake capital improvement projects without further burdening the general taxpayers of the cities and the two states concerned.

Tax Outlook of the **Tax Foundation,** William Allison, editor, surveys the veterans' bonus situation in all the states, pointing out that the gross debt figures of states which have paid, or are planning, bonuses are soaring.

A Great Deal About Taxes

A Survey of Florida Tax Conditions, with Recommendations for Improvement, (164 pages) has been published by the **Florida Taxpayers Association,** Robert L. Newman, executive secretary. The book is divided into five main headings: review of recent studies and legislative action for improvement in Florida tax assessments and administration; summary of the Florida fiscal situation; ad valorem taxation, valuations, assessments and administration; need for modernization in state and local government; and state administrative organization. The report advocates administrative reorganization; constitutional revision as exemplified in the field of taxation, local government and the courts; a state tax commission within the department of revenue, the chairman to be director of revenue; a law establishing centralized purchasing; and a law for a comprehensive merit system for state personnel. An extensive statistical appendix is included.

The trend of state tax legislation in 1947 is discussed in *News and Views—Your State and Local Government* by the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, director.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Massachusetts Charter Campaigns Succeed

Civic Groups Secure Manager Plan and P. R.

PLAN E charters — council-manager with proportional representation for council and school board—were adopted at the November 4 election by four Massachusetts cities and defeated by voters in two others. Cities to adopt the charter were Worcester, Quincy, Medford and Revere. Plan E was turned down in Fitchburg and Pittsfield. Majorities for Plan E ranged from about two to one in Worcester to more than six to one in Revere.[1]

A most intensive campaign for and against Plan E was waged in Worcester, where nationally prominent speakers on both sides of the issue were heard. Opponents, mostly local politicians, centered their attack on P. R., while the **Citizens' Plan E Committee** stressed the advantages of the charter and explained P. R. They called upon voters to replace the century-old bicameral, partisan, ward-elected city council of 41 members, second in size only to that of Chicago, with the modern Plan E and its council of nine. Worcester celebrates the hundredth anniversary of its incorporation as a city in 1948. It will enter the new century by throwing out one of the most antiquated charters in the country in favor of the most up-to-date.

The Plan E Committee was headed by Timothy F. Daley as chairman. Other officers included Mrs. Frank H. Schopfer of the League of Women Voters, vice-chairman; Robert B. Service, Jr., treasurer; Mrs. L. A. Hallock and Mrs. Service of the League of Women Voters; Professor Albert E. Bailey, who directed the campaign to place the question on the ballot; Professor Charles A. Grant of Holy Cross College, and many others. The campaign was a "grass-roots" one conducted by a nonpartisan cross-section of the city's voters, and opponents were baffled by absence of so-called "big shots" at whom to level a finger.

Mrs. Service, as chairman of the speakers' bureau, directed a corps of 27 speakers who made 175 addresses to groups throughout the city. Five-minute radio speeches twice a day were made over two stations the last week of the campaign.

Extensive newspaper advertising was used, one series the final week explaining what Plan E would mean to the voter, the parent, the citizen, the home owner and the city employee. One amusing development in the campaign was that, while opponents hammered at P. R. as communistic, the local Communist party denounced Plan E and circularized industrial workers urging its defeat.

Plan E was endorsed editorially by the *Worcester Telegram* and *Evening Gazette*, the city's daily papers, and liberal news space was given to both sides. WTAG, owned by the newspapers, donated a full hour the Sunday noon before election to both sides on Plan E and three other referenda. The **Worcester Taxpayers Association**, although taking no direct part in the campaign, answered many requests for facts and statistical data. Of tremendous assistance were facts and suggestions from the National Municipal League.

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[1] For exact votes see page 631 this issue.

The Plan E campaign in Quincy was the third in that city, the charter having been defeated by 5,400 votes in 1938 and by 8,300 in 1940. This year the plan was endorsed by the **League of Women Voters** and by the *Quincy Patriot-Ledger,* which ran a series of eight articles explaining it. The **Quincy Taxpayers Association,** William M. Edmonston, executive secretary, filed the petition for the referendum. The only organized opposition came from a so-called Anti-Communistic League, headed by a city employee, which tried vainly to stem the tide by extensive radio and advertising efforts at the last minute. Plan E carried 31 out of 32 precincts to roll up its 9,442 majority, better than two to one.

Medford Victory

Medford adopted Plan E by nearly four to one. There was no organized opposition and the **Plan E Charter Organization,** Ray F. Henderson, secretary, did not need to be very active, holding only one meeting addressed by a Cambridge councilman and Frederick Willis, speaker of the Massachusetts House, on the functions of a city manager. The Medford press took no stand except that a weekly paper owned by an alderman expressed fear of communistic infiltration under P. R.

Revere voters give Plan E a smashing six-to-one majority. A rise from $41 to $51.80 in the tax rate since 1945 and dissatisfaction with political control of city hall played a large part in the vote. The **Revere Committee for Plan E,** headed by Gerald Woodland, with chairmen in each ward, conducted a house-to-house campaign along with open forums, radio speeches and newspaper publicity. The committee spent $871, mostly for publicity. There was no organized opposition. The *Revere Journal* favored Plan E as did the runner-up mayoralty candidate. The mayor-elect was neutral.

In Fitchburg, Plan E was defeated largely because of the opposition of the major local political party. The Plan E campaign started several months ago but was concentrated largely in the final two weeks, with newspaper advertisements, radio talks, and speeches before many local clubs. The **Fitchburg Committee for Plan E,** Tuure Tenander, chairman, sponsored one large rally and the issue was discussed at the Community Forum the Sunday before election. Circulars were distributed to homes a week before election. Opponents succeeded in confusing the issue through a newspaper and radio campaign aimed at P. R. as communistic, a breeder of race prejudice and un-American. Proponents were put on the defensive and were not strong enough to reverse the trend.

Denunciation of Plan E from the pulpits of the nine Catholic churches in Pittsfield the Sunday before election played a major part in its defeat there. This was purely a local development as no such thing occurred in Worcester or Fitchburg, which are also in the Springfield diocese. Part of the criticism was levied at failure of proponents to explain Plan E satisfactorily. Secretary Philip C. Ahern of the **Pittsfield Taxpayers Association** criticised the clergy for using the pulpit to speak on the issue instead of taking a stand as citizens but also criticized the weakness of the Plan E campaign. He said the campaign "was running on only one cylinder" and that women worked hard but received little help from the men of the city.

In summary, it can be said that the success of Plan E in Cambridge and Lowell greatly influenced voters in other cities which see their taxes soaring. Many regarded any change as one for the better. The voters in the four successful cities refused to be misled by the communist bogie.

Already civic groups in other cities,

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo

including Boston, have been encouraged to revive or start Plan E campaigns and it is certain that the issue will be before the voters in many other Massachusetts cities in 1949. Meanwhile, the Plan E committees in Worcester and other cities are strengthening their forces, determined to get the system off to a good start at the first election in 1949.

John H. Mahoney, *Director*
Worcester Taxpayers Association

Another Golden Anniversary Celebrated

The **Citizens Union of New York City,** George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary, celebrated on November 24 its fiftieth anniversary. The foundation of the union in 1897 came just before the organization of Greater New York by union of Manhattan with Brooklyn, Staten Island and Queens County. One reform administration in Manhattan under Mayor Strong, with Theodore Roosevelt as head of the police and Colonel Waring cleaning the streets with his new "'whitewings," had given old New York a taste of good government, but the first election brought in the notorious Tammany regime of Van Wyck.

The Citizens Union was started with a manifesto signed by 165 eminent citizens such as: Elihu Root, James Speyer, Jacob H. Schiff, Spencer Trask, Nicholas Murray Butler and R. Fulton Cutting, who became the first chairman of the union. Two of the signers are now living, Nicholas Murray Butler and Charles H. Strong. The Citizens Union started as a political party, nominated Seth Low, president of Columbia and former mayor of Brooklyn, and in the voting outran the Republican party, which refused fusion. In the next election fusion was accomplished, the Citizens Union still providing the larger proportion of the votes, and Seth Low was elected.

In 1908, finding that the union was being joined by political characters who were intent on acquiring personal political power rather than furthering the high-minded objectives of the union, its officers changed its structure, vesting its internal government in a self-renewing city committee, with an inner executive committee elected by the former. Thus it became a civic organization safe from invasion and from change of character. In subsequent years it sometimes nominated candidates, but in recent times has, by its *Voters' Directory,* published discriminating reviews of candidates for all the minor offices, including the legislative delegation.

Its executive committee, under R. Fulton Cutting, followed by William Jay Schieffelin and now by Richard S. Childs, as chairmen, carries on a tradition of weekly meetings by civic veterans which it inherited from the older City Reform Club. The latter, organized in the early 1880's, began as a weekly meeting of fourteen persons who equipped themselves to study public affairs in the city and keep track of current events so as to be prepared to alert the press and public.

Speakers included Mayor of New York William O'Dwyer; Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, chairman of the India delegation to the United Nations; and Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, chairman emeritus of the Citizens Union; Mr. Childs presided.

Reminiscences at the banquet brought out the work of numerous local heroes of political reform whose work had proved permanent and valuable in cutting away the sources of power of political machines. Among those cited were: Charles E. Hughes (public service commissions which stopped the shake-down of utility corporations for partisan benefit); H. Eliot Kaplan (civil service reform); Albert S. Bard (election laws and honest counts); Edward R. Finch (signature law, which eliminated floaters and repeaters at the polls); Julius Henry Cohen and Joseph O. Hammitt (who developed the union's legislative committee to a high point in combatting special legislative bills and interference with home rule); Robert S. Binkerd and Laurence A. Tanzer (who put through municipal home rule); George Hallett (who secured the city's ten-year trial of proportional representation for the council, which gave the city its first respectable legislative body in a hundred years and broke the tradition of incompetence in that branch of the city government; Hallett was also cited as key man in securing abolition of county government in New York State, replaced by sheriffs and county clerks chosen by civil service examinations); and Leonard Wallstein (abolition of the elective coroners).

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Hartford Charterites Win Victory at Polls

The **Citizens Charter Committee of Hartford, Connecticut,** has just won a notable victory for good government at the polls. Voters at the November election gave its six candidates for the new council which will inaugurate the manager plan an overwhelming vote of confidence. Except for one Democratic candidate who ran second on the list of winners, charter committee candidates headed the list of nine councilmen elected. A similar victory was scored at the October 14 primaries when all candidates on the charter committee slate were among those placed in nomination.

Organized originally as a temporary citizen group to secure adoption of a council-manager charter for Hartford, charter committee members came to the conclusion that in order to secure good government under the new charter a continuing organization was needed to elect candidates sympathetic to the charter's ideals and to act as a watch-dog over the city's administration.[1]

"Hartford showed yesterday that its heart is still in the same place as a year ago [council-manager charter was adopted December 3, 1946]," says the Hartford *Courant* in its editorial, "A Citizens' Victory." "Election of all six of the Citizens' Charter Committee candidates to the new council makes it as certain as it can be that the dream of business-like, nonpartisan government will become reality. The campaign burned brightly with oratory, false charges that reform was bossism, a sorry attempt by the Democratic party to save the day for partisanship and other confusions and alarums. But the aroused, independent citizens of Hartford showed their good sense, and won again as they did last year in adopting the charter. . . . Today begins a new era in Hartford's 311-year history. Now that the citizens are at last on top it is up to them, through eternal vigilance in the years ahead, to stay there."

Apropos of the Elections

Reports of some civic groups on election activities arrived too late for inclusion in last month's Citizen Action columns.

Voters directories, dealing with both candidates and issues, have been published by the **Citizens Union of New York City, Civic Club of Allegheny County** and the **Allegheny County**

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[1] See "Campaign Groups Plan Permanent Organizations," the REVIEW, July 1947, page 403.

League of Women Voters (joint directory), the **Citizens League of Cleveland,** and the **Detroit Citizens League.**

The **Toledo League of Women Voters** and the **Municipal League of Toledo** united in securing and publishing information on city council, board of education and judicial candidates. The League of Women Voters sent a questionnaire to all candidates, asking five pertinent questions on such matters as the city's P. R.-manager charter, the payroll tax now in force in Toledo, organization and functions of the city council, etc. Replies of candidates, with biographies, appear in the *Toledo Municipal News.* Sample ballots are reproduced on the front page of the same issue. Another number of the *News* explains the Hare system of P. R., used in Toledo councilmanic elections, in simple terms. It also gives the legislative record of the nine incumbent councilmen during their present term showing that in 1946 only fifteen ordinances out of 482 were not passed unanimously; in 1947, up to October 1, only fourteen out of 510 ordinances adopted failed to receive a unanimous vote.

"The Fourth of November Is the Day to Remember," was the apt slogan of the **Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League,** Nancy J. Bushnell, executive secretary. The October issue of its publication, *Good Government,* advertised a meeting the Saturday previous to election day at which Hon. Murray Seasongood, an originator of Cincinnati's council-manager - P. R. charter and first mayor under it, spoke on election issues. Much of the bulletin is devoted to support of P.R., on which a referendum was scheduled.[1]

The **Civic Federation of Chicago,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, the **Chicago Citizens Association,** Edward M. Martin, executive secretary, and the **Chicago City Club,** William H. Haight, president, have made recommendations to members on propositions on the November 4 ballot.

The **Chambers of Commerce of Auburn, California,** and **Warren, Ohio,** both urged members to register and to acquaint themselves with the merits of candidates and propositions on the ballot, to insure an intelligent vote.

Civitan Prize Winner

The 1946-47 essay contest on citizenship sponsored by **Civitan International** has been won by Lyla Tilston, a graduate of the Glendale, California, High School, for her paper, "Duties and Privileges of a Citizen." A four-year scholarship is her prize.

* * *

Strictly Personal

George F. Oakes, prime mover in the organization of the Plan E for Boston Committee, and its president since its inception two years ago, has resigned because of doctor's orders to curtail outside activities.

The *Christian Science Monitor,* in its editorial column, "This Week's Appreciation," commends Mr. Oakes for his "civic attitude and enthusiasm." "What is unusual," says the editorial, citing Mr. Oakes' dissatisfaction with Boston's municipal government, "is that he has done all he could about the situation. Without compensation he has headed the Plan E for Boston Committee for the past two years, giving hundreds of his free hours and evenings working and speaking for more efficient government."

The Toledo Municipal League announces that **Betty Larsen,** formerly editor of the *Michigan Daily* and reporter for the *Toledo Blade* and *Toledo Times,* has joined its staff. Miss Larsen will serve as editor of the league's monthly *Toledo Municipal News.*

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[1] See page 646 this issue.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Four Adoptions, Three Repeals

P. R. Voted Out in New York Is Sustained in Cincinnati

IN TEN referenda on November 4 four cities adopted proportional representation, three cities repealed it, one voted to retain it and two voted to remain without it.

Highlights of this momentous day in the annals of P. R. were repeal of P. R. in New York and its retention in Cincinnati. P. R. was adopted along with the manager plan in Worcester, Quincy, Medford and Revere, Massachusetts, making Massachusetts the banner P. R. state, but was turned down in Pittsfield and Fitchburg. P. R. was repealed in Long Beach, New York, and Boulder, Colorado.

Four Massachusetts Cities Adopt Plan E

Six cities in Massachusetts voted November 4 on proposals for adoption of what is known under state legislation as the "Plan E" form of city government, which features a nine-man city council elected at large by proportional representation and a city manager chosen by and responsible to the council. The plan also provides for P. R. election of school committee members. In two additional localities referenda on adoption of Plan E were projected, but did not get on the ballot; petitions were filed late in Somerville and contained insufficient signatures in Newton. Cambridge and Lowell already operate under P. R. charters and the town of Saugus adopted it under special enabling legislation earlier in the year.

The recent referendum results, tabulated in the order of the total vote, are as follows:

City	*1940 Population*	*For Plan E*	*Against Plan E*
Worcester	193,694	42,179	22,154
Quincy	75,810	17,187	7,745
Medford	63,083	15,830	4,467
Revere	34,405	13,931	2,059
Pittsfield	49,684	4,229	7,176
Fitchburg	41,824	5,715	9,476

An account of the adoption campaigns will be found on page 641.

In view of the three P. R. repeals and the recent discontinuance of the T.V.A. town of Norris, Tennessee, as a separate organized community, the state of Massachusetts now has just more than half of the P. R. communities in the country. The others are Cincinnati, Toledo and Hamilton, Ohio; Yonkers, New York; Wheeling, West Virginia, and Coos Bay, Oregon.

Cincinnati Meets a Crisis

Voters of Cincinnati, in the largest vote ever cast on a municipal issue, November 4 reaffirmed their support of proportional representation as a method of electing members of the city council. The official vote was 73,638 for an amendment abolishing P. R., and 81,365 against—that is, supporting P. R.

The test was the third in Cincinnati's 22 years of P. R. history. Previous repealers in 1936 and 1939, however, had been submitted in May and June, respectively. The 1947 vote was the first test of P. R. at a general election since its adoption in 1924.

The margin of victory this year was considerably greater than in either 1936 or 1939. P. R. was sustained in 1936 by 831 votes, in 1939 by 742 votes. This year's margin was 7,727.

The larger margin of victory was achieved in the face of the most disadvantageous conditions friends of P. R. in Cincinnati have yet had to battle. For one thing, the issue was merely one item on a ballot which in turn was but one of six ballots voted on. In addition, seven other questions and issues submitted at the same time —among them, a $300,000,000 soldiers' bonus proposal — received majorities ranging from 64 per cent to 75 per cent of the vote cast.

Adding to the difficulties of the campaign was an all-out newspaper attack launched by the *Cincinnati Enquirer,* which openly avowed its determination to get rid of P. R. in Cincinnati. The *Enquirer* campaign was carefully synchronized with the offensive conducted by the old political machine which opposed P. R. in 1924, and has continuously fought against it since.

The campaign was shrewdly timed to link P. R. with Communist infiltration. The "red" menace was portrayed in a steady crescendo of front-page news articles, newspaper and billboard advertising, street car cards, posters, placards, leaflets, book matches, personal letters and radio spot announcements.

Civic Group Defends P. R.

Defense of P. R. was spearheaded by the City Charter Committee, its original sponsor and its defender in the two previous tests of 1936 and 1939. The committee fortunately received strong support from the *Cincinnati Post,* and its popular columnist, Alfred E. Segal, as well as from such weekly publications as the *Catholic Telegraph-Register,* the *Sun* and the *Chronicle*—Cincinnati's two labor papers, and the *Western Hills Press.* In addition, the Democratic Campaign Committee, Greater Cincinnati Industrialists Union Council, Central Labor Council, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Independent Progressive Voters League, Progressive Citizens Committee, League of Women Voters, Cincinnatus Association, Queen City Association, and the Civic Club either lent active assistance, or went on record opposing the repealer.

Friends of P. R. stressed four major points:

(1) Under P. R. a majority of voters elect a majority of the council;

(2) The substitute proposed in place of P. R. would allow a political machine with less than half the votes to elect the entire council;

(3) P. R. insures representation to substantial minority groups;

(4) Under P. R. Cincinnati has had better councilmen and better government than ever before in its history.

Charter and independent candidates for council centered much of their campaign fire on the repealer. Candidates of the Republican organization, latter day descendants of Cincinnati's infamous Cox-Hynicka machine, on the other hand, carried the attack against P. R. and received the overwhelming endorsements of the *Enquirer* and the *Times-Star.*

Despite its relative lack of newspaper support, the charter council ticket, led by Charles P. Taft, charter committee president, and Albert D. Cash, charter floor leader in council, gained a majority, and political observers attribute their victory largely to the P. R. attack and their militant defense against it. Elected with Cash and Taft, to form the first charter majority on the council since 1935, were Rollin H. Everett and Edward N.

Waldvogel, incumbents, and Harry D. Proctor, A. F. of L. labor candidate. The four other seats in council were awarded to four Republican organization incumbents—Carl W. Rich, Jesse D. Locker, Gordon H. Scherer and John M. Molloy.

Real significance of the P. R. victory will appear only in time. However, the chairman of the Republican organization (anti-P.R.) forces declared the day after election that it will be many years before P. R. is attacked again in Cincinnati.

Cincinnati now has faced the question of abolishing P. R. in three different kinds of elections: primary, special and general. Each time the largest vote ever recorded in Cincinnati for that kind of election has turned out. Each time P. R. has been upheld. The results speak for themselves.

Forest Frank
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

New York Voters Repeal P. R.

The vote for repeal of P. R. in New York was 935,276 to 586,151. The proportion of votes in favor of repeal was highest in Richmond and Queens and lowest in the Bronx, but there was a substantial margin in favor of repeal in each borough.

Most important factor in the campaign was the unpopularity of the Communist and American Labor parties—the latter being charged with having policies parallel to the former —each of which elected two councilmen at the last city election in 1945. These parties, at a time when the international atmosphere was very different from today's, cast 18 per cent of the first-choice votes in the city and elected 17½ per cent of the council. On the strength of this representation organization politicians of the majority (Democratic) party, who launched the attack on P. R. for quite other reasons, were able to persuade a majority of the newspapers and the people that they were voting on the foreign policy of the Kremlin instead of a feature of city government in New York.

P. R. was vigorously supported not only by the minor parties but by the principal civic organizations and leaders of the city, including the city's largest business organization, the Commerce and Industry Association, the League of Women Voters, Citizens Union, United Neighborhood Houses and Women's City Club, and by a large part of the labor movement, particularly the C.I.O. unions, the I.L.G.W.U. and the Millinery Workers' Union, and by the Americans for Democratic Action and the Progressive Citizens of America. Veterans' organizations were divided, the Amvets supporting P. R. and most of the American Legion and V.F.W. opposing it.

Councils Improved

Hardly anyone claimed that the P. R. council is not, in its actual operation, an improvement over the district-elected board of aldermen which it succeeded. Judge Samuel Seabury, in a two-column letter published November 1 in answer to four adverse editorials in the *New York Times,* pointed out that "more and more the council has been tackling issues of major import, and just this year has dealt constructively with evictions, rent control, abuses in garages and parking spaces, and fire hazards in apartment hotels and dormitories.". But the record of the council and the demonstrated fairness of P. R. in its elections were swept aside by a desire to deny representation to anyone friendly to Soviet Russia.

The new plan of electing one councilman from each state senatorial district may deprive not only the left wing elements of their share of representation, but also the new Liberal party and the rather small Republican following, which elected three councilmen in 1945 on the strength of a vote which was less than the American Labor and Communist total not only for council but for borough presidents on the voting machines. Mayor O'Dwyer and the Democratic party carried every senate district in the city at the 1945 municipal election. Another good indication of what may be expected from district elections was given this year when no one was elected to any office anywhere in the city unless he was on the Democratic ticket. Nevertheless, the Republican organization leaders were somehow persuaded to go along with the Democrats for repeal of P. R.

Newspaper Support

The general import of the vote was summarized editorially by the *New York Herald Tribune* on November 5:

> The combination of the good people of the city who dislike Communists and the self-interested drive of organization party leaders has brought the defeat of proportional representation. The politicians have never liked a system which undermines their influence on the choice of candidates to the city council. The people of the city who were interested enough to examine the issue have heretofore supported a system which assured candidates of a higher caliber than district leaders, Republican or Democratic, were wont to name.
>
> We are convinced that had the good people of the city waited to register their dislike of left wingers until the next council election, that dislike would have eliminated most, if not all, of the councilmen they consider unrepresentative.
>
> We believe that a substantial opposition in the council has been salutary; that the proportional representation method of election, which required that the organization candidates of both parties be chosen for qualifications, not for party service, has been salutary. The opposition will now be cut; the necessity to select candidates who can stand up under borough-wide competition will no longer be in effect.
>
> The voters have, we fear, sacrificed an instrument for improving the quality of their city council because of a temporary wartime phenomenon which seated left wingers there. We regret that in the decision on P. R. it will be the politicians, not the forces of good government, who gain by a postwar sentiment that is not temporary—the people's will to repudiate communism.

In spite of the adverse verdict more people have been stirred to campaign activity in support of P. R. in New York City than ever before. If the substitute plan works out as badly as there is every reason to expect it will in the election of 1949, it is not unlikely that P. R. will be on the ballot again for adoption in 1950.

Long Beach Elects Improved Council but Votes Out P. R.

Long Beach, which is just a few miles outside the New York City limits, on the south shore of Long Island, voted to repeal P. R. by 2,884 to 1,783 votes, after a two-year trial. The system was adopted in 1943 by 1,578 votes to 1,368 and first came into effect in the 1945 election.

At that time the voters showed their

lack of confidence in the Democratic organization which had previously ruled the city by electing only one of its candidates. The other four elected were two independent Democrats, one Republican and one American Labor candidate. This council chose a competent city manager and there is no doubt that municipal government in Long Beach has greatly improved, but a majority of the councilmen, though all were independent in their actions, failed to measure up to proper standards of official conduct and undoubtedly contributed thereby to the repeal of P. R. which they themselves initiated.

The most important factor, however, was undoubtedly the attitude of the New York newspapers, which was echoed by all three of the papers in Long Beach. Repeated letters to all the voters in support of P. R. by the Long Beach Citizens Union were not enough to offset it.

Long Beach elected its second P. R. council on the same day that P. R. was repealed. The count was completed that night and resulted in a council that is generally considered much improved. The Citizens Union representative on the council, Ralph B. Weiss, who had made an outstanding record but declined to stand for re-election, was drafted by a successful write-in campaign, the first in the history of P. R. elections in this country. With him were elected another independent backed by the Citizens Union and other civic forces, two new nominees of the reorganized Democratic organization under changed leadership whom the Citizens Union considered qualified, and the Republican member of the outgoing council, running this time without his party's endorsement. The American Labor party candidate was nosed out by one of the Democrats by three votes.

The councilman who had introduced the P. R. repeal proposal was the first candidate defeated and he was followed immediately by one of the other two who had supported repeal. There were only seven regularly nominated candidates for the five places.

Only 43 ballots out of 5,671, less than one per cent, were not marked; 331, or 5.8 per cent of those that were marked, were invalid; and 4,252, more than 80 per cent of the 5,297 that were valid, helped elect someone for whom the voters had expressed a preference.

The count was technically of interest because in the transfer of the one surplus the most exact method of minimizing the small element of choice so far adopted for public elections in the United States was used for the first time. Each candidate was given the same proportion of the surplus that he had of the second choices on the elected candidate's ballots and the particular ballots transferred to each candidate were taken in equal numbers as nearly as possible from the eleven election districts.

After the election the defeated Labor party candidate exercised his privilege of having a re-examination of the ballots under Board of Elections supervision on payment of a small fee. All invalid and blank ballots and about half the valid ballots were carefully checked, showing a remarkable degree of accuracy. The disposition of only four ballots was seriously questioned and none of these could have reduced the small gap between the two contestants for fifth place.

Repeal Voted in Boulder

The little university city of Boulder, Colorado, abolished P. R. by a vote of 3,159 to 1,370 after using it for 30 years. Boulder was the second city in the United States to adopt P. R. and had withstood three previous attempts to repeal it.

This time, apparently, the issue went largely by default. The Boulder *Daily Camera,* the city's only newspaper, advised editorially against repeal and there has been fairly general satisfaction with the quality of the city's government under its P. R.-manager charter, but there was no organized defense and there has been no extensive educational work in the significance of the system since it was last upheld in 1933.

Boulder elected three of its nine councilmen by P. R. every two years for a six-year term. This arrangement did not allow much scope for variety of representation, but did give some representation to minorities and secured councilmen of generally good caliber and standing in the community.

At the P. R. election this November, with sixteen candidates in the running, Boulder cast a record 5,038 vote. The three men elected for six-year terms were Alfred H. Allen, automobile service store operator; Dr. John D. Gillaspie, physician; and Charles L. Pitney, retired army major. According to the Boulder *Daily Camera,* the election was nonpartisan and the three winners did not represent any organized group or platform. Only 182 ballots, or 3.6 per cent of the total cast, were invalid or blank.

City Councils Elected by P. R.

Councilmanic elections were held by P. R. on November 4 not only in Cincinnati, Long Beach and Boulder, but also in Cambridge and Lowell, Massachusetts; Toledo and Hamilton, Ohio; and Yonkers, New York. These will be discussed in this department in forthcoming issues.

Are New York City Voters Suckers?

Under this apt title the Port Chester (New York) *Daily Item* published the editorial below on the failure of New York City voters to retain P. R. for the election of the city's council.

"Unless we miss our guess, the citizens and taxpayers of the great city of New York have fallen for another 'buy Brooklyn Bridge' con game in their decision to abandon the proportional representation method of electing members of the city council.

"Before P. R., New York was ruled exclusively by Tammany.

"After P. R., it seems probable to us, New York will go back to being ruled by Tammany or some reasonably larcenous facsimile thereof.

"It all came about, of course, because a couple of Communists had been elected to the council under the P. R. principle of minority representation. The politicians and some gullible newspaper editors took advantage of that situation to scare the b'jabers out of the New York electorate. A goodly portion of the latter probably went to the polls on Tuesday determined to prevent Mike Quill, boss of the Transportation Workers Union and one of the left-wing councilmen, from ever taking over city hall—they just didn't bother to try to figure out whether or not it ever would be possible, not to say probable, for Mike to achieve such power and eminence.

"There is substantial evidence that, wherever it has had a fair trial, P. R. has worked well for the people who pay the government's bills.

"Yonkers right here in Westchester provides such evidence and numerous other cities have benefited similarly through better and less wasteful administrations chosen despite rather than because of machine politics."

King County Board's Activities Cited

Citizens Group Praises List of Accomplishments

THE Municipal League of Seattle has complimented the present King County board of commissioners for its impressive list of accomplishments and several of its projected activities under consideration. Improvements include:

1. Consolidation of the north and south county road districts resulting in savings in overhead costs and a better program of road construction and maintenance;

2. Consolidation of north and south parks and playgrounds departments which also will result in reduction of overhead costs as well as providing a more uniform standard of county recreation;

3. Consolidation of city and county health departments which should result in higher standards in the county area;

4. Establishment of a separate fund for the county airport to permit it to apply its earnings to airport operations and payment of its indebtedness;

5. Appointment of a lay advisory committee to the welfare department;

6. Declaration of a policy of "no emergency appropriations in 1948" unless justified by a genuine emergency;

7. Establishment of stronger budgetary controls by means of improved monthly financial reports in order to forestall emergency appropriation requests;

8. Increase in the county planning commission budget to enable it to expand to planning functions rather than continue in the narrow field of rezoning; and

9. Adoption of a limited building regulation code applicable to places of assembly and commercial and industrial buildings with floor space of more than 1,500 square feet.

Proposals before the board include one to establish a motor car pool for better utilization of vehicles and another for better coordination between the county assessor's and treasurer's offices in the mechanical preparation of tax statements.

In preliminary stages is the proposal to separate King County from Seattle. Such a constitutional amendment will be submitted to the voters of the state in November 1948. If the amendment is adopted, the specific plan of separation as passed by the legislature would require approval of the voters both inside and outside the city.

The city planning commission has proposed a joint city-county planning council including representatives of the transit system, school and port districts. The combined planning staff of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio, is cited as an example of successful joint planning.

Virginia County Defeats Manager Proposal

At the general election on November 4, voters of Chesterfield County, Virginia, defeated a proposed manager charter by a vote of 2,772 to 1,582.

Ohio Counties Authorized to Zone

Thirty years after comparable powers were given to its municipalities, Ohio has extended authority to zone to its counties and townships. Nine prior attempts to secure the enactment of such legislation had failed of passage. The law became effective September 25.

The law authorizes any county board of commissioners to create a rural zoning commission of five members to serve without pay. All zoning plans drafted by it would be subjected to public hearings, approval of the board of commissioners and final approval by the voters in the townships affected. A board of zoning appeals would hear cases of refusal to grant zoning certificates and make necessary variances from the plan to prevent injustices in application.

Townships also are authorized to prepare and adopt zoning regulations under the law. County plans subsequently prepared may then be substituted or rejected by townships operating under their own zoning regulations.

City-County Consolidation Trend Continues

The commissioners of Fulton County, Georgia, have given renewed impetus to the movement for consolidation of the county with Atlanta. They have requested the 29-member citizens committee, appointed last January by the chairman of the county board to study the possibilities of such a merger, to renew its efforts to draft a plan of one government for the Atlanta metropolitan area. The status of the committee had been somewhat in doubt as a result of the recent death of the board chairman who had made the appointments.

The retiring Fulton County Grand Jury, in its report to Fulton Superior Court Judge Frank A. Hooper, warned that Atlanta will lose its "rightful place" among the cities of the nation unless a solution can be found to permit consolidation of overlapping city and county services. "If the problem is not solved," the jury stated, "it will prevent long-distance planning by county and city governments and will eventually retard the progress of this metropolitan district in many ways."

Functional consolidation through joint ownership and operation of a public hospital is being considered by the governing bodies of Sedgwick County, Kansas, and the city of Wichita.

1944 County Finances Reported

The U. S. Bureau of the Census has issued its *County Finances, 1944 Compendium* (165 pages) embodying three categories of county financial information for the year 1944—detailed national total amounts, summaries for the counties of each state, and detailed statistics for a thousand representative counties, large and small, urban and rural.

The report reveals that county governments experienced a decrease in tax revenue from 1943 to 1944, but that non-tax revenue increased. Expenditures for nearly all county functions increased because of rises in pay rolls, in public assistance and in other operation expenses. There were decreases, however, in debt service and capital outlay because of the various wartime restrictions. These restrictions resulted in a substantial reduction in the county debt.

Property taxes declined in importance as a source of revenue until they provided not much more than one-half of county revenue. Major expenditures in 1944, computed on a per capita basis, were for welfare and highway purposes, with "general control" ranking third in costs.

Reported for the first time were county-owned utilities and other enterprises. Gross profits of 32 liquor dispensaries of Maryland and North Carolina counties amounted to five million dollars. Some county airports, water supply systems and electric power sys-

(Continued on Page 657)

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Federal Aid Hospital Program Gets under Way

Plans for Twelve States Approved in Slow Start

THE program for federally-aided hospital construction, authorized by Congress in 1946, is slowly getting under way, although as yet no funds have been actually appropriated. Hospital programs of twelve states had been approved through the latter part of October: Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Utah and Washington. Programs have been submitted by eight others, with tentative programs from three additional, according to the American Municipal Association.

The 79th Congress authorized, in the 1946 hospital survey and construction act, a grant of $75,000,000 annually for five years for federal aid to be allocated for hospital construction. The money is to be apportioned among the states on the basis of population and state income and the federal grant can finance no more than one-third of the cost. Local units may share in the aid, but only when their programs are part of a state program of a state agency designated by the state for that purpose and which has been approved by the United States Public Health Service. State programs must be re-surveyed once a year.

Although no money has been appropriated for construction, $3,000,000 has been appropriated for grants to the state for surveys. The Public Health Service has received $1,800,000 of the appropriation, of which $668,457 was expended through mid-October. Grants for surveys are apportioned on the basis of population.

Public Health Service is expected to ask the next session of Congress to appropriate at least $12,000,000 for the federal share of projects to be started before June 30, 1948, and for projects estimated to begin in 1948-49, and also to request authority to contract in 1948-49 for $150,000,000 in grants for a federal-state-local construction total of $450,000,000.

Large Bond Issues Submitted to Voters

At the elections of November 4, for the second consecutive year, the voters approved issuance of state and local bonds aggregating more than one billion dollars. According to *The Daily Bond Buyer*, two states and 358 local units had bond proposals on their ballots aggregating $1,126,780,361. Issues totaling $1,000,000 or more accounted for $1,084,651,500, and of this amount all but $25,438,500 was approved.

Two states, New York and Ohio, accounted for the major share of the large dollar volume in state and local bond issues submitted to the voters this year. In New York, two proposals were adopted—a $400,000,000 bond authorization for veterans' bonuses and $135,000,000 for slum clearance and low-rent public housing, a total of $535,000,000. The legislature had already enacted a provisional program of selective excise taxes which will function to provide funds to service the veterans' bonus bonds. The Ohio voters approved a veterans' bonus bond authorization of $300,000,000.

Large issues were submitted in four cities. San Francisco voters were called on to consider issues totaling $87,000,000, including $25,000,000 for water improvements and $20,000,000 for street railway modernization. In Chicago, new issues of $51,000,000 were before the voters, consisting of $39,000,000 city bonds ($15,000,000 each for slum clearance and housing and $7,000,000 for voting machines, to mention the three largest issues) and $12,000,000 Cook County bonds ($7,000,000 hospital, $3,500,000 infirmary, and $1,000,000 voting machine bonds, again to mention the largest). All were approved.

In Kansas City, issues totaling $47,700,000 were on the ballot; $41,500,000 of the total were city bonds and $6,000,000 county bonds. In Detroit, an issue of $30,000,000 storm sewer bonds was submitted. All were approved except $4,023,500 of the Jackson County bonds.

Syracuse, New York, Adopts Sales Tax

The third local sales tax in New York State will become effective next March, when a 2 per cent retail sales tax goes into effect in the city of Syracuse. The city acted under 1947 legislation granting the local subdivisions broader powers in taxation.

The 1947 act had been utilized earlier by Erie County (Buffalo) which enacted a sales tax for aid to schools. In New York City a sales tax, authorized under earlier emergency legislation, has been in use since the early 1930's.

Governmental Revenue in 1946

Under the title above, the Bureau of the Census, Governments Division, published in October a summary bulletin high-lighting 1946 revenue of the federal, state and local governments. Exclusive of intergovernmental aid, the total for the year was $56,873,000,000, of which $44,223,000,000 or 77.8 per cent, were federal receipts; $6,480,000,000, or 11.4 per cent, state receipts; and $6,170,000,000, or 10.8 per cent, local. These figures are for governmental purposes only and exclude public service enterprise income except for net amounts applied to governmental purposes.

The 1946 total was 4 per cent lower than that of 1945, but exceeded 1942 by 134 per cent. For the four-year interval, the federal increase was 222 per cent and that for state and local receipts was 19 per cent. The 1946 grand total approximated $406 per capita.

Municipal Services Hard Hit by High Costs

Local governments are finding themselves facing difficult problems because of inflation. Among public institutions, hospitals are hardest hit because of the increase in food prices plus the need to feed patients on diets which make no compromise with inflation, reports the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

The Dallas situation is typical. Food costs for three city-county hospitals, two city jails and a school for juvenile delinquents have more than doubled in three years—from $83,497 in 1944 to $184,669 in 1947.

Philadelphia General Hospital has requested $233,000 emergency funds for food to supplement the $470,000 granted in the 1947 budget. To cut costs, some county prisons in the city have imposed three meatless days a week since September.

In Newark emergency resolutions providing $559,000 have been approved to help cover unanticipated price rises affecting operation of municipal services. Wage and price increases for almost all city departments were involved.

In St. Louis inflation has increased the city deficit to the point where it is being found necessary to discharge

700 municipal employees. City economy measures include reducing garbage collections from three to two times a week and turning off street lights one hour earlier each morning.

San Francisco's budget also has been unhinged by inflation. Officials report a probable shortage this year of $300,000 to $400,000 for institutional supply purchases. All city departments are putting emergency economies in operation and city agents are scouting federal surplus commodity sales for bargains.

Public schools are facing their worst financial crisis since the depression. The two-horned dilemma currently confronting school boards involves crippling of construction programs by inflation and cost-of-living pay raises for teachers.

Record enrollments in most schools are making construction a matter of special urgency. Further, a five-million increase in the nation's elementary school population is expected during the next decade as a result of the 40 per cent rise in the birthrate since the war ended.

Baltimore has sold $30,000,000 school bonds but construction of needed schools has been delayed by high costs. Several Baltimore schools are operating double shifts to relieve overcrowding.

Washington, D. C., with $7,500,000 available for construction, is in a similar spot. School officials can foresee completion of only two schools started last year, while sixteen others planned are unbuilt because of high costs.

School construction is virtually at a standstill in Cincinnati and Cleveland, according to a survey of school needs in major cities conducted by the *Washington Post.* Cincinnati has voted a $16,000,000 bond issue to finance new schools, but at current prices the 31 buildings planned would cost nearly twice that much.

Cost-of-living pay increases for teachers are throwing many school budgets further off center. Officials in Buffalo and Cleveland doubt that schools can operate throughout the fiscal year without more money. Voters in Cleveland and other cities are being asked to approve higher school taxes in November.

The Pennsylvania legislature granted Philadelphia's board of education power to levy temporary mercantile and property taxes to tide local schools over the fiscal hump caused by inflation. The board hopes to get $5,000,000 new revenue from the levies to finance current salary increases and other expenses.

In Minneapolis final approval of a $1,300,000 emergency bond issue to finance needs for the school year has been granted. Part of the money will pay for salary increases.

Off-Street Parking Mostly Tax-supported

A survey of 30 representative cities recently making capital investments in off-street parking reveals that the most common means of financing such improvements is from general municipal funds. An increasing number of cities, however, are using parking meter revenues to finance off-street parking lots, according to the International City Managers' Association. Many cities are financing parking facilities by a combination of means.

Madison, Wisconsin, Miami Beach, Florida, Montclair, New Jersey, Port Huron, Michigan, and Sioux Falls, South Dakota, are among fifteen of the 30 cities surveyed which are financing parking facilities from general funds. Madison also issued revenue bonds totaling $400,000 to acquire two downtown parking lots. Montclair raised $126,000 to purchase and develop parking lots by issuing general obligation bonds.

Money to buy and develop municipal parking lots came from curbside parking meter revenues in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Independence, Kansas, Anaheim, California, and Benton Harbor, Michigan, plan to use this method soon. Ithaca and White Plains, New York, and Whittier, California, have financed lots with revenues from meters installed in the lots themselves.

Special assessments were used to finance off-street parking in Kalamazoo and Port Huron, Michigan, Kansas City, Kansas, and other cities. Winnetka, Illinois, financed five parking lots from the general fund with the help of utility revenues. Albuquerque, New Mexico, used surplus funds of the water department.

Oregon Sales and Cigarette Taxes Defeated

At an election held October 7, voters in the state of Oregon defeated proposals to levy sales and cigarette taxes. The sales tax would have been used in part to make reductions in ad valorem property tax levies of cities, counties and school districts; in part for state purposes.

Florida City Adopts Utility Bill Tax

Following favorable citizen action at a straw vote, the city council of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, enacted a tax on utility services. The tax will be 10 per cent on bills under $25 and 5 per cent on bills over $25, but will apply only to local services and calls, according to Mayor Reed Bryan. Water, telephone, telegraph, electric and gas services will be subject to the tax.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from Page 653)

tems contributed to county general funds, but such utilities were more likely to receive general fund assistance from county taxes.

Wisconsin Legislation for Counties Fails

With the exception of increased state aid to counties for asylums, tuberculosis sanatoria, highways and care of children in foster homes, most of the important proposals affecting counties failed to pass the 1947 Wisconsin legislature. The various defeated bills included provisions for: (1) establishment of the position of county finance officer, (2) centralized purchasing by the counties, (3) elimination of special administrative boards and commissions, (4) consolidation of welfare activities, (5) integration of traffic control under jurisdiction of the sheriff, (6) abolition of the fee system as a method of compensation of county officers, (7) regulation and limitations on the size and number of county board committees, and (8) requirement for the apportionment of seats on county boards on the basis of population.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . *Edited by James E. Gates*

British Taxpayer Gets Much for His Money

Local Service Cost Small Says Municipal Official

THE retiring president of the National Association of Local Government Officers presented some striking figures and examples of the relatively small cost of local government services in his retiring address. He said, among other things:

"The average ratepayer, indeed, gets the whole of his local government services for about four shillings per household per week. Free education for his children, up to the university if they need it, costs him about 1s.6d. per week—as much as he spends on newspapers. In a week the whole of the health services costs him about 1s.2d.—less than a bottle of aspirins. He has free use of all the books in all the libraries of the country for the price of a single daily paper. His house refuse is disposed of for the price of half a bar of soap. He buys his public parks for the price of a single cigarette he may smoke there. And his streets are lit at the cost of two flints for his lighter."

He concluded: "Can anyone fairly describe that as a burden? On the contrary, I would say that local government gives the people of Britain the best bargain they can get anywhere today—a bargain which is not only cheap at the price, but which offers rich dividends in health and happiness beyond all price."

The speaker also showed that although the total income of Britain had increased by 38 per cent, and expenditures on goods and services had risen by 55 per cent above 1938 figures, expenditures for local government had risen by only 22 per cent, the total being only £259,000,000—considerably less than half the amount spent on beer and spirits, less than half that spent on tobacco, and not much more than is spent on entertainment.

Local Authorities Oppose Banking Restriction

Widespread opposition has been aroused among many local authorities throughout Australia by the government's dictum that they must transfer their banking business from whatever bank they use now to the Commonwealth Bank, reports the *Australian Municipal Journal.*

There seem to be two fears, one that the absence of competition from private banks may lead to inefficiency, that the interests of the department and its officials may tend to outweigh the claims of the customer to cooperative and efficient service. It is pointed out, too, that the principles of the statutes incorporating local government authorities provide for opening contracts to the public so that the best possible terms may be obtained for taxpayers.

Another fear is that the treasurer of the day, under the commonwealth bank act, may be able to undermine the independence of local authorities, being able to dictate local policy in many matters. Where it was possible to go to rival banks, this possibility, it was felt, could be minimized.

It is possible for authorities to use other banking facilities, but application must be made to the treasurer of the commonwealth.

Capital Expenditures by UK Municipalities

The Ministry of Health has made an estimate of the anticipated capital expenditures by United Kingdom local authorities for the year 1946-1947 which, together with the corresponding figures for 1938-1939, present an interesting picture:

	Estimate 1946-47 £'000	*Actual 1938-39 £'000*
Housing	319,202	46,601
Electricity	47,463	20,125
Health	43,208	15,956
Education	40,099	15,596
Highways	29,252	15,257
Water	21,505	7,439
Transport	8,787	3,452
Gas	7,464	1,999
Municipal Buildings	2,679	3,553
Harbors, Piers, etc.	1,137	1,357
List "B" Services	34,227	18,727
	£555,023	£150,062

In June 1947 the ministry made a sampling of eleven authorities to determine whether they had in fact been able to make the expected expenditures. It found that with three-fourths of the year gone these authorities had been able to complete only 39 per cent of their program. There were wide variations between estimates and actual expenditures, as follows: 28, 33, 45, 37, 35, 17, 27, 17, 27, and 28 per cent. This was criticized as being over-optimistic planning, not conforming to the realities of the present situation.

The survey also demonstrated an enormous backlog of capital work waiting to be put into execution by local authorities. It has been estimated, on the basis of the estimates of required capital expenditures above, and by comparison with the economic survey, which allocated £1,700,000 for capital expenditures of all kinds, that this backlog would require about one-third of the sum available for capital investment of all kinds.

Technician v. Administrator

The problem of the engineer-technician-administrator, from the standpoint of the technician, is ably analyzed in a speech prepared for the British Public Works Congress. The author says that "the insidious encroachment of the administrative officer upon the field of the technician has spread in local government until he now openly claims to be acknowledged the superior.

"The truth surely is that the long and arduous training given to and required of the technician in local government is almost the only road to the creation of the skilled administrator; that, by comparison, the training of the majority of the so-called administrative class in local government consists largely of doing the same sort of routine jobs that their predecessors did.

"There might, indeed, justifiably be drawn a distinction between clerical-administrative, where the officer has little or no responsibility for the making of decisions though perhaps considerable responsibility for their execution, and technical-administrative, where responsibility for making decisions of a high order affecting policy, as well as for their execution, is a daily commonplace.

"In fact, it may generally be said that all the departments of a local authority are primarily technical departments, and so long as that is true then it is equally true both that technicians must be at the head of them and that those technicians must be capable as administrators.

"In the training of technicians, then, a wider basis of attainment is required than technical specialization. The approach to and attack upon a new problem may demand a technical background; it certainly demands a mind trained in the solution of problems, by analysis or synthesis, in inference or analogy, by, in short, the application of those very processes that the technician learns as part of his technical training. The more non-technical the problem, the more apt to its solution the habits of mind of the trained technician."

How Large Should New Towns Be?

The problem of new towns was discussed at some length at the recent Public Works, Road and Transport Congress at Olympia, London. The city surveyor of Manchester said, in considering the Manchester plan, that the best size for a new town, designed to provide within itself all the daily and weekly requirements of the people living there, was about 50,000 persons. Smaller towns may have to be provided in some instances but, where circumstances permit, populations of about 50,000 can be regarded as desirable while increases beyond this up to even as much as 150,000 might be accepted without misgivings. If, after the most careful and detailed consideration, a new town should be built for a population of 150,000 persons, the town may succeed but the advantages and facilities it offers must necessarily be exceptional.

To build a town of 50,000 people would take about eighteen years—too long where development is urgent.

On the procedure authorized in the new towns act, the minimum timetable of preparatory work and construction up to the completion of the first houses is:

Site investigations, consultations between minister and interested local authorities, consideration of objections, holding of public inquiry and formulation of order—twelve months;

Setting up of development corporation, collection of staff and organization of administrative machinery—nine months;

Preparation of surveys, design of main drainage and preliminary zoning proposals—twelve months;

Detailed planning of first neighborhood unit—six months;

Preparation of working drawings for roads and sewers and letting of contract for first neighborhood unit—twelve months;

Construction of roads and sewers sufficient to permit construction of house building—six months;

The completion of first houses—twelve months.

Taking into account the likelihood of appeals in early stages, the serious shortages of technical staff and the difficulties of persuading labor to work some distance from home, this timetable may cover a period of seven to eight years.

The farther the new town is from the mother conurbation the greater will be the practical difficulties of building the town and of moving population and industry and the more likely will it be that the new town will develop at the very slow rate of ordinary small towns. In short, other things being equal, the more urgent the need for the new town, the nearer should it be placed to the area from which the population is to come.

The degree to which the growth of the new town can be encouraged may well depend on the ease with which individual families and individual industrialists can be persuaded to venture into it during the period of growth while its ultimate shape, liveliness and character are still not formed. As much persuasion and encouragement may be required on the part of the authority from which congestion needs to be removed, as energy, artistry and initiative on the part of the new town development authority.

Municipal Sewing Room in Chihuahua

Last October there was inaugurated in Chihuahua, Mexico, a public municipal sewing room, to relieve the most pressing needs of the local seamstresses and housewives who could not afford to have sewing machines in their homes.

The project was financed jointly by the state government, which provided 50 per cent of the funds, and a group of local citizens headed by the mayor. The workshop is free for residents of the town and has twenty electric sewing machines.

Britain Revises Block Grant System

The British Minister of Health announced at a meeting of municipal treasurers and accountants that the block grant system is to be revised and that national machinery is to be set up for the valuation of property for local rates. As the amounts to be received by the local authorities for the carrying on of new social services would be based on local assessments, he said it "would be asking too much of human nature to permit the assessment to remain in the hands of the beneficiaries."

The necessity of this centralization of assessments is laid to the proposal to transfer to the central government responsibility for the hospital and mental health services, as well as the proposal to abolish the poor law.

Canadian Mayors Ask State and Federal Cooperation

At the annual meeting of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, held in Winnipeg, July 8-11 of this year, a number of resolutions adopted sought greater cooperation between the cities and the provincial and dominion governments, including those dealing with:

Grants-In-Aid. That the federal government be advised that the need for federal-municipal aid is as great today as it was when the federal government introduced such measures as the municipal aid and adjustment act and is likely to be even greater in the period immediately ahead; and that a federal policy of federal-municipal financial aid should be enunciated without delay and reestablished on the federal statutes.

Taxation of Crown Properties. That the federal and provincial governments pay municipal service charges and local improvement or betterment charges on all crown lands within municipal corporations.

Uniform Traffic Rules and Signs. That the federation urge the federal and provincial governments to cooperate with the United States with a view to establishing uniform traffic rules and signs throughout Canada and the United States.

Municipal Finance. That no duties be imposed upon municipal authorities by the federal or provincial government without definite provision for financing same and that any services other than those generally recognized as purely a municipal responsibility be paid for by the authority requiring such services.

Revival of Municipal Improvements Assistance Act. That the dominion government be requested to revive and place in immediate operation the provisions of the municipal improvements assistance act, 1938, with the following amendments: (a) removal of the limitation on, or a substantial increase in, the aggregate loans which may be made to any particular municipality; (b) extension of the provisions of the act to approved capital works which may not necessarily be self-liquidating, where appropriate by-laws are passed to service the repayment of the moneys borrowed, by a levy on the municipality at large.

Books in Review

The Police and Minority Groups. By Joseph D. Lohman. Chicago, Chicago Park District, 1947. xiii, 133 pp. $2.

This volume has been prepared for use as a text book on racial problems in the curriculum of the Chicago Park District Police Training School. It is an outgrowth of a course given at the school by its author, associate director for race relations of the Julius Rosenwald Fund and lecturer in sociology at the University of Chicago. Cited are actual cases of friction among minority groups taken from the police records of the park district, thus combining scientific theory and actual experience. Mr. Lohman has prepared the volume in collaboration with the supervisory officers of the Chicago Park District Division of Police headed by Chief Roger F Shanahan.

Tax Systems (Tenth Edition). Edited by Tax Research Department. Chicago and New York, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1946. viii, 320 pp. $12.50.

Attention is focused in this volume on tax facts and data for the United States, the 48 states, District of Columbia, Canada and Mexico. In addition selected revenue statistics are set forth for the United States, Alaska, Puerto Rico and major cities. There are over 150 charts and tables. Arrangement of the information (1) by states and (2) by types of taxes makes the volume convenient for ready reference. Figures on tax collections for federal, state, territorial and local governments are broken down to show amounts collected by each unit of government, yields by specific taxes in amounts, and percentages as well as per capita collections.

Facts and figures used are the latest available, according to the volume, reflecting all tax laws and changes enacted by Congress and state legislatures up to the time of going to press, November 1946.

Financial Administration of Municipal Utilities. By Irving Tenner. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1947. 152 pp. $3.75.

Defining municipal utilities as enterprises operated by governmental units which render service to the public for compensation, this book deals with the principles and procedures of their financial administration. It is limited to water and electric utilities as the most numerous under municipal auspices and as furnishing guidance for other municipal utilities.

Appropriate emphasis is placed on accounting and budgetary principles and methods, with a considerable body of detail, applicable especially to the smaller municipalities most in need of improvement in such directions.

General principles and policies are sketched briefly. Preference is shown for control of municipal utilities by a board appointed by the mayor with city council approval. This would make them independent entities rather than mere departments and prevent them from being either neglected or exploited by the council. Oddly enough, no mention is made of council-manager government, under which a competent city manager can administer municipal utilities in proper relationship to other municipal functions under general policies determined by the council.

In discussing financial policies the author, a certified public accountant and fiscal consultant, warns against undue diversion of utility income for the relief of taxes beyond a reasonable tax equivalent. He indicates, however, that the utility should pay a reasonable rate of return on the municipality's investment—a vague and dubious phrase if other than interest on utility bonds is meant.

The need of complete income statements on an accrual basis, and of adequate controls over cash, securities, receivables, supplies, payrolls and property, is emphasized and pointed up with detailed suggestions. Depreciation accounting, a work-order system and effective financial and statistical reports are other desirable features that are discussed briefly.

H. M. O.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Airports

Let's Face the Airplane Problem—A Symposium. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* September 1947. 6 pages.

Standards for Airport Runway Dimensions and Strength. Statement by Ralph H. Burke to Civil Aeronautics Administration, Hearings, September 18, 1947. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1947. 3 pp.

Assessments

Proceedings of the Short Course for Municipal Assessing Officers, Held at the University of Michigan, January 29-31, 1947. Sponsored by Institute of Public Administration and Extension Service of the University of Michigan, Michigan Municipal League, Michigan State Tax Commission, Municipal Assessors Association of Michigan. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1947. 93 pp.

Authorities

Port Authorities. By Austin J. Tobin, etc. Chicago, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* September 1947. 24 pp. 50 cents.

Census Bureau Publications

Census Publications 1946 — Catalog and Subject Guide. Census Bureau Publications January-March 1947—Catalog and Subject Guide. Washington, D. C., United States Printing Office, 1947. 301 and 109 pp. respectively.

Census Bureau Publications on Government as Scheduled for the Fiscal Year 1948. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1947. 2 pp.

County Government

County Boards and Commissions. By Edward W. Weidner in consultation with Wylie Kilpatrick and Richard C. Spencer. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1947. 91 pp. 50 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

Criminal Law

Criminal Law for the Minor Judiciary. Prepared by the Public Service Institute, Department of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. State College, Pennsylvania State College, Institute of Local Government, 1947. xii, 252 pp. $4.

Federal Government

Federal Administrative Procedure Act and the Administrative Agencies. Proceedings of an Institute Conducted by the New York University School of Law on February 1-8, 1947. Edited by George Warren with an Introduction by Dean Arthur T. Vanderbilt. New York, New York University School of Law, 1947. viii, 630 pp.

The President and His Staff Services. By Fritz Morstein Marx. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1947. 26 pp. $1.

Foreign Governments

Features of Present-Day Canada. Edited by Robert Hamilton Coats. Philadelphia, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The*

Annals, September 1947. viii, 266 pp. $2.

Finance (Cumulative Review). Report of the Military Governor for Germany (U. S.) 1 July 1946—30 June 1947. Berlin, Office of Military Government, 1947. 77 pp.

Freight Rates

Interterritorial Freight Rates. By Brainerd Currie, Milton S. Heath, etc. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University, School of Law, *Law and Contemporary Problems,* Summer 1947. 254 pp. $1.

Legislation

Index and Digest of Acts and Joint Resolutions Enacted, Twenty-Fourth Legislature, Territory of Hawaii, 1947, Including Cross Reference Tables and Tables of Sections of Laws Amended, Repealed, Added and Supplemented. Honolulu 10, T. H., University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1947. 71 pp.

Report on the 1947 Regular (and First Extraordinary) Session of the California Legislature. Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, State and Local Government Department, 1947. 49 pp. Tables.

Ordinances

Charter Ordinances of the City of Milwaukee. Containing All the Charter Ordinances Passed by the Common Council under Its Home Rule Powers, through November 25, 1946. Milwaukee, Public Library, Municipal Reference Library, 1946. 87 pp.

Planning

A Capital Expenditure Program and Administrative Policy and Practice. Sixth and Seventh of a Series of Reports. East Orange, New Jersey, City Planning Board, 1947. 151 pp.

The Case for Regional Planning with Special Reference to New England. By the Yale University Directive Committee on Regional Planning. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947. 94 pp. Charts, maps. $10.

The FWA Planning Aid Program in Tennessee 1945-1947. A final report on applications by Tennessee governmental units for FWA advance planning funds. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1947. 20 pp.

Purchasing

National Survey of Public [Purchasing] Practices and Procedures. Report Submitted at Second Annual Conference, National Institute of Governmental Purchasing. By David Joseph. Washington, D. C., The Institute, 1947. 11 pp.

Public Health

Public Health Law (third edition). By James A. Tobey. New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1947. xxi, 419 pp. $4.50.

Resources

America's Needs and Resources. A Survey Which Includes Estimates for 1950 and 1960. By J. Frederic Dewhurst and Associates. New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1947. xxviii, 812 pp. $5.

Taxation and Finance

Agenda for Progressive Taxation. By William Vickrey. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1947. xi, 496 pp. $4.75.

The Alabama Revenue System. Report of the Revenue Survey Committee —An Interim Committee of the 1945 Legislature. Montgomery, Alabama, the Committee, 1947. 120 pp.

Taxing the Fluid Population. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* August 1947. 7 pp. 25 cents.

Tax Reduction or Tax Relief—Which? By Gilbert M. Tucker. New York 21, The Schalkenbach Foundation, 1947. 8 pp.

Why Kill the Goose? By Sherman Rogers. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, Foundation for Economic Education, 1947. 78 pp. 75 cents.

The American County - - Patchwork of Boards

Do counties have a future as units of government? This nationwide review of county organization and functions by Edward W. Weidner of the University of Minnesota, a series of articles from the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, throws new light on an increasingly vital part of our governmental system. The need for a new approach to county government by federal and state as well as local authorities is indicated.

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